

**A HISTORY OF
SASKATCHEWAN
AND THE
OLD NORTH WEST**



NORMAN FERGUS BLACK

HISTORY OF
SASKATCHEWAN
and
The Old North West

BY
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Author of
English for the Non-English
etc.

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PREFACE

The outstanding fact impressed upon the author at every turn, in connection with the monumental task of collecting information for the following work, is that of the crying need in Saskatchewan of the services of a Provincial archivist. Week by week Old Timers are passing away, and with them is being lost information of incalculable historical value which no future expenditure, no matter how lavish, can possibly make good. Not only is there no provision yet made to reduce to permanent form the unwritten reminiscences of those whose courage, enterprise and endurance laid the foundation of Saskatchewan's greatness; no systematic effort is being made even to collect and preserve the actual documents now available. Many such papers have already been mislaid or destroyed through accidents or through ignorance of their value. For example, an account of the rebellion of 1885, written by an Indian in Cree syllabic characters, has passed from hand to hand, apparently to become a children's plaything, at last, and but a short time ago, to be destroyed. Other valuable Riel papers were burned by someone engaged in "tidying up" an old desk. Three or four thousand dollars per annum would suffice to make an invaluable beginning in the creation of a Department of Archives, and it is not to be believed that public opinion would not heartily endorse the necessary expenditure. The activity of some of the Western American States should arouse healthy emulation in this connection.

The author is conscious that in this, the first History of Saskatchewan, many matters have been given a relative prominence that some readers will think undue, and that other topics have been ignored or given but passing notice, which perhaps should have been treated of at length. The problem of selection is one of the most perplexing that has confronted the writer, and in so far as his decision is faulty, he can offer but the poor extenuation of mingled good intentions and inexperience.

The work has grown on the author's hands to a bulk far exceeding that originally projected, and it has proved necessary to eliminate whole chapters for which materials had been gathered, and seriously to curtail many others. This elimination has occasioned the author the greater regret in that scores of obliging helpers have aided in collecting the materials he has at length felt compelled to reject. He hopes that these kind friends will accept his apologies, and not interpret the omission of their contributions as a failure to appreciate their value.

To his hundreds of correspondents and other helpers, the writer desires to express his deep gratitude. He hopes that they may feel rewarded for their cooperation by a sense of valuable public service ungrudgingly performed. Special mention must be made of help rendered by ex-Lieutenant-Governors Laird, Dewdney, Mackintosh and Forget, and with their names must be coupled that of His Honor, Lieutenant-Governor Brown. The most generous assistance has also been afforded by many other distinguished public men, prominent among them being Chief Justice Haultain, Commissioner Perry, Colonel Steele, Lieutenant-Governor Bulyea, Bishop Pinkham, Bishop Matthieu, Hon. Hillyard Mitchell and Rev. Dr. John MacLean.

Most intimately associated with the task of launching the present History have been the members of what may be called an informal Advisory Board, including Hon. James H. Ross, Arch. J. McDonald, M.L.A., Hon. Thos. McKay, John A. Reid, Esq., William Trant, Esq., Sheriff L. B. Murphy, J. H. C. Willoughby, Esq., and Dr. J. M. Shaw. The importance of the aid rendered by several of these gentlemen it would be hard to exaggerate.

Acknowledgment is gratefully made of many services received at the hands of Mr. John Hawkes, of the Saskatchewan Legislative Library, and Assistant Librarian Munro, who have spent many toilsome hours in unearthing historical data; and at the Parliamentary Library, Ottawa, the Ontario Legislative Library, the Public Reference Library, Toronto, the Manitoba Legislative Library, the Regina Public Library, and in other kindred institutions every aid and facility was placed at the author's disposal.

Space forbids any detailed list of the many others whose aid has rendered the writer's task a possible one; and it does not seem necessary to load these pages with the names of the hundreds of books to which he is more or less indebted. Many of the most important of these will be named when material borrowed therefrom is used. To one writer in particular, however, it has not always been practicable to express the author's indebtedness; this is Dr. Castell Hopkins, whose *Annual Review* has provided the ground-work of more than one chapter.

Acknowledgments are made to those authors and publishers by whose permission use has been made of a considerable number of the most valuable illustrations to be found in the succeeding pages. Such thanks are due to Mr. Lawrence Burpee, author of *Search for the Western Sea*, and to his publishers, the Alston Rivers Company, for permission to use portraits of Harmon and Henry, and pictures of Fort Saskatchewan and an Indian Encampment; to Dr. Bryce, author of *The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, for permission to reproduce portraits of D'Iberville, Simpson and Selkirk; to Mr. Beckles Willson and Messrs. Copp, Clark & Co. for permission to borrow from his *The Great Company* the portraits of Prince Rupert and Radisson and a picture of a trader in an Indian camp; to Mr.

Belden for permission to borrow from the beautiful pages of *Picturesque Canada* pictures of Trappers on the March, A Prairie Caravan, Scene at a Portage, and Rapids Near the Mouth of the Saskatchewan; and to Mr. R. G. MacBeth and Messrs. Briggs and Company for the use of pictures of the Northwest Assembly of 1886 and the Interior of Fort Pitt, and of portraits of Archibald, Morris, Otter, Strange, Middleton, Williams and Crowfoot. Some other pictures have been used that have appeared elsewhere before, but which have been reproduced here from the same originals; others again either did not seem to be copyrighted or for the copyright of them the author was unable to find the owners. No one's rights have been consciously violated, and if any person find his rightful authority in this connection ignored the writer hopes that his profound apologies will be accepted.

A word as to accuracy: To secure it no labor or expense has been avoided. However, it has been said with truth that the only way to avoid misstatement is to maintain silence, and, unfortunately, this policy is not available to the historian. Consequently it cannot but be that errors will be found in the succeeding pages. These the author hopes will be reported to him to be rectified in possible future editions.

As Appendices to this History of Saskatchewan a large number of interesting and valuable biographical sketches have been prepared. In the preparation of these, however, the author of the History itself has had no share, and for this portion of the work he therefore disclaims both responsibility and credit. He knows, however, that the publishers have left no stone unturned to render these sketches trustworthy.

The writer has habitually endeavored to eliminate any undue personal element from his work, even to the extent, he fears, of rendering his account of the political history of the first decade of the present century a mere colorless chronicle. At all times he has earnestly endeavored to be fair. If his personal point of view, in cases in which he has revealed it, prove obnoxious to bigots and extremists of every party and sect, he will feel that he has succeeded; for the approval he covets is that of those who in religion and politics obey the ancient injunction to respect and study moderation in all things.

NORMAN FERGUS BLACK.

April 30, 1913, Regina, Sask.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

The original subscription edition of the author's History of Saskatchewan and the Old North-West was necessarily somewhat expensive; otherwise it could never have been published. With a view to reducing the expense of the second edition, the appendices, consisting of biographical sketches of prominent citizens of Saskatchewan of the present and past, have been omitted and certain changes have been introduced in connection with the binding. The main body of this popular edition is, however, identical with that of the history as it first appeared, being printed from the same plates.

In one connection the author owes to both the reader and himself a word of explanation and good-humored expostulation. The printers and publishers have upon the whole performed their duties most creditably, and it would be unreasonable to look for complete immunity from typographical blunders in the first plates of a book of over 250,000 words. Such slips would have been fewer, however, had not circumstances precluded the author from personal superintendence of the progress of his manuscript through its final stages in the hands of copyist and printer. In a few cases a word is inexplicably omitted or intruded, and in other passages, familiar but irrelevant words have been substituted for those intended by the author; as, "fired" for "prayed" (p. 365, l. 12), "tribute" for "tribune" (p. 366, l. 23), "Duck Lake" for "Frog Lake" (p. 349, l. 12). In most or all cases the charity and ingenuity of the reader would lead him to recognize how the passage was intended to stand. Except in two instances probably no error occurs that could really prove misleading as to important matters of fact: on p. 245 "the rising of 1869 and 1879" should, of course, read "the rising of 1869 and 1870"; and in transcribing the manuscript for p. 268 the copyist has read 300 as 30, in the passage treating of the number of Halfbreeds and Indians present at Duck Lake. Further *errata et corrigenda* seem uncalled for, as doubtless such lapses on the part of printer or copyist are more exasperating to the author than perplexing to the reader. Of genuine historical errors the author himself has doubtless been guilty, and he will welcome their being brought to his attention; but if he be held accountable for manifest nonsense, and syntactical or orthographical blunders, he will reply with a disclaimer framed upon that addressed by Macbeth to the accusing ghost of Banquo!

N. F. B.

Regina, 2067 Retallack St.,

November 1, 1913.

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History of the Province of Saskatchewan

CHAPTER I

PURPOSE AND PLAN OF THE FOLLOWING WORK

HAS SASKATCHEWAN A HISTORY?—THE IMPORTANCE OF EARLY CHRONICLES—BIOGRAPHICAL DATA—BEARING OF THE PAST ON THE FUTURE—TOPICS FOR CONSIDERATION IN A HISTORY OF SASKATCHEWAN.

Upon learning of the author's intention of writing a history of his province, various thoughtful persons have objected with the question, "But has Saskatchewan any history?" The answer to this query will depend on one's conception of history. If the rise and fall of dynasties, the intrigues of brilliant courts and the clash of mighty armies are the essential subject-matter of history, then, in truth and fortunately, Saskatchewan has none.

The historian of to-day, however, does not look upon the land of which he writes merely as a stage upon which the great ones of the earth play their several roles or upon its common people as mere supernumeraries appearing in the background of the scene from time to time. On the contrary, it is his duty to tell the people's own story, to show whence they come and how and why, to trace the rise and transformation of their local institutions and the relations existing between these and the social conditions of the hour.

The primary function of the historian is that of the chronicler. In the pages that follow will be gathered a mass of information that will become more and more interesting and valuable as years pass by. Much of it will be collected from sources not available to the general public. Men of action are rarely facile writers, and the old pioneers are rapidly passing away. It will be the author's privilege, to the extent of his ability, to perpetuate their story, communicated to him by word of mouth, by old diaries, through the pages of faded scrap books and by a multitude of letters. Already the struggles of the pioneers are all but unknown to the mass of

our citizens and if the present work could do no more than inform the rising generation of the doings of generations passed and passing, it seems to the author that his task would be well worth while.

History, however, is more than a mere catalogue of facts. It is a nation's assembled biographies. It is important not only that the humble work of countless nameless men should be remembered, but also that names themselves should be preserved from oblivion. In the pages that follow will, therefore, appear biographical records of many men who served this country well even though at present their names may be unfamiliar to the popular ear.

"History is philosophy teaching by examples." Since the white man first appeared in the great North West more than two hundred years ago, many deeds of wisdom and folly have been performed which have a very direct bearing upon the present and future. It will be our task to trace not only the records, but the reasons of success and failure, the causes producing each of which, if repeated, will produce similar results in times to come. Indeed, true history is the most reliable kind of prophecy, for the Future is the child of the Past. What can and should be done in this great new Province depends in large measure upon what has already been performed; and of what this is, the general public and even our active politicians know all too little.

Saskatchewan as a province came into existence but a very few years ago. Prior to that the records of the country are those of the North West Territories, or, earlier still, of Rupert's Land. We will commence our story, therefore, with the first appearance of the white man in North Western America. A very considerable portion will be such as might with equal but unquestionable propriety be included in the history of any of the prairie provinces.

We will call to mind the founding of British interests in North Western America, the story of its exploration and of the international rivalry for its control. This will involve a study of the doings of the great fur companies, and in connection therewith we will endeavor so to project ourselves into the past as to understand the life and customs of pioneer traders and hunters. The scene of their romantic adventures was peopled by numerous and diverse Indian tribes, whose origin, subdivisions, manner of life, religion and folk lore also offer topics of superlative interest.

We will record the beginning of real settlement, trace the rise and fall of all but forgotten provisional governments, recall how and why this vast domain passed under the aegis of Canada and will briefly relate the troublous events connected with its transfer.

The separate political history of the North West Territories dates from 1870, when they were given the institutions of Crown Colony Government,

the administration being conducted from Fort Garry. The intensely interesting political history of the territories from 1870 to 1876 we will derive chiefly from unpublished official records. It will be the author's pleasant duty to emphasize the debt of gratitude that the people of Canada in general and of Saskatchewan in particular owe to a group of faithful, courageous and far-seeing men who, when this country was trembling on the verge of ruinous catastrophe in the form of Indian wars, saved it from such bloody tragedy and rendered possible the proud boast that no racial conflict of this familiar type is to be recorded in Canadian history.

In 1876 the territories were given a government entirely distinct from that of Manitoba. The Crown Colony system was retained in essence, but provision was made for transition to representative institutions. Under the North West Territories Act of 1875, provision was made for elected representatives of the people gradually to take their place in the Lieutenant-Governor's Council, side by side with its appointed members. The amount of important legislation enacted by the North West Council is now-a-days realized by only a few, and all those interested in the political superstructure now being raised upon the foundations laid a generation ago will find much worthy of note in the records of the councils from 1876 to 1888.

The outstanding event of this period is the rebellion of 1885. To the best of the writer's knowledge and belief no story of that sad and meaningful episode has hitherto been written which is at once accurate and comprehensive. We will, therefore, examine with care the causes of discontent and will trace in considerable detail the events of the sanguinary drama. The writer will endeavor to make more intelligible to the public the character and ideals of the unfortunate rebel leader, and will emphasize certain important racial and religious aspects of the rebellion which have hitherto received little or no attention at the hands of writers of history.

The history of the North West is of exceptional value to the student of political institutions, from the fact that within a period of less than half a century it presents the maximum of variety. Political evolution such as elsewhere has extended through centuries has here been reproduced within the limits of a generation. Thus in 1888 the territories achieved representative institutions, but the transition to true responsible government was attended by events essentially similar to those through which it has been attained in all other self-governing portions of the empire. The political battles of Royal's regime will be found exceedingly significant in this regard and many remarkable episodes leading up to the establishment of cabinet government will be brought to the reader's attention.

It will be our business very carefully to inquire into the rise of provincial institutions and to make clearer than at present they are to many of our citizens the essential provisions and practical workings of our present

constitution. The political history of the Province will be outlined to the year 1910.

Saskatchewan differs from most other provinces and states in that the vast majority of its citizens were born without its borders. The history of immigration will, therefore, be given a prominence not usually accorded it in similar works.

Side by side with political and industrial institutions, those bearing upon the religious interests of the people of Saskatchewan will be given due prominence. Whatever be one's religious creed or affiliation, it is essential that the forces making for the due emphasis of things unseen and eternal should not be ignored. Special attention will also be devoted to the evolution of our educational system and of the varied institutions in which it finds embodiment.

In many respects the most interesting portion of our work will deal with the romantic story of the Royal North West Mounted Police, of which the citizens of the Province are justly proud, and yet know too little.

Such in outline is the purpose and plan of the author as he approaches the task of writing the History of Saskatchewan. With so varied and alluring a field one well may hope to present matter of interest and value to every type of reader.

CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDING OF BRITISH INTERESTS IN NORTH WESTERN AMERICA

THE DREAM OF A NORTH WEST PASSAGE—CABOT, FROBISHER, DAVIS, HUDSON, BUTTON, JAMES, AND OTHER EXPLORERS—CAREER OF RADISSON AND GROSEILLIERS—CHARLES II. INTERESTED IN THE COMMERCIAL EXPLOITATION OF HUDSON'S BAY—PRINCE RUPERT, AND THE EXPERIMENTAL EXPEDITIONS—GILLAM BUILDS FIRST BRITISH FORT IN NORTH CENTRAL AMERICA—GRANTING OF H. B. CO.'S CHARTER—TERRITORY SUBSEQUENTLY AFFECTED—PROVISIONS OF THE CHARTER—SHAREHOLDER'S OATH.

The founding of British interests in that portion of America in which Saskatchewan lies was the practical outcome of an impractical dream. Ever since it had been realized that Columbus was in error in supposing that he had reached the eastern limits of India, the most adventurous spirits of Europe had fostered the hope of discovering a waterway to Asia through or around the American continent. Englishmen devoted themselves chiefly to the endeavor to find such a passage by way of the Arctic Seas and the vast archipelago of the North.

It will be remembered that in the reign of Henry VII., John and Sebastian Cabot, nominally in the employ of the English King, reached the American mainland. The letters patent under which they served indicate the valuable nature of the encouragement at first offered by Princes to those who were to double their empires for them. The document informs us that Henry VII. granted to his "beloved John Cabot, citizen of Venice, to Lewis, Sebastian and Santius, sones of the said John, full and free authority, leave and power upon their own proper costs and charges to seek out, discover and finde, whatever isles, countries, regions or provinces of the heathen and infidels, which before this time have been unknown to all Christians." Incidentally, one-fifth of Cabot's net gains was to go to his royal patron. However, as Cabot took possession of Cape Breton Island in the name of England, he received from King Henry a special reward of £10. In a second voyage John Cabot made the first serious attempt to find a northern passage to Asia. For centuries thereafter the enterprise was pur-

sued with extraordinary persistency and at enormous financial loss to its various promoters.

Almost sixty years after Cabot's preliminary voyage, Captain Martin Frobisher continued the search for the passage to Cathay and India, sailing west and north with thirty-five men, distributed among a ten-ton pinnace and two other toy ships of about twenty or twenty-five tons each. This sturdy old mariner, under the encouragement of Queen Elizabeth, twice renewed his attempt (1577-1578). Seven years later the great task was in the hands of John Davis, who also made three attempts, and narrowly missed the discovery of Hudson's Bay.

This important feat, however, was reserved for Henry Hudson. His famous voyages fall within the period of 1607 and 1611. In the first of these expeditions he pierced the northern seas as far as 60° north latitude and discovered the polar drift, subsequently utilized by Nansen. His crew consisted of ten men and his own little boy, and their adventures were terrific in the extreme.

When he made his second voyage, 1608, only three members of the old crew re-enlisted. This time he attempted to find the desired waterway by skirting the coasts of Norway and following the current. As usual, the outward voyage continued until the inevitable mutiny occurred, whereupon Hudson returned home.

The Dutch East India Company, however, immediately invited Hudson to make another voyage and under their auspices. For obvious reasons it was possible to secure but few except the most desperate characters to serve on these expeditions. Hudson's crew consisted of Lascars, Buccaneers, Asiatics, two Englishmen of his old crew and his own son. The unfortunate commander was soon all but helpless in the hands of this motley crowd. He was forced to change his route, to abandon the search for the northern passage and sail southward along the American coast. It was as a result of this mutiny that Hudson became the discoverer of New York harbor and Hudson's river. On his return Hudson and his fellow Englishmen were commanded by the Government not to go on such an expedition again, but to stay at home and serve their country!

Nevertheless, in 1610 Hudson set out on his fourth and last voyage. The financial expense was borne largely by private members of the Muscovy Company, which had sent Hudson forth in 1607 and 1608. After spending a month in the straits since then known by his name, he ultimately entered and was the first definitely to explore that vast inland sea, which was to form a waterway, if not to China, to a region probably of more immediate importance to the reader. Of course, the men mutinied, but Hudson wintered in the bay. Agnes Laut thinks it was at the mouth of the Moose River, though it is more generally supposed to be off the Nelson. When

spring returned half his crew were ill with scurvy and the mutineers seized the ship, marooning Hudson, his son and eight sick men in an open boat. Such was the price that this heroic explorer paid for his fame and for the addition he made to the world's store of knowledge.

Coldly in splendor descends¹
The Arctic evening. The waste
Of desolate waters, thy sea,
Washes its desolate shores ;
And on its far reaches, a sail,
Lonely, outcast and forlorn ;—
Like solitary bird with wing
Wounded and broken, and spent,
Seeking in vain its nest
On some dim, oceanward crag ;—
Glimmers a space, and is gone.

But thou wert not outcast,
Great soul of the seafaring blood,
Thou pioneer pilot of dreams,
Thou finder of oceans remote
In the ultimate Empires of man.
Hendrick Hudson, 'tis here
That thou hast graven thy name,
To be a word of great need
In the thoughts of men for all time,
Not in thy mighty stream,
Splendid and vast, of the south,
Where 'twixt its mountainward walls,
It surges beneficent tides
Triumphant and glad, to the main.

But here in thy northern wastes
Of the short red summers of joy
And the long dark winters of dream,
Is the gulf of thy world-fame to be ;
Great Englishman ! Outfaring soul !
Immortal, with that high band,
Bold Raleigh and Franklin and Drake,
Thy brother pilots ; where surges
Heave on the crimson edge
Of ocean's ultimate rim
O'er horizons of vastness and morn.

¹ From Wilfred Campbell's Ode, "To the Spirit of Hendrick Hudson." By the way, the spelling, "Hendrick," though popular, does not seem justified by the old documents.

Here, where thou cried'st, Sail on!
Sail on! sail on! till we come
To the long lost passage; that path
From Europe to furthestmost Ind;—
That road once open; when man,
In that rare, golden age of the past,
Did compass all earth in a span
Of Godlike effort and dream.
This road, which thine innermost soul
Knew well earth's seeker must find;—
As find it, he shall, some day;
And prove that high courage, that faith
Which led thee onward, great soul,
Out on thy last drear voyage;—
But left thee forsaken, forlorn,
Betrayed and lost, but not quelled,
Only thy trust in God left,
On those drifts of thy desolate main.

When word reached England of Hudson's fate, Sir Thomas Button was sent to endeavor to find and bring him back home, if, perchance, he and his companions had escaped to land, but no tidings were ever received of the deserted men. Button made careful explorations, but, unfortunately, his diary was never made public. However, from the point of view of our present narrative his expedition was of great importance: he discovered the important Nelson River, which is, in point of fact, merely that portion of the Saskatchewan lying between Lake Winnipeg and the Great Bay.

Into an account of the explorations in Hudson's Bay conducted by Captain Gibbons, Robert Bylot, William Baffin, Captain Hawbridge, Captain Jones, Captain Luke Fox and Captain James, we cannot enter. James explored the bay which consequently bears his name, though it had been entered previously by Hudson himself. James entered upon Carleton Island where he built a house. However, his experience was so disheartening that for a generation no English expedition re-entered the bay.

Indeed, when at last British interests were to become definitely established upon the shores of Hudson's Bay, it was through the initiative of two Frenchmen, Médart Chouart de Groseilliers and his brother-in-law, Pierre Esprit Radisson.

Radisson had come over from France to Canada in his early youth and indeed still was but a lad when he was captured and adopted by the Mohawks. After his escape from these undesirable companions, he went overland to the upper Mississippi, with the combined purposes of pursuing explorations and carrying on the fur trade. In these adventurous undertakings Groseilliers was his partner. They visited the Crees and Sioux and heard from the Indians of the Great Bay of the North. Whether they actually visited



Prince Rupert, the organizer and first Governor.

Radisson, the French adventurer, upon whose initiative the Company was organized.

COAT OF ARMS AND FOUNDERS OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY.

it has been a subject of dispute. Among the numerous writers who have discussed the question Professor George Bryce and Agnes Laut may be taken as typical. The former considers the claim of the two Frenchmen invalid, whereas the latter is quite convinced that it is sound. It may be added that other students of the original documents think that it is by a misunderstanding of Radisson's words that he is credited with ever claiming to have reached the Inland Sea, in person, on this occasion.

At all events, the season in which this northern excursion is said to have occurred was eminently successful from a commercial standpoint, and the adventurers returned to Quebec with a very large cargo of furs. Having escaped with their spoils from the savages, the unfortunate partners now encountered the more serious peril involved in dependence upon the respectable banditti of civilized society. The Governor of Canada found sufficient pretext for confiscating the rewards of their toils and dangers and the young Frenchmen either fled or were expelled to Cape Breton, and thence to Port Royal in Acadia, 1664. They appealed to the Court of France for redress and for aid in conducting an expedition by water to the Inland Sea they are alleged to have visited; and the French Court, in accordance with precedent, promised freely but did nothing. The explorers then went to Boston, where they endeavored to interest merchants and mariners. Captain Zachariah Gillam, indeed, offered his ship, but when he and his French colleagues reached the terrifying Hudson straits, he chose discretion as the better part of valor and returned home. The disappointed Frenchmen then chartered two ships on their own account, but this enterprise involved them in more disaster and litigation, and, according to Agnes Laut, one of their ships was wrecked, so their proposed northern journey was again prevented.

Radisson and Groseilliers were now at their wits' end, when, to the great good fortune of England, they met Sir George Carteret, Vice Chamberlain to the King and Treasurer of the Royal Navy, who was visiting America on his Majesty's business. He was profoundly interested in their proposal to open up trade with the natives *via* the Inland Sea, and advised them to return with him and lay their project before King Charles II of England. On their way across they were captured by Dutch privateers and put ashore in Spain. At last after many further adventures, they reached England, where, through Carteret's influence, they were able to present their scheme to King Charles in person, October 25, 1666. The undertaking appealed strongly to the "Merry Monarch," who was keenly interested in commerce, and though immediate action was stayed by the plague and London fire, the King instructed James, Duke of York, the Commander of His Navy, to place a vessel at the disposal of the Frenchmen, with a

view to undertaking further exploration and the establishment of trade in the Bay.²

The King's cousin, Prince Rupert, Duke of Cumberland and Count Palatine of the Rhine, had heavy claims upon King Charles for services both to him and his father, and had, as yet, been unrewarded. He was accordingly given a share in this enterprise and, together with a group of friends, undertook the expenses of wages and victualling. Dutch spies learning of the proposed undertaking endeavored to bribe Radisson and his kinsman into deserting the service of England for that of Holland. Failing in this they plotted the ruin of the prestige of the young Frenchmen, by causing them to be prosecuted on a trumped-up charge of counterfeiting. Radisson and Groseilliers were exonerated and *H. M. S. "Eaglet,"* and the "*Nonsuch*" under Captain Gillam, to whom we have already referred, were chartered for the initial voyage. Groseilliers sailed on the "*Nonsuch*" and Radisson on the "*Eaglet*," leaving England in June, 1668. The following passages are selected from the sailing orders given to the Captains:

"You are to saile with the first wind that presents, keeping company with each other to your place of rendezvous.³ You are to saile to such place as Mr. Gooseberry⁴ and Mr. Radisson shall direct to trade with the Indians there, delivering the goods you carry in small parcels of no more than fifty pounds worth at a time out of each ship, the furs in exchange to stowe in each ship before delivering out any more goods, according to the particular advice of Mr. Gooseberry and Mr. Radisson . . .

"You are to take notice that the Nampunpeage which you carry with you is part of our joynt cargoes, wee having bought it for money for Mr. Gooseberry and Mr. Radisson to be delivered by small quantities with like caution as the other goods . . .

"You are to have in your thought the discovery of the passage into the South Sea and to attempt it with the advice and direction of Mr. Gooseberry and Mr. Radisson, they having told us that it is only seven daies paddling or sailing from the River where they intend to trade unto the Stinking Lake and not above seven daies more to the straight which leads into that Sea they call the South Sea, and from thence but forty or fifty leagues into the Sea itself . . .

"Lastly, we advise and require you to use the said Mr. Gooseberry and Mr. Radisson with all manner of civility and courtesy and to take care that

² Agnes Laut claims to be the first to show that the initiation of this supremely important enterprise is due to Charles himself and not to Prince Rupert. *Conquest of the Great North West*. Vol. I, p. 104.

³ Presumably the old mark alleged to have been set up by Radisson when he went overland to the bay.

⁴ Groseilliers.

all your company bear a particular respect unto them, they being the persons upon whose credit we have undertaken this expedition.

"Which we beseech Almighty God to prosper.

(sgd) "RUPERT ALBERMARLE.

"CRAVEN G. CARTERETT.

"J. HAYES P. COLLETON."

The expedition encountered fierce storms and the vessels were driven apart. Indeed, the *Eaglet*, with Radisson on board, was so seriously dismantled that its commander was obliged to return to England. The Admiralty then granted Radisson another vessel, the *Wavero*, in which he set sail in March, 1869. Again the northern tempest checkmated his plans and he was forced to return.

Meantime Captain Gillam and Groseillier had been more fortunate. They entered the bay, took possession of the southern coasts and gave the name of Prince Rupert to a large river emptying into the south east corner of James Bay, where they also built the first British fort in North Central America, calling it Fort Charles. The *Nonsuch* left the bay in June, 1669, and was anchored in the Thames when Radisson returned in the *Wavero*. A secret application was now made by the promoters of the trading enterprise for the formal issue of a Royal Charter, which was granted in the following May, 1670.

Thus was established one of the most extraordinary commercial organizations of modern times. "To the Honorable, the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England, trading in Hudson's Bay," was entrusted the exploitation and control of the greater part of the American continent. The real extent of the stupendous territory through which they were ultimately to operate was, of course, as yet unknown. As time passed by, however, their trading posts spread throughout the present Canadian North West, through a vast region south of the Columbia River, extending to California, through Nevada, Utah, Wyoming and Idaho, and even into far away Hawaii.⁵

In the preamble to the Charter, Charles declared that his "dear and entirely beloved cousin, Prince Rupert," and other gentlemen whose names are recited, "have at their own great cost and charges undertaken an expedition for Hudson's Bay in the North West part of America for the discovery of a new passage into the South Sea and for finding some trade in fur, minerals, and other considerable commodities, and by such their undertaking have already made such discoveries as to encourage them to proceed further in pursuance of their said design by means whereof there may probably arise very great advantage to us and our Kingdom. Accordingly,

⁵ Agnes Laut's *Conquest of the Great North West*, Foreword.

being desirous to promote all endeavors tending to the public good of our people, to the end that the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of England may be encouraged to undertake and effectually to prosecute the said design . . . we have given . . . and by these presents for us our heirs and successors do give, grant and confirm unto the said Governor and Company and their successors the sole trade and commerce of all those seas, straits, bays, rivers, lakes, creeks, sounds in whatsoever latitude they shall be, that lie within the entrance of the straits, commonly called Hudson's Straits, together with all the lands and territories upon the countries, coasts and confines of the seas, bays, lakes, rivers, creeks and sounds aforesaid, that are not already actually possessed by or granted to any of our subjects, or possessed by the subjects of any other Christian Prince or State, with the fishing of all sorts of fish, whales, sturgeons and all other royal fishes in the seas, bays, inlets and rivers within the premises and the fish therein taken, together to the royalty of the sea upon the coasts within the limits aforesaid, and all mines royal, as well discovered as not discovered . . . to be found . . . within the territories . . . aforesaid; and that the said land be from henceforth reckoned and reputed as one of our plantations and colonies in America, called 'Rupert's Land'; and, further, we do . . . make, create and constitute the said Governor and Company . . . and their successors the true and absolute lords and proprietors of the same territory, limits and place aforesaid . . . yielding and paying yearly to us, our heirs and successors for the same, two elks and two black beavers whensoever and so often as we, our heirs and successors shall happen to enter into the said countries; and . . . it shall be lawful to and for them . . . to make, ordain and constitute such and so many reasonable laws . . . as to them . . . shall seem necessary and convenient . . . and at their pleasure to revoke and alter the same . . . as the occasion shall require; . . . And, furthermore, of our ample and abundant grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, we . . . our heirs and successors do grant unto the said Governor and Company and their successors . . . that they and their successors . . . shall forever hereafter have, use and enjoy not only the whole entire and only trade and traffic . . . to and from the territory, limits and places aforesaid, but also the sole and entire trade and traffic to and from all havens, bays, rivers, lakes and seas into which they shall find entrance or passage by water or land out of the territories, limits or places aforesaid, and to and with all the natives inhabiting or which shall inhabit within the territories . . . and to and with all other nations inhabiting any of the coasts adjacent to the said territories; . . . and we do grant that neither the said territories . . . nor any part thereof . . . shall be visited, frequented or haunted by any of

the subjects of us, our heirs or successors . . . unless it be by the license of the said Governor and Company . . . upon pain that every such person or persons . . . shall incur our indignation and the forfeit and loss of the goods . . . brought into this realm of England or any of the dominions of the same . . . and moreover we do give and grant unto the said Governor and Company, free liberty to make peace or war with any prince or people that are not Christians in any place where the said company shall have any plantations, forts or factories, or adjacent thereto; . . . And we do hereby strictly charge and command all and singular, our admirals, vice-admirals, justices, mayors, sheriffs, constables, bailiffs and all and singular our officers, ministers, liegemen and subjects whatsoever to be aiding, favoring, helping and assisting to the said Governor and Company and their successors . . . and every of them . . . when any of you shall thereunto be required; any statute, act, ordinance, proviso or restraint . . . or any other matter, cause or thing whatsoever to the contrary, in any wise, notwithstanding."

Truly, when Charles undertook to give, he did it royally!

This account of the founding of British interests in North Western America, and of the entrusting of them to the Hudson's Bay Company, may very well close with the quoting of the oath taken by the shareholders and their successors:

"I doe sweare to bee True and faithful to ye Govern'r and Comp'y of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay and to my power will support and maintain the said comp'y and the privileges of ye same; all bye laws and orders not repeated which have been or shall be made by ye Govern'r and Comp'y I wil to my best knowledge truly observe and keepe; ye secrets of ye said company, which shall be given me in charge to conceale, I will not disclose; and during the joint stock of ye said comp'y I will not directly or indirectly trade to ye limitts of ye said comp'y's charter without leave of the Govern'r, the Deputy Govern'r and committee, So help me God."⁶

In the following chapter we shall recount in part the success and failure of this great experiment in empire-building by means of private commercial enterprise, and see to what extent English sovereignty in the North Western America has been disputed or endangered.

⁶ Agnes Laut's *Conquest of the Great North West*, p. 136.

CHAPTER III

EARLY EXPLORATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL RIVALRY FOR THE CONTROL OF THE WEST

DREAM OF DANISH DOMINATION—MUNCK—DUEL OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND—ENGLISH MERCHANTS JEALOUS AND SUSPICIOUS OF RADISSON AND GROSEILLIER; THEY RETURN TO FRANCE, 1674—RADISSON SEIZES FORT NELSON FOR FRANCE, 1681—FRENCH AUTHORITIES REFUSE TO COUNTENANCE THE RAID—RESTORATION OF FORT NELSON D'IBERVILLE'S RAIDS AND THE TREATY OF RYSWICK ALL BUT EXCLUDE THE ENGLISH—BY TREATY OF UTRECHT, FRANCE SURRENDERS ALL CLAIMS ON THE BAY—H. B. CO.'S CHARTER ATTACKED, 1749, FOR FAILURE TO EXPLORE—KELSEY, THE FIRST ENGLISHMAN IN THE INTERIOR—JOSEPH DE LA FRANCE—THE VÉRENDRYES; EXPLORATIONS IN MANITOBA; IN NORTHERN STATES, WEST TO ROCKIES; EXPEDITION INTO THE HEART OF SASKATCHEWAN—FAILURES OF THE VÉRENDRYES' SUCCESSORS—SUMMARY OF FRENCH EXPLORATIONS IN NORTH WEST—APATHY OF H. B. CO.—HENDRY'S EXPEDITION AND MEETING WITH THE FRENCH.

No reader need be informed that England was far from having undisputed jurisdiction in the vast territories described in the charter of the great company or otherwise subsequently claimed by that gigantic corporation.

As early as 1605 the Danes had sought to obtain a foothold in the regions bordering the bay. Their early expeditions, the Danish government entrusted to English mariners, but in 1618 the bay was visited by Jens Munck, one of the most picturesque of all the famous rovers of his era. He was a Danish nobleman who, being left an orphan in childhood, had early entered upon a career of poverty and adventure. In the year above mentioned Munck discovered the mouth of the Churchill River, the best port on the bay. There he took up his winter quarters. As he and his men were miserably equipped and ignorant of how to cope with scurvy and the terrible cold, the hardships of that fearful winter reduced his company from sixty-five to three. This was ruin, indeed, but no calamity could shatter the fortitude and piety of this magnificent old mariner. Even after his return to Denmark he was still eager to bring back colonists, but other duties forbade, as he was summoned to service in the navy. Had his plans carried,

the later history of North America, and of Saskatchewan as a part thereof, might have been written in very different terms. To judge the spirit of the man and the consequent importance of his frustrated colonizing enterprises one need but read such portions of his journal as are quoted below:

"Oct. 15.—Last night, ice drift lifted the ship out of the dock. At next low water I had the space filled with clay and sand.

"Oct. 30.—Ice everywhere covers the river. There is such a heavy fall of snow it is impossible for the men to go into the open country without snowshoes.

"Dec. 12.—One of my surgeons died and his corpse had to remain unburied for two days because the frost was so terrible no one dared go on shore.

"Dec. 24. & 25.—Christmas Eve. I gave the men wine and beer, which they had to boil for it was frozen to the bottom. All very jolly but no one offended by so much as a word. Holy Christmas Day we all celebrated as a Christian's duty is. We had a sermon and after the sermon we gave the priest an offertory according to ancient custom. There was not much money among the men but they gave what they had,—some white fox skins for the priest to line his coat.

"Jan. 1.—New Year's Day. Tremendous frost. I ordered a couple of pints of wine to the bowl of every man to keep up the spirits.

"Jan. 10.—The priest and the other surgeon took to bed. A violent sickness rages among the men. My head cook died.

"Jan. 21.—Thirteen of us down with sickness. I asked the surgeon, who was lying mortally ill, whether any remedy might be found in his chest. He answered he had used as many remedies as he knew and if God would not help, there was no remedy.

"Jan. 23.—This day died my mate, Hans Brock, who had been in bed five months. The priest sat up in his berth to preach the sermon, which was the last he ever gave on this earth.

"Jan. 25.—Had the small minute guns discharged in honor of my mate's burial, but so exceedingly brittle had the iron become from frost that the cannon exploded.

"Feb. 5.—More deaths. I again sent to the surgeon for God's sake to do something to allay sickness, but he only answered as before, if God did not help there was no hope.

"Feb. 16.—Nothing but sickness and death. Only seven persons now in health to do the necessary work. On this day died a seaman, who was as filthy in his habits as an untrained beast.

"Feb. 17.—Twenty persons have died.

"Feb. 20.—In the evening, died the priest. Have had to mind cabin myself, for my servant is also ill.

"March 30.—Sharp frost. Now begins my great misery. I am like the lonely bird, running to and fro waiting on the sick.

"April 1.—Died my nephew, Eric Munck, and was buried in the same grave as my second mate. Not one of us is well enough to fetch water and fuel. It is with great difficulty I can get coffins made.

"April 14.—Only four besides myself able to sit up and listen to the sermon for Good Friday, which I read.

"May 6.—Died John Weston, my English mate. The bodies of the dead lie uncovered because none of us has the strength to bury them. . . ."

Early in the summer, the brave hearted Dane made in his journal the following dramatic entry, which he supposed would be the last:

"As I have now no more hope of life in this world, I request for the sake of God, if any Christians should happen to come here, they will bury my poor body, together with the others found, and this, my journal, forward to the King. . . . Herewith, good night to all the world, and my soul to God. . . .
Jens Munck."¹

When Munck wrote these words he was alone upon the ship and had lain for four days without food. Some of his men had previously gone ashore, but they had been given up for lost. Two, however, returned to him alive and helped him to the land. There the three survivors kindled a fire of driftwood, partly to protect themselves from the hungry wolves, and beside it they lay upon the ground, sucking the juice of every root and sprout that they could reach—weeds, sea nettles, hemlock vines, sorel grass. Strange as such diet may seem, it restored their strength, and in the course of time they recovered from scurvy. On June 18 they were able to walk out to the ship at ebb tide and about a month later, says Munck, "In the name of Jesus, after prayer and supplication to God, we set to work to rig the *Lamprey*." Munck and his two companions lightened the sloop by throwing overboard the many corpses and all ballast and cargo, till the ship floated from the winter dock. His other vessel, the *Unicorn*, he scuttled where he thought he could recover it on another voyage. "On July 16, Sunday, in the afternoon, we set sail from there in the name of God." It is a relief to know that the dauntless three actually succeeded in navigating their craft in safety back to Denmark.

The dream of a Danish empire in the far North West had come and gone before the creation of the Hudson's Bay Company, to which was devoted the preceding chapter. As we have seen, the founding of British interests in Rupert's Land was, in a large measure, due to the indomitable perseverance of two French adventurers; and these same Frenchmen played an important part in inaugurating a mighty national duel for the control of North Western America that culminated in the capture of Quebec, 1759, and has not been unrelated to many events of recent history—such, for example, as the rebellion of 1885.

A month after the granting of the charter, Radisson and Groseilliers sailed from England for the bay with about forty men. The company, in

¹ Agnes Laut's *Conquest of the Great North West*.

this expedition used three vessels, all loaned by the British Admiralty. These were the *Wavero*, the *Prince Rupert* and the *Shaftsbury*. The last two vessels passed the summer at Fort Charles, where, at the head of James Bay and the mouth of the Rupert River, it will be remembered that the first British trading fort had been built by Groseilliers and Captain Gillam. Radisson, in the *Wavero*, explored the southern coast. In the autumn he and Captain Gillam returned to England in the *Prince Rupert*, leaving Groseilliers to winter in the bay. Within the next couple of years several trips were made by the English adventurers and their French assistants to and from the bay, but, owing to French interference, the profits did not prove as great as had been anticipated. Presently an English Jesuit arrived at Fort Charles from New France, with a passport from Frontenac, and with letters to Radisson and Groseilliers. This aroused distrust in the hearts of the English traders and was the source of violent quarrels. Accordingly, Radisson returned to England to lay his case before the Governor and Council of the Hudson's Bay Company. With charming consistency they acquitted Radisson of all disloyalty and announced to him his permanent exclusion from partnership in the company. It would probably have been more economical for them to have promised him a handsome share of the profits for years to come. Radisson immediately withdrew from the service of the country and returned to France, 1674, where for a time he drops out of history.

In 1682 John Bridgar, Governor of the Nelson district, sailed to his post with Captain Gillam, Fort Nelson, as the reader will remember, is on the west side of Hudson's Bay and at the mouth of the Saskatchewan-Nelson River. Upon reaching the harbor the landing party was startled by a sharp challenge. "We are Hudson's Bay Company men," explained Governor Bridgar. "But I am Radisson," replied their interlocutor, "and I hold possession of this region for France." The consternation of the English traders may be imagined when they saw themselves thus falling into the hands of the adventurer to whom the company owed so much and whom it had so harshly driven from its services eight years before.

The consternation, however, would not have been so great had they known the facts as Radisson knew them. A short distance up the river there was, as he knew, another English trading party, commanded by Captain Gillam's nephew. They were poachers, to be sure, but they were Britishers as well, and would not have objected seriously to the purchase of immunity from prosecution at the hands of the company by assisting in the expulsion of intruding Frenchmen. Audacity, however, carried the day for Radisson. The *Prince Rupert* itself was presently sunk in a storm, whereupon Radisson succored and then made prisoners of all members of the expedition. He also attacked and captured the poachers' fort and

before the season was over he had far more prisoners than he could conveniently look after. Accordingly, he was obliged to send some of them off to the British establishments at the foot of the bay.

Chouart Groseilliers, the son of Radisson's partner, together with seven other Frenchmen, Radisson left to hold Fort Nelson and he himself, in the *Bachelor's Delight*, the poaching vessel brought thither by Gillam, Jr., set out for Quebec by sea.

Upon his arrival at the capital of New France, Radisson found, to his chagrin, that the sturdy and none too scrupulous Frontenac, a man much after his own heart, had been replaced by De la Barre. That official refused to give countenance to Radisson's filibustering raid upon the English. Radisson and Groseilliers determined to appeal to the home government, and went over to France, where they received the public reprimand and private thanks of Louis XIV. The French government instructed Radisson to set sail for the bay again, but he was becoming wiser by experience. He refused to go without a written commission, the guarantee of a definite share in prospective profits from his trading enterprises and the payment of an indemnity for the furs confiscated by the Governor of New France so many years before. The French authorities kept him long in suspense while they haggled over his terms; and at this juncture Louis XIV determined that it would be good policy to placate the English. Accordingly Radisson and Groseilliers were commanded to proceed to England and formally restore Fort Nelson to the British Company. They landed in London in 1684 and in disgust at their treatment by the French government they took the oath of allegiance to the British crown. The following quotation from the records of the great company indicates the terms of the settlement agreed upon:

"In order to put an end to the differences which exist between the two nations of the French and English touching the Factory or Settlement made by Messrs. Groseilliers and Radisson on Hudson Bay, and to avoid the effusion of blood that may happen between the two said nations, for the preservation of that place; the expedient wch. appeared most reasonable and advantageous for the Company is that the said Messrs. de Groseilliers and Radisson return to the sd. Factory or habitation, furnished with the passport of the English Company, importing that they shall withdraw the French wh. are in garrison there with all the effects belonging to them in the space of eighteen months, to be accounted from the day of their departure by reason they cannot goe and come from the place in one year. . . . The said gentlemen shall restore to the English Company the Factory or Habitation by them settled in the sd. country to be thenceforward enjoyed by the English company without molestation. As to the indemnity pretended by the English for effects seized and brought to Quebec . . . that may be accommodated in bringing back the said inventory and restoring the same effects or their value to the English proprietors."



Alexander Henry, the elder.	D'Iberville, the French filibuster.	Daniel W. Harmon, Nor' West trader.
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Rapids near the mouth of the Saskatchewan.

ADVENTURERS AND EXPLORERS.

From the foregoing record it is evident that the Hudson's Bay Company received Radisson back with open arms and, as a matter of fact, he was promised liberal rewards. Into the details of his subsequent history we cannot enter, but they do not reflect credit on the great company. Having used him to their great advantage they discarded him like a broken tool and the unfortunate adventurer died in England in extreme poverty. Return to his own country had been rendered impossible by his transfer of citizenship, which had resulted in the French Government placing a price on his head.

In the next act of the drama which we are studying, the leading characters are the D'Iberville brothers, Le Moyne and Bienville, and their associate, De Troyes.

Certain French adventurers had come down the Albany River to Fort Albany on James Bay, where they were seized as spies, and shipped to England. When this was noised abroad, three hundred French raiders, under the command of Le Moyne D'Iberville and his companions above named, came overland from Montreal, nominally to release the spies, really to capture the forts. After a journey through six hundred miles of swamp and forest D'Iberville's filibusters surprised Fort Moose at the south west angle of James Bay and captured it in a midnight raid. Hurrying on to Fort Charles (known to the French, who for a time had held it, as Fort Bourbon) he found in the harbor of Fort Rupert a Hudson's Bay Company vessel with Governor Bridgar. D'Iberville boarded the vessel in the blackness of the night and by sheer audacity captured both the vessel and the fort with but little difficulty. He then moved across against Fort Albany, but by this time the British at that place had heard of his operations and a surprise was impossible. The Frenchman demanded the surrender of the alleged spies, but the company's ship had already left with them for England. There followed a siege of two days, after which the English surrendered the fort with the honors of war and were placed upon Carlton Island to await the arrival of English boats. As a matter of fact, D'Iberville's situation at this time was all but desperate. He was 1,300 miles from aid, and practically without food or ammunition. The English, however, were in equal straits, and evidently did not realize those of their enemy.

For ten long years the Bay was the scene of such raids as these, and many barbarities were inflicted upon each other by the French and English. Meantime, D'Iberville himself had gone off to Newfoundland on a filibustering enterprise, but he was ultimately recalled to lead the French in a final and decisive struggle for the lordship of the Bay. No lover of stirring tales of adventure should fail to read Agnes Laut's *Conquest of the Great North West*, and I do not think that I can do better than to quote from its pages her vivid description of D'Iberville's extraordinary exploit of 1697:

"On the 3rd of September, Iberville anchored before Fort Nelson. Anxiously, for two days, he scanned the sea for the rest of his fleet. On the morning of the fifth the peaked sails of three vessels rose above the offing. Raising anchor, Iberville hastened out to meet them, and signaled a welcome. No response was signaled back. The horrified watch at the masthead called down some warning. Then the full extent of the terrible mistake dawned on Iberville. These were not his consort ships at all. They were English men-of-war, the *Hampshire*, Captain Fletcher, fifty-two guns and sixty men; the *Dering*, Captain Grimmington, thirty guns and sixty men; the *Hudson's Bay*, *Edgecombe* and *Smithsend*, thirty-two guns and fifty-five men—hemming him in a fatal circle between the English fort on the land and their own cannon at sea.

"One can guess the wild whoop of jubilation that went up from the Englishmen to see their enemy of ten years' merciless raids, now hopelessly trapped between their fleet and the fort. The English vessels had the wind in their favour and raced over the waves, all sails set, like a war troop keen for prey. Iberville didn't wait. He had weighed anchor to sail out when he thought the vessels were his own, and now he kept unswervingly on his course. Of his original crew, forty were invalided. Some twenty-five had been sent ashore to reconnoiter the fort. Counting the Canadians and Indians taken at Newfoundland, he could muster only one hundred and fifty fighting men. Quickly, ropes were stretched to give the mariners hand-hold over the frost-slippery decks. Stoppers were ripped from the fifty cannon, and the batterymen below, under La Salle and Grandville, had stripped naked in preparation for the hell of flame and heat that was to be their portion in the impending battle. Bienville, Iberville's brother, swung the infantrymen in line above decks, swords and pistols prepared for the hand-to-hand grapple. De la Potherie got the Canadians to the forecastle, knives and war hatchets out, bodies stripped, all ready to board when the ships knocked keels. Iberville knew it was to be like those old time raids—a Spartan conflict—a fight to the death; death or victory; and he swept right up to the *Hampshire*, Fletcher's frigate, the strongest of the foe, where every shot would tell. The *Hampshire* shifted broadside to the French, and at nine in the morning the battle began.

"The *Hampshire* let fly two roaring cannonades that ploughed up the decks of the *Pelican* and stripped the French bare of masts to the hull. At the same instant Grimmington's *Dering* and Smithsend's *Hudson's Bay* circled to the left of the French and poured a stream of musketry fire across the *Pelican's* stern. At one blast, forty French were mowed down; but the batterymen below never ceased their crash of bombs straight into the *Hampshire's* hull.

"Iberville shouted for the infantrymen to fire into the *Dering's* forecastle, to pick off Grimmington if they could; and for the Canadian sharpshooters to rake the decks of the *Hudson's Bay*.

"For four hours the three-cornered battle raged. The ships were so close, shout and counter shout could be heard across the decks. Faces were singed with the closeness of the musketry fire. Ninety French had been wounded. The *Pelican's* deck swam in blood that froze to ice, slippery as glass, and trickled down the clinker boards in reddening splashes. Grape shot and grenade had set the fallen sails on fire. Sails and mastpoles and splintered davits were a mass of roaring flame that would presently extend

to the powder magazine and blow all to eternity. Railings had gone over decks; and when the ship rolled, only the tangle of burning debris kept those on deck from washing into the sea. The bridge was crumbling. A shot had torn the high prow away; and still the batterymen below poured their storm of fire and bomb into the English hull. The fighters were so close, one old record says, and the holes torn by the bombs so large in the hull of each ship, that the gunners on the *Pelican* were looking into the eyes of the smoke-grimmed men below the decks of the *Hampshire*.

"For three hours the English had tacked to board the *Pelican*, and for three hours the mastless splintered *Pelican* had fought like a demon to cripple her enemy's approach. The blood-grimmed, half naked men of both decks had rushed *en masse* for the last leap, the hand-to-hand fight, when a frantic shout went up.

"Then silence and fearful confusion, and a mad panic back from the tilting edges of the two vessels with cries from the wounded above the shriek of the sea.

"The batteries of the *Hampshire* had suddenly silenced. The great ship refused to answer to the wheel. That persistent, undeviating fire bursting from the sides of the *Pelican* had done its work. The *Hampshire* gave a quick lurch. Before the amazed Frenchmen could believe their senses, amid a roar of flames and crashing billows and hiss of fires extinguished in an angry sea, the *Hampshire*, all sails set, settled and sank like a stone amid the engulfing billows. Not a soul of her two hundred and fifty men—one hundred and ninety mariners and servants, with sixty soldiers—escaped.

"The screams of the struggling seamen had not died on the waves before Iberville had turned the batteries of his shattered ship full force on Smithsend's *Hudson's Bay*. Promptly, the *Hudson's Bay* struck colors, but while Iberville was engaged boarding his captive and taking over ninety prisoners, Grimington on the *Dering* showed swift heel and gained refuge in Fort Nelson."

Then followed a terrific storm in which the *Pelican* was driven ashore. The survivors were only rescued by the arrival of the two French vessels which D'Iberville had been expecting but which had failed to connect with him before the battle. Fort Nelson (York Factory) and indeed the whole territory through which the Hudson's Bay Company had operated, now fell into French hands. The great company was staggering to ruin under the burden of a war loss of £200,000 when peace was signed at Ryswick, 1697, leaving them no foothold in the Bay except Fort Albany.

For many years to come British interests in North Western America rested upon a footing very insecure indeed. For the Hudson's Bay Company, dividends became a far away dream of the past. When at last, however, the power of Louis XIV was humbled and the Treaty of Utrecht was signed, the French withdrew all claims upon the Bay, and the prosperity of the great company was restored.

A quarter of a century later the company found itself endangered, not by its foreign foes, but by domestic enemies. The leader of these was

Arthur Dobbs, a vigorous writer and company promoter. For a dozen years he conducted a campaign against the monopoly exercised by the Hudson's Bay Company. Through his influence several exploratory expeditions were sent on a vain search for the northern waterway, and in 1749 the Hudson's Bay Company had to fight for its life—which it did most successfully—before a committee of the British House of Commons. Dobbs himself was in possession of a most exceptional fund of knowledge regarding North West America and seems to have been shrewd enough to recognize that in the interior was to be fought out to its still doubtful conclusion the great duel between the representatives of France and those of England.

In 1749 the company had still but a few trading posts on the shores of the bay and knew scarcely anything of the great interior whence came the Indian bands who traded with them. True it is that half a century earlier they had produced at least one notable explorer. This was Henry Kellsey, a London street arab, still but a lad when in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company he was sent to Fort Nelson. There his pranks and ungovernable disposition caused the sleepy traders much disturbance. One infers from the records that the officers heaved a sigh of relief when the young madcap undertook to go off with the Indians and conduct explorations in the interior with a view to the encouragement of commerce and the possible establishment of trading posts. While the story of Kellsey's adventures rests almost entirely upon his unsupported word, and while the whole narrative has by some been treated as a fabrication, present day historical critics are pretty well convinced of his good faith. The route he followed is certainly doubtful. Bryce thinks it would take him into Manitoba, but this conclusion is more than questionable. It is generally agreed, however, that Kellsey penetrated the prairies and northern wilds of what is now the Province of Saskatchewan, and that he was the first white man to see them. In view of these facts all readers of the History of Saskatchewan will be interested in examining the young adventurer's diary. Its very baldness, monotony and crudity are internal evidence of its authenticity as a picture of the first exploratory journey into Saskatchewan. It is reproduced from the Parliamentary Report of 1749 regarding Hudson's Bay Company affairs.

A JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE AND JOURNEY UNDERTAKEN BY HENRY KELLSEY,
THROUGH GOD'S ASSISTANCE, TO DISCOVER AND BRING TO A COM-
MERCE, THE NAYWATAMEE POETS.

July 15th, 1692. Now having received those things in full which the Governor sent me, takes my Departure from *Deering's Point* for the Stone Indians, which were gone Ten Days before; We, having no Provision, paddled about 18 miles, and came to.

16th. To-day set forward again, and paddled in Pond within Land Dist. 25 Miles, and came to.

17th. Now getting into the River, the Stream running very strong; and we having no Sustenance whereby to follow our Chace, concluded to take our Course into the Woods on the Morrow having got To-day about 20 miles.

18th. Today about Noon we pitched by a little Creek, and set our Nets, and made our Storehouses, and laid up our Canoes, & rested the remaining Part of the Day, having caught Three Pike in our Nets. Dist. about 8 miles.

19th. This Morning set forward into the woods, and having travelled about Ten Miles, came to, and went a hunting, all returning in the Evening, having killed nothing but Two Wood Partridges, and One Squirrel.

20th. So setting forward again, had not gone above Nine Miles but came on the Tract of Indians which had passed Four Days before, having seen their old tents; they having killed two Muse, I thought they might have Victuals, so sent an Indian with my Pipe, and some Tobacco, desiring relief of them, and to stay for me; To day we travelled about 18 Miles.

21st. Setting forward again, about Eleven a Clock, meeting with my Post, telling me he had seen no Indians, I presently caused another Indian to set forward, being heavy loaded myself, and could not go, having travelled about 16 Miles.

22nd. This Morning having much Rain, but Hunger forcing me to leave my Company, set forward with two Indians, to seek for those which were gone before, hoping to get relief of them; Travelled 25 Miles, and came to.

23rd. To-day about Noon, one Indian turning back, fearing the women would starve, which were behind, so proceeded forward myself, having travelled about 30 Miles. Having nothing to eat but one Wood Partridge, came to.

24th. Setting forward again, about Noon came up with their Tents they had left To-day, but having increased from two to seven; and about Six in the Evening came up with them, they having nothing to eat but Grass and Berries, Part of which they gave to me; so in the Evening their People returned from Hunting; one had killed Two Swans, and another a Buck Muse, Part of which they gave to me, we having travelled to-day about 20 Miles.

25th. This Morning I desired them not to pitch very far, but to stay for them which were behind; which accordingly they did; About Ten Miles, came to.

26th. To-day I bid them lie still, and go a Hunting; accordingly they did; So they which were behind came up with us in the Evening; our Hunters likewise having killed Five Beasts.

27th. To-day we pitched, and about Ten came to where one Beast lay to suffice our Hunger; About Two this afternoon came Five Indians, Strangers, to our Tents; Dist. about seven miles.

28th. This instance the Indian having told us their News, which was, that they desired of us to meet them at an appointed Place; so we told them we would; and in the Evening they returned to their Tents.

29th. To-day we pitched, having no want of victuals; Dist. 12 Miles, and came to.

30th. Now we pitched again, about ten miles, and came to.

31st. This Morning it rained very hard; but in the Afternoon it cleared up; so we pitched about Nine Miles and came to.

August 1, 1692. To-day we pitched again, and got to the Place where they appointed us; but they were gone before Fifteen Miles, by estimation, To-day.

2nd. Now we followed their Track, and in the Evening came up with them, they being in number about 26 Tents, we having travelled near 18 Miles to-day.

3d. This morning we pitched about 15 Miles, and came to.

4th. To-day we lay still, having Strangers come to our Tents from some Stone Indians, which were to the Southward of us, bringing News, that the Naywatamee Poets had killed Three of the Home Indian Women the last spring; and withal appointed where they would meet us; but as for the Naywatamee Poets, they were fled so far, that I should not see them.

5th. Now we pitched again, the Strangers likewise returning to their Tents, I telling them, if by any Means they could come to a Speech of those Indians aforesaid, to tell them to come to me, not fearing anyone should do them any harm; so, giving them some Tobacco, parted: Our Dist. To-day being near Twelve Miles.

8th. Now lying still, I sent two Indians to seek for the Mountain Poets, and tell them I would meet them at a place 40 Miles before us.

9th. This Day we pitched about 16 Miles, and came to.

10th. We pitched again, the Indians having killed Beasts in Abundance Yesterday; and where they lay, we came to; Dist. 8 Miles.

11th. To-day we lay still for the Women to fetch the Meat home and dress it.

12th. This Day we pitched again, and about Noon the Ground begins for to grow healthy and barren in Fields of about half a Mile wide; So we came to; Dist. Ten Miles.

13th. Now is raining very hard caused us to lie still To-day.

14th. To-day we pitched, the ground continuing as before; but no Fir growing, the Wood being, for the most part Poplo and Birch, Having travelled by Estimation Twelve Miles, came to.

15th. This instant one Indian lying a dying, and withal, a Murmuring which was amongst the Indians, because I would not agree for them to go to wars; so I made a feast of Tobacco, telling them it was none of the way to have the Use of English guns and other Things; nor should go near the Governor, for he would not look upon them, if they did not cease from warring; so lay still.

16th. Now, not knowing which would conquer, Life or Death, lay still; To-day our People went a hunting, but had small success.

17th. Last Night Death seized on Him; and this Morning was burnt in a Fire, according to their Way, they making a great Feast for him that died; so after the Flesh was burned, his bones were gathered up and burried,

with Logs set up, round it; So we pitched to about 14 Miles, and came to, they holding it not good for to stay by the Dead.

18th. This Day I sent two Indians to seek for those which were so long gone, fearing they might have come to some Misfortune; So we pitched To-day Eight Miles, and came to.

19th. Now setting forward again, the Ground being more barren than formerly, the Indians having seen some Buffalo, but killing none; Dist. Estimation 12 Miles.

20th. To-day we pitched to the outermost Edge of the Woods, the Plain affording nothing but short round sticky grass, and Buffalo, not like those to the Northward, their Horns growing like an English Ox, but Black and short; Dist. about Six Miles.

21st. This day we lay still, expecting a Post, but none came.

22nd. Now we pitched into the barren Ground; it is very dry Ground, and no Water; nor could not see the Woods on the other Side; Dist. Sixteen Miles.

24th. This Day we lay still, waiting for a Post, which came in the Afternoon from the Stone Indian Captain named Waska, who desired us to meet him when we pitched again.

25th. So we pitched to-day, and came to altogether; so we were in all Eighty Tents; We travelled by Estimation Twelve Miles; yet not reach the woods.

26th. Now we are all together, they made a Feast, desiring Leave of me for them to go to Wars; but I told them I would not grant them their Request; for the Governor would not allow me to do so.

27th. To-day we pitched, and got to the Woods on the other Side, this Plain being about Forty-Six miles over, and runs through great Part of the Country; We had travelled Six Miles To-day, when we came to.

28th. This day we lay still for the Indians to hunt Buffalo; for there is none of those Beasts in the Woods; so I fitted Six Indians out for to go to seek for some Naywatamee Poets.

31st. This Day the Indians made a Feast, desiring of me for to be their Post to a Parcel of Indians which was to the Northward of us, and to desire them to stay for us, they telling me an Indian would not be believed, although he went.

Sept. 1st. To-day I set forward with Eight Indians, one of which was my Interpreter; and having travelled about Thirty Miles, came to.

2nd. So setting forward again, it being very bad Weather, we lost the Track; so I filled Two Pipes according to their Way, and gave them to Two Young Men, telling them to go seek for the Track, which accordingly they did; so we made a fire; but a great Parcel of Buffalo appearing in Sight, we gave them Chace, and by the Way found the Track, and in the Evening came up with them; We travelled To-day by Estimation Twenty Five Miles.

3rd. This Morning they made a Tent, and provided a Feast, to hear what I had to say; so I told them my Message; which was for them to for those which I came from; and withal that they must not go to Wars, for it

will not be liked on by the Governor; and that he will not trade with them, if they did not cease from Warring.

4th. To-day I sent Two Indians back to tell our People to make haste hither, I tarrying there myself to hear what News some young Men brought, which were gone Three Days before I came, to seek for their Enemies.

5th. About Ten this morning the Young Men appearing in Sight, and crying out just like a Crane; which gave a Sign, that they had discovered their Enemies; and as soon as they came near to the Tent they sat down all in a Row upon the Grass, saying not one Word; so the old Men filled their Pipes, and served them round, and cried for Joy they had discovered their Enemies, the young Men having brought some old Arrows to verify what they had been about.

6th. This instant I unclosed the Pipe which the Governor sent me telling them that they must employ their Time in catching of Beaver; for that will be better liked on when they come to the Factory, than the killing of their Enemies.

8th. To-day we pitched again, and by the Way met with those Strangers I had left formerly; and in the Afternoon came Four Indians Post from those which are called the Naywatamee Poets, the which I kindly intreated, and made very much of, inquiring for their Captain; who gave me an Account that he was Two Days Journey behind ours; Not extending Eight Miles To-Day.

9th. This Morning I went to the Captain of the Stone Indians Tent with a Piece of Tobacco, telling him to make a Speech to all and tell them not to meddle nor disturb the Naywatamee Poets; for I was going back to invite and encourage them to a Peace; which they all freely consented to; so I took my Way back along with those which came yesterday; And, having travelled near Eighteen Miles, came to.

10th. This Morning setting out again, my Strangers left me, because they could make better Way to their Tents than I could; So we travelled till Night, and came to. Dist. 20 Miles.

12th. This Morning, having not wherewithal to invite the Captain to, filled my Pipe, which the Governor sent me; and then sent for him who was their Captain; so told him he should not mind what had passed formerly, as concerning their being killed by the Naybaytbayays and Stone Indians; and as for the future, we English would seek to prevent it from going any further; and withal gave him my Present, Coat, Cap, and Sash, and one of my Guns, with Knives, Awls, and Tobacco, with small Quantity of Powder and Shot, and part of all such Things as the Governor sent me; so he seemed to be very well contented, and told me he had forgot what had passed, although they had killed most Part of his Kindred; but told me, he was sorry he had not wherewithal for to make me Amends for what I had given him; but he would meet me the next Spring at Deering's Point, and go with me to the Factory. But it happened in the Winter after I parted with them, that the Naybaytbaways Indians came up with Two Tents of them, and killed them; which struck a new Fear into them, and they would not venture down, fearing that the Naybaytbayways would not let them up into their own Country again; so when I was at Deering's Point in the Spring which is the Place of Restoration, when they are coming down to

trade, I had News came, that the Captain aforesaid had sent me a Pipe and Stem of his own making; and withal that if I would send him a Piece of Tobacco from the Factory, he would certainly come down the next Year; but if not the Beaver which is in their Country are in-numerable, and will certainly be brought down every year.

So having not to enlarge, I rest,

Honourable Masters,
Your Most Obedient, and
Faithful Servant,
At Command,
HENRY KELLSEY.

British records contain no further explicit accounts of travels in the interior until the publication by Dobbs in 1743 of the story of Joseph la France. This interesting character was a French halfbreed, born at Michilimackinac, and from him Dobbs had obtained a verbal narrative of his adventures. Until the age of twenty-seven or twenty-eight he was engaged as a fur trader and hunter, generally in the vicinity of his birthplace. It will be remembered that, during the French regime, such a business could be conducted only under government license. On a certain occasion he was the victim of robbery and oppression at the hands of the Governor at Quebec, when endeavoring to obtain a license, and to escape further persecution he took flight, travelled westward to Lake Winnipeg *via* the Grand Portage and thence to the head of the bay by the Hayes River route, to join the English. He reached York Factory June 29, 1742, three years and a half after leaving Sault Ste. Marie. However, the pathway indicated by the courage of this Métis was not turned to advantage by the British Company.

Meantime, in Eastern Canada there had arisen a heroic explorer of whom Canadians today of whatever racial origin are unanimously proud. This was Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Vérendrye.² He was born in 1686, his baptismal name being Pierre Gaultier. Before he was out of his 'teens he had seen campaigns in New England and Newfoundland, after which, in the military service of France, he went to Europe, and at the Battle of Malplaquet in 1709 he was seriously wounded. A few years later he returned to Canada, where in 1728 we find him commandant of a trading post at Nipegon and becoming profoundly interested in the search for the Western Sea. In 1730 he visited Montreal to discuss with Beau-

² His father was René Gaultier, Sieur de Varennes, and Governor for His Majesty at Three Rivers. In the parish register of 1702, 1704 and 1707 Pierre describes himself as Sieur de Boumois. There is in the parish of Varennes a fief bearing the name De la Vérendrye. Dr. de Sulte, the distinguished Canadian historian, who did much to rescue the name of De la Vérendrye from oblivion, believes that Pierre adopted it after the death of his older brother, Louis, who had held the Vérendrye fief. The name is found under fourteen different spellings.



PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS
REGINA, SASK.

harnois, the Governor, the plans he had in mind for western exploration, and he spent the following winter in preparations. The government could not, or would not, supply funds for exploratory work, though La Vérendrye was granted the monopoly of the fur trade in the country he would explore. It was consequently necessary for him to make provision for the expenses of his undertaking. This could be effected only by the prosecution of the fur trade conjointly with the work of exploration. In the nature of things these two enterprises could not proceed satisfactorily under a single management. The rest of La Vérendrye's life was continually embittered by the accusations and intrigues of those who alleged, some that he was neglecting the fur trade for exploration, others that he was neglecting exploration for the fur trade. The first charge involved him in wretched litigation with Canadian merchants who were financing his enterprise; the second weakened his precarious hold upon the good will of the government.

In June, 1731, he set out from Montreal, and on August 26 we find him at Grand Portage, fifteen leagues beyond Kaministiquia. He was accompanied by his nephew, Christopher Dufrost, *Sieur de la Jemmeraye*, a tried and competent frontiersman, who was his chief lieutenant; by three of his four heroic sons, Jean, Pierre and François, aged, respectively, eighteen, seventeen and sixteen years; a missionary or chaplain, Father Messaiger; and about forty-five voyagers. At Grand Portage, however, he found himself checked by a mutiny. In quelling it the influence of his chaplain and of La Jemmeraye was invaluable, and a compromise was effected. A small number of the voyagers, with La Vérendrye's nephew and eldest son, were to advance to Rainy Lake and establish a post. Meanwhile La Vérendrye himself, with the rest of the party, would go into winter quarters at Kaministiquia.

In the following year La Jemmeraye returned from Rainy Lake, where he had built a good post, which, in honor of his uncle, he called Fort Saint Pierre. In June La Vérendrye and his company went thither. From that point La Vérendrye, escorted by fifty canoes of Indians, advanced to the Lake of the Woods, where he built Fort St. Charles, which for the time being he made his headquarters. His eldest son proceeded during the winter to the mouth of the Winnipeg River, where he established Fort Maurepas. Abbé Dugas is among the authorities who believe that a traveller by the name of De Noyon had already penetrated this country, but Lawrence Burpee and most recent students are convinced that Jean Baptiste Vérendrye was the first white man to reach Lake Winnipeg. This fort was built in 1734. It stood on the north side of the River Winnipeg, near the present Alexander, and was not long in use. Meanwhile, La Jemmeraye, accompanied by the missionary, had returned to Montreal for further financial

assistance, which, however, he failed to obtain. Accordingly La Vérendrye, who was now at the very end of his resources, was obliged to return, but his optimism and enthusiasm obtained for him from his Montreal partners a measure of the assistance he required. A short time after his return to the fort at the Lake of the Woods, his eldest son came from Maurepas with the news of the sudden death of La Jemmeraye. This heavy blow was followed almost immediately by a still more crushing calamity. Jean de la Vérendrye, Father Aulneau, the new chaplain, and a party comprising the crew of three canoes, were massacred by the Sioux on June 8, 1736. The unfortunate father was almost heart-broken and his letters and journals referring to this event are pathetic in the extreme. Nevertheless, his purpose remained unshaken, and after another visit to Montreal he advanced to the site of the city of Winnipeg. He ascended the Assiniboine to Portage la Prairie, where he built Fort la Reine, from which point he pressed west by south to the upper waters of the Missouri, the home of the Mandans.³ He left two men with these Indians to learn their language and fit themselves to act as guides for further explorations, and returned to Fort la Reine, reaching it only after terrible hardships. The Indians with whom he was endeavoring to establish trade insisted upon the building of a post on Lake Manitoba (Lac des Prairies). Vérendrye, accordingly sent Pierre to make the necessary explorations. He visited the mouth of the Saskatchewan River, which appears in the journal as Paskoyac, and Fort Dauphin was established about fifty miles south east from the site of Fort Cumberland.

De la Vérendrye was compelled to make two more visits to the East. From Montreal in 1740 he wrote directing his sons, with the Frenchmen who had remained with the Mandans, to proceed westward in their search for the sea. In their first attempt they failed to secure the Indian guides they desired and therefore returned to Fort la Reine. It was at this time that Fort Dauphin was built on the site previously selected and Fort Bourbon on the Saskatchewan.⁴ In the spring of 1742 the two sons, Pierre and François, together with the Frenchmen who had wintered with the Mandans, revisited the upper Mississippi Valley. They then proceeded westward, travelling through what are now the northern states of the American Union and earning immortal fame by reaching the Rocky Mountains in January, 1743. They were compelled to turn back on account of the refusal of their Indian guides to go farther for fear of massacre. The return journey to Fort la Reine was by another route and they were welcomed back by their father after an absence of fourteen months. De la Vérendrye at once reported the exploit to Governor Beauharnois, but owing to the intrigues of

³ A translation of the journal descriptive of this expedition may be found in the report of the Canadian Archivist for 1889.

⁴ According to Agnes Laut.

his enemies at the French court, neither he nor his sons received any reward, though they were specially recommended for it by the Governor.

After again visiting Fort Paskoyac on the Saskatchewan River, young Pierre was recalled in 1745 by Beauharnois and given a position in the army. In the following year the father was obliged to return to Montreal to face his calumniators and De Noyelles was placed in charge of his forts. The effect was disastrous to French interests in the west. The Indian wars, which De la Vérendrye had restrained, broke out afresh and the Indians ceased to frequent the French trading stations, gradually drifting back to those of the English at the bay.

Young Pierre De la Vérendrye, after distinguishing himself in the military service, obtained permission to return to the West in 1747, and, under his father's instructions, he proceeded up the Saskatchewan River to The Forks, which he reached in the autumn of 1749.

Meantime, Beauharnois had been replaced by Galissonnière, whose letters on the explorer's behalf produced better results. His sons were given military promotion, and De la Vérendrye *père* was decorated with the Cross of St. Louis and commissioned to return to his explorations. It was too late, however, and on December 6, 1749, the famous explorer suddenly died at Montreal, at the age of sixty-three. The sons were recalled, and in spite of their earnest and dignified protests they were precluded from continuing the work which they and their father had so heroically begun.

The successor of the Vérendryes was Captain Jacques Repentigny Legardeur de Saint Pierre. He went to Fort la Reine in 1751 and sent his lieutenant, Niverville, on ahead, but through ill health that officer was obliged to halt at Fort Paskoyac. However, Niverville despatched ten of his men into the far West, who built Fort La Jonquière at the foot of the Rockies, probably on the south branch of the Saskatchewan River.

The end of France's effort to establish control of Western America was at hand. Saint Pierre himself was brave, but unscrupulous and high handed, and he and his agents did not succeed in maintaining friendly relations with the Indians. He resigned in 1763 and his successor, De la Corne, had no better fortune. Not by such men as these was the work of the Vérendrye's to come to fruition and North Western America to be held for France.

Nevertheless, much had been done in the West by the French before the final catastrophe of the Plains of Abraham. They had discovered and explored the water route to the Red River, that river itself, the Assiniboine, the Missouri Valley to the foothills of the Rockies, Lake Manitoba, Lake Dauphin, Lake Winnipegosis, and the Saskatchewan River, and had followed at least one of its branches to its upper waters. If the Government of France had known how to appreciate and support such heroes as the Vérendryes, the French power might have been represented in trading posts

all over the territories claimed and ultimately held in the name of England by the Hudson's Bay Company.

Except for Kellsey's perplexing journey of adventure westward from the bay, probably into northern Saskatchewan, the great company and its servants had as yet done practically nothing in the way of exploration. Indeed, the great duel between France and England would have been a very one-sided affair in America had it not been that in the approaching crisis England recognized the man for her tasks in William Pitt, and he the man for his tasks in General Wolfe.

The only recorded intercourse of French and English adventurers in the Far West, prior to the fall of Quebec, was of a very friendly character. In 1754 and 1755 Anthony Hendry, a young Englishman, bold and enterprising, who had gotten into trouble for smuggling, volunteered to his superiors at York Factory to explore the interior and winter with the Indians. He was absent nearly a year. He left York Factory on June 26, 1754, travelling south west via the Hayes River. His route has been the object of much dispute, apparently because the waterway he followed is in considerable part unmarked on any ordinary map, and, indeed, has been rediscovered only within recent years. On July 21 his canoe was on the mighty Saskatchewan, his being the first English eyes to see the noble stream from which the central prairie province derives its name. Having journeyed a short distance up stream, he came to a French trading fort established in the preceding year by De la Corne. There he was courteously entertained, though some attempt was made, or threatened, to intimidate him from pursuing his explorations further. This was the first meeting on record of emissaries of Britain and France in the North West. Indeed, Hendry's intercourse with the French during this expedition of 1754-1755 created a precedent never to be followed in the remaining fifteen years during which France was to dispute with England the lordship of America.

The French post, at which Hendry first met the Frenchman, was situated at the Pas, and near its deserted ruins the Hudson's Bay Company subsequently built one of their most important establishments. This is the only one of the numerous French trading posts that has remained a commercial centre from the days of the French regime until the present.

Continuing his journey, Hendry presently left the Saskatchewan River, crossed to Carrot River and on July 27 took to the prairies.

As he advanced into what is now the province of Saskatchewan, he wrote in his journal, "I am now entering a most pleasant and plentiful country of hills and dales and little woods." Proceeding south west Hendry and his Indian companions crossed the South Saskatchewan in bull boats somewhere near Clarke's crossing, not far from the old telegraph line.⁵ Three days later he reached the North Saskatchewan "between the mouth of Eagle

⁵ *Search for the Western Sea*, page 125.

Hill Creek and the Elbow.”⁶ The country between the North and South Saskatchewan he was the first white man to explore, and to him we owe the first detailed description of the South Saskatchewan and the Red Deer Rivers with the adjacent prairie. He was, moreover, the first English trader to meet the Blackfeet, by whom he was kindly received. The following is copied from his journal:

“The leader’s tent was large enough to contain fifty persons. He received us, seated on a buffalo skin, attended by twenty elderly men. He made signs for me to sit down on his right hand, which I did. Our leaders (the Assiniboines) set several large pipes going the rounds and we smoked according to their custom. Not one word was spoken. Smoking over, boiled buffalo flesh was served in baskets of bent wood. I was presented with ten buffalo tongues. My guides informed the leader I was sent by the grand leader who lives on the Great Waters to invite his young men down with their furs. They would receive in return, powder, shot guns, and cloth. He made little answer; said it was far off and his people could not paddle. We were then ordered to depart to our tents, which we pitched a quarter of a mile outside their tents. The chief told me his tribe never wanted food as they followed the buffalo, but he was informed the natives who frequented the settlements often starved on their journey, which was exceedingly true.”

From a commercial standpoint Hendry’s expedition was not remarkably successful. The French had already established what might well have been a permanent hold upon the Indian trade. To be sure, the young Englishman on his return journey started with a great cargo of furs, but the wiles of the French traders, past whose establishments he journeyed, were too much for his Indians to resist, and but few of his peltries were left when he arrived back at York Factory.

One feature of Hendry’s narrative entirely discredited him with the English traders. He told them of the Blackfeet Indians, a race of nomads equipped with numberless horses. This, to the wisecracks of the Hudson’s Bay Company, was manifest invention on his part, for at that time they did not even know there were such tribes of horsemen anywhere in the interior. Hendry was accordingly treated as a romancer and badgered out of the service of the company.

This practically ended the British explorations of the North West prior to 1749, from which date they will be recorded in the following chapter. The Hudson’s Bay Company, in its corporate capacity, gave but little encouragement to the great work, and though among its officers there have been many men who rank high as explorers, they achieved that distinction usually in spite of the company’s apathy, rather than by its encouragement.

⁶ Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

THE RIVAL FUR COMPANIES AND FURTHER EXPLORATIONS IN THE WEST—1759-1821

CANADIAN FREE TRADERS—CURRIE AND FINLAY, FIRST ENGLISH-SPEAKING CANADIANS IN SASKATCHEWAN—ALEX. HENRY, SR.; HIS ADVENTURES NEAR FORKS OF SASKATCHEWAN, 1774—PETER POND; FOUNDING OF N. W. CO., 1783-84—FORT CHIPPEWEYAN—ALEX. MACKENZIE THE N. Y. CO., 1795-1805—ALEX. HENRY, JR.; DAVID THOMPSON—DANIEL HARMON; HIS ADVENTURES NEAR QU'APPELLE AND LAST MOUNTAIN, 1804—LAROCQUE—EXPLORERS SENT OUT BY H. B. CO. AND BRITISH GOVERNMENT—SIMPSON'S JOURNEYS IN THE N. W.—RIVALRY OF H. B. CO. AND MONTREAL TRADERS—MASSACRE AT SEVEN OAKS, 1816—UNION OF H. B. CO. AND N. W. CO., 1821.

As we have seen in previous chapters, the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company to exclusive control of western trade were strenuously disputed by the French, whose intrepid adventurers had penetrated far into the interior before the fall of Quebec in 1759. With the surrender of Canada, the activities of French governmental officials, in connection with western trade and exploration, of course, ceased; but with the new regime came the rapid development of independent trading organizations, some of which even rivalled in the magnitude of their interests and operations the Hudson's Bay Company itself. Many years later the ancient British company regained its old monopoly, but only by virtue of amalgamation with its rivals. To picturesque aspects of this long commercial strife and of the important explorations consequent upon the activities of the rival fur traders, especially as regards directly the present province of Saskatchewan, the present chapter is to be devoted.

Thomas Currie was the first Britisher from old Canada to penetrate the regions of Saskatchewan. He was followed very closely by James Finlay, and the success of their ventures rendered them the forerunners of numerous other traders operating from Montreal.

One of the first and most important of these was Alexander Henry, Sr., whose fascinating Journal has been edited by Dr. James Bain under the title of "*Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1860 and 1876.*"

With the conquest of Canada the fur trade was soon made free from all government interference. Henry had served in the war of the conquest, but on its completion he promptly gave up military pursuits and proceeded westward to take a share in what he foresaw would develop into a very lucrative trade. His initial attempts proved premature, however, as he remarks in his preface, and his first rewards were almost entirely confined to adventures. It was not until 1775 that he penetrated the North West proper. His description of the journey westward, *via* the Grand Portage Du Rat (or Rat Portage, the River Winnipeg, Winnipic (or Winnipeg), and westward *via* the River du Bourbon, Pasquayah or Saskatchiwaine, to Cumberland House, which had been established in 1774, constitutes an entrancing tale. From it we obtain some of our earliest geographical data regarding what is now the province of Saskatchewan. The hardships experienced by early explorers and the nature of the country as it then was are well pictured in the following extract:

"From Cumberland House I pursued a westerly course on the ice, following the southern bank of Sturgeon Lake, till I crossed the neck of land by which alone it is separated from the great River Pasquayah, or Saskatchiwaine. In the evening I encamped on the north side of this river at a distance of ten leagues from Cumberland House.

"The depth of snow and the intenseness of the cold rendered my progress so much slower than I had reckoned upon, that I soon began to fear the want of provisions. The sun did not rise until half past nine in the morning, and it set at half past two in the afternoon; it is, however, at no time wholly dark in these climates; the northern lights and the reflection of the snow affording always sufficient light for the traveller. Add to this that the river, the course of which I was ascending, was a guide with the aid of which I could not lose my way. Every day's journey was commenced at three o'clock in the morning.

"I was not far advanced before the country betrayed some approaches to the characteristic nakedness of the plains. The wood dwindled away, both in size and quantity, so that it was with difficulty that we could collect sufficient for making a fire; and without fire we could not drink; for melted snow was our only resource, the ice on the river being too thick to be penetrated with the axe.

"On the evening of the sixth, the weather continuing severely cold, I made my two men sleep on the same skin as myself, one on each side; and though this arrangement was particularly beneficial to myself, it increased the comfort of all. At the usual hour in the morning we attempted to rise, but found that a foot of snow had fallen on our bed, as well as extinguished and covered our fire. In this situation we remained till day-break, when, with much exertion, we collected fresh fuel. Proceeding on our journey, we

found that the use of our sledges had become impracticable through the quantity of newly fallen snow, and we were now constrained to carry our provisions on our backs. Unfortunately, they were a diminishing burden.

"The two days succeeding, the depth of the snow and the violence of the winds greatly retarded our journey; but from the ninth to the twelfth the elements were less hostile and we travelled rapidly. No trace of anything human presented itself on our road, except that we saw the old wintering ground of Mr. Finlay, who had left it some years before, and was now stationed at Fort des Prairies. This fort was the stage we had to make before we could enter the prairies or plains; and, on our examining our provisions, we found only sufficient for five days, while, even at the swiftest rate we had travelled, a journey of twelve days was before us. My men began to fear being starved, seeing no prospect of relief; but I endeavored to maintain their courage by representing that I should certainly kill red deer or elk, of which the tracks were visible along the banks of the river and on the sides of the hills. What I hoped for in this respect, it was not easy to accomplish; for the animals kept within the shelter of the woods; and the snow was too deep to let me seek them there.

"On the fifteenth our situation was rendered still more alarming by the commencement of a fresh fall of snow, which added nearly two feet to the depth of that which was already on the ground. At the same time we were scarcely able to collect enough wood for making a fire to melt the snow. The only trees around us were starveling willows, and the hills which discovered themselves at a short distance were bare of every vegetable production such as could rear itself above the snow. Their appearance was rather that of lofty snow banks than of hills. We were now on the borders of the plains.

"On the twentieth the last remains of our provisions were expended; but I had taken the precaution to conceal a cake of chocolate in reserve for an occasion like that which had now arrived. Towards evening, my men, after walking the whole day, began to lose their strength, but we nevertheless kept our feet till it was late; and when we encamped I informed them of the treasure that was still in store. I desired them to fill the kettle with snow, and argued with them the while that the chocolate would keep us alive for five days at least, an interval in which we should surely meet with some Indian in the chase. Their spirits revived at the suggestion; and, the kettle being filled with two gallons of water, I put into it one square of the chocolate. The quantity was scarcely sufficient to alter the color of the water; but each of us drank about half a gallon of the warm liquor, by which we were much refreshed, and in its enjoyment felt no more of the fatigues of the day. In the morning we allowed ourselves a similar repast, after finishing which we marched vigorously for six hours. But now the

spirits of my countrymen again deserted them, and they declared that they neither would, nor could, proceed any further. For myself, they advised me to leave them and accomplish the journey as I could; but for themselves, they said, they must soon die, and might as well die where they were as anywhere else.

"While things were in this melancholy posture I filled the kettle and boiled another square of chocolate. When prepared, I prevailed upon my desponding companions to return to their warm beverage. On taking it, they recovered inconceivably; and, after smoking a pipe, consented to go forward. While their stomachs were comforted by the warm water they walked well; but as the evening approached, fatigue overtook them, and they relapsed into their former condition; and, the chocolate being now almost consumed, I began to fear that I must really abandon them; for I was able to endure more hardship than they, and, had it not been for keeping company with them, I could have advanced double the distance within the time which had been spent. To my great joy, however, the usual quantity of warm water revived them.

"For breakfast the next morning, I put the last remaining square of chocolate in the kettle, and our meal finished, we began our march, but in very indifferent spirits. We were surrounded by large herds of wolves, which sometimes came close upon us, and who knew, as we were prone to think, the extremity in which we were, and marked us for their prey; but I carried a gun, and this was our protection. I fired several times; but unfortunately missed at each; for a morsel of wolf's flesh would have afforded us a banquet.

"Our misery, however, was still nearer the end than we imagined; and the event was to give one of the innumerable proofs that despair is not made for man. Before sunset, we discovered on the ice some remains of the bones of an elk left there by the wolves. Having instantly gathered them we encamped and, filling our kettle, prepared ourselves a meal of strong and excellent soup. The greater part of the night was spent in boiling and regaling on our booty; and early in the morning, we felt ourselves strong enough to proceed.

"This day, the twenty-fifth, we found the borders of the plains reaching to the very banks of the river, which were two hundred feet above the level of the ice. Water marks presented themselves twenty feet above the actual level.

"Want had lost his dominion over us. At noon we saw the horns of a red deer standing in the snow on the river. On examination we found that the whole carcass was with them, the animal having broken through the ice in the beginning of the winter in attempting to cross the river too early in season; while his horns, fastening themselves in the ice, had pre-

vented him from sinking. By cutting away the ice, we were enabled to lay bare a part of the back and shoulders, and thus procure a stock of food amply sufficient for the rest of the journey. We accordingly encamped, and employed our kettle to good purpose, forgot all our misfortunes and prepared to walk with cheerfulness the twenty leagues, which, as we reckoned, lay between ourselves and Fort des Prairies.

"Though the deer must have been in this situation ever since the month of November, yet its flesh was perfectly good. Its horns alone were five feet high or more, and it will therefore not appear extraordinary that they should be seen above the snow.

"On the twenty-seventh, in the morning, we discovered the print of snow shoes, demonstrating that several persons had passed that way the day before. These were the first marks of other human feet than our own which we had seen since our leaving Cumberland House; and it was much to feel that we had fellow creatures in the wild waste surrounding us! In the evening we reached the fort."

Meantime, among the other traders and explorers from the far East operating in Saskatchewan and adjacent territories, the student of history meets with the notorious American, Peter Pond. This picturesque adventurer came from Connecticut to Canada in the latter sixties, and spent his first winter in the North West in 1769. Indeed, he purchased more peltries than he could carry away, and a creditable light is thrown on the character of the Indians by the fact that a large quantity of furs left by him, unprotected in his hut in the wilderness, was found undisturbed when he returned from Montreal the following year. Though profits were great, the competition in the trade led Pond to form a combine. In it were included Henry Cadotte, a Canadian who had been associated with Alexander Henry, Senior, and the Frobishers, Joseph and Thomas. From this syndicate, the North West company subsequently developed. In 1778 Peter Pond carried on extensive explorations in the district later known as Athabasca. The details of his journey are ill known as he did not publish his journal, only a fragment of which has been preserved for students of today. Some interesting extracts from it will be found elsewhere in the present work. The Athabasca district, as it was then called, was the greatest fur country in the North West, and in it Pond pursued his commercial enterprises with great energy and success. He built a trading post on the Churchill River and shortly after crossed the height of land *via* Lake Lache Portage, being the first white man so to do. He also built Athabasca on the Biche River. Through his efforts trade was established in the North beyond the regions controlled by the Hudson's Bay Company. His competition with the British and other rival concerns led to many quarrels and culminated in a duel in which Pond killed a trader of the name of Ross. On a previous occasion

he had been accused of killing another trader in the same district, Waddin by name. On his return to Montreal, Pond was charged with murder, and though the trial ended in his release, the more respectable Montreal traders ostracized him, and he returned in disgust to Boston in 1790.

Though Pond achieved relatively little as an explorer if he be compared with such men as Mackenzie, he did amply sufficient to entitle him to a place in the history of western exploration, and the part he played as the forerunner of the famous North West Fur Trust makes his a very important name to the student of Saskatchewan history.

In 1779, through his influence, nine distinct commercial interests had become parties to an agreement valid for a single year by virtue of which their entire trade was rendered common property. The agreement was renewed on substantially the same terms the following year, and again for a period of three years longer. Internal jealousies, however, broke up the trust before this time expired.*

In 1783, according to most authorities (but in 1784, according to the important treatise on *The Origin and Progress of the North West Company*, published anonymously in 1811 by Nathaniel Atcheson), the trust was revived, assuming as its name "The North West Company." The compact was renewed from time to time until 1802, and in 1803 an agreement was consummated, to be valid for twenty years.

Besides the partners already mentioned in connection with these initial combines, Peter Pangman, John Ross, Alexander Mackenzie, his cousin, Roderick Mackenzie, William McGillivray, Simon McTavish, David Thompson, Archibald Norman Macleod, John Gregory, Thomas and Joseph Frobisher, and others played prominent roles. Fort Chippeweyan was established by Roderick Mackenzie in 1788, and soon became the most important trading rendezvous and distributing post in the north country, though it was abandoned thirty-two years later. It was situated in west longitude 111°, 18', 32" and north latitude 58°, 40". The Slave River and its tributaries to the north, the Peace River to the west, Athabasca to the south, and the Churchill, with its chain of lakes, to the east, constituted natural highways to this centre.

This fort was for several years the headquarters of the great fur trader and explorer, Alexander Mackenzie, and from it he conducted his exploring expeditions down the Slave River, up the Peace River, down the Mackenzie River to the Arctic Seas in 1789, and over the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific in 1793. In recognition of his notable achievements as an explorer, Mackenzie was knighted in 1802, his entrancing journals having been published in the preceding year.

* Prof. Bryce speaks of Pond as "the marplot who had divided the company," *Makers of Canada*, Vol. VIII, p. 6.



SCARTH ST., REGINA IN 1912



UNION DEPOT, REGINA



TENTH AVE., REGINA IN 1908



CITY DEPOT, REGINA BUILT 1881



TENTH AVE., REGINA IN 1912



SCARTH ST. REGINA IN 1908



In 1795, or, as some authorities state, in 1798, a new trading organization, known as The X. Y. Company, came into existence as an offshoot of the North West Company. Apparently the mysterious letters involved in its name were not initials or contractions. The bales of the North West Company were marked with the letters N. W., and the new company simply employed the next two letters of the alphabet. The concern is sometimes called the little North West Company, or *La P'tite Compagnie*. From this its members and employees got the name of *Les Petits*, which degenerated into The Potties. This company owed its origin to the bitter rivalry between Alexander Mackenzie and Simon McTavish with their respective adherents, and consisted of partisans of the former, though Roderick Mackenzie remained with the North West Company. The two concerns again united in 1805.

Among the most interesting of all the early tales of exploration and adventure is that embodied in the voluminous journals of Alexander Henry, the Younger, which remained all but unknown for nearly a century, until edited by Elliot Coues. This Henry was the nephew of the Alexander Henry to whom we have previously referred. His journals cover the period from 1799 to 1814. The years 1808 to 1811 were spent in the Saskatchewan district and regions further west.

In all Henry's journeyings he was, as Coues remarks, shadowed or foreshadowed by Thompson. This latter explorer was an astronomer and surveyor in the employ, first of the Hudson's Bay Company and afterwards of the North West Company. Among his discoveries were the Athabasca and Saskatchewan passes. The most important of his numerous expeditions was probably that made in 1798. The record of his adventures is included by Coues with that of Henry's under the title of "New Light on the Early History of the Greater North West."

In the year 1800 Daniel W. Harmon left Montreal for the West, "there to remain," as he says in his journal, "if my life should be spared, for seven years at least. For this space of time I am under engagement to serve as a Clerk to the North West Company, otherwise denominated McTavish, Frobisher and Company." As a matter of fact, he remained in the interior for nineteen years, and it would be hard for anyone interested in the West to find more fascinating reading than that contained in his journal, of which several editions are extant.

In 1804 we find him in the vicinity of Qu'Appelle and Last Mountain. The following record of his adventures in that locality is of such interest as to justify quoting at length.

"Wednesday, February 22nd. 1804. Lac la Pêche, or Fishing Lake. This lies about two days' march into the large plains, west from Alexandria, which place I left on the 15th ultimo, accompanied by twelve of our people.

I have come here to pass the winter, by the side of the X. Y. People. For some time after our arrival we existed on rose buds, a kind of food neither very palatable nor nourishing, which we gathered in the fields. They were better than nothing, since they would just support life. When we should procure anything better I knew not, as the buffalos at that time, in consequence of the mild weather, were at a great distance, out in the large plains, and my hunters could find neither moose nor deer. I hoped, however, that a merciful God would not suffer us to starve, and that hope has not been disappointed, for we now have provisions in abundance, for which we endeavor to be thankful.

"On the eleventh instant, I took one of my interpreters and ten laboring men with me, and proceeded several days' march into the wilderness, where we found a camp of upward of thirty lodges of Crees and Assiniboins, of whom we made a good purchase of furs and provisions. They were encamped on the summit of a hill, whence we had an extensive view of the surrounding country, which was low and level. Not a tree could be seen as far as the eye could extend, and thousands of buffaloes were to be seen grazing in different parts of the plain. In order to kill them, the natives, in large bands, mount their horses, run them down, and shoot with their bows and arrows what number they please, or drive them into parks and kill them at their leisure. In fact, these Indians who reside in the large plains or prairies, are the most independent, and appear to be the most contented and happy people on the face of the earth. They subsist on the flesh of the buffalo and of the skins of that animal they make the greater part of their clothing, which is both warm and convenient. Their tents and beds are also made of the skins of the same animal.

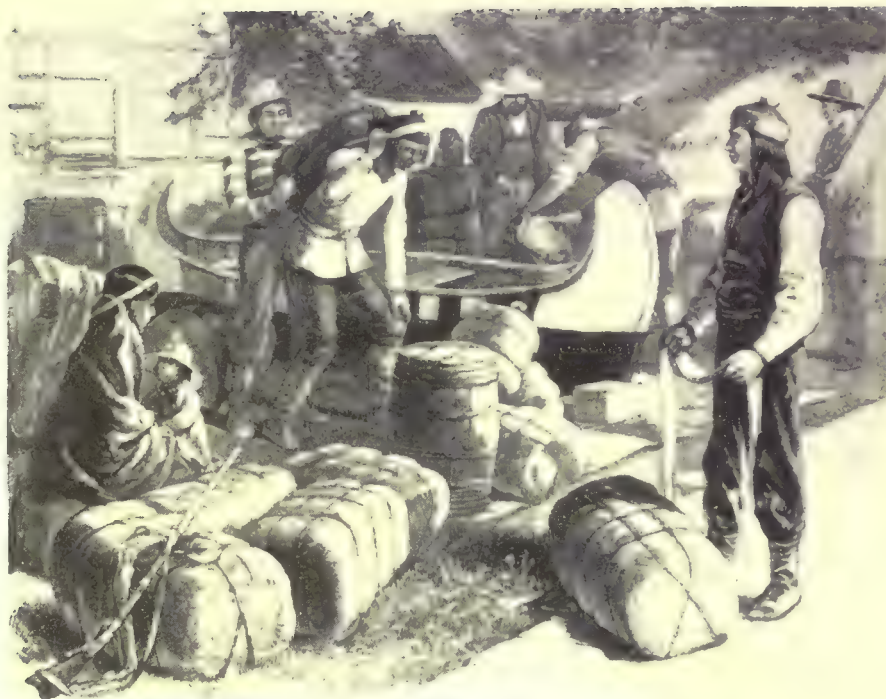
"Thursday, March 1st, 1804. Es-qui-un-a-wâch-a, or the Last Mountain, or rather Hill; for there are no mountains in this part of the country. Here I arrived this evening, having left Lac La Pêche on the 28th ultimo, in company with my interpreter and seven men. The men I ordered to encamp at a short distance from this, and to join me early tomorrow morning; as it is more convenient and safe, especially when we are not in our forts, to give the Indians spirits to drink in the day time than at night. On our arrival we were invited to several of the tents of the principal Indians, to eat and smoke our pipes.—Indians show great hospitality to strangers, before they have been long acquainted with civilized people, after which they adopt many of their customs; but they are by no means always gainers by the exchange.

"Tuesday, March 6, 1804. North side of the Great Devil's Lake, or, as the natives call it, Much-e-man-e-to Sa-ky-e-gun. As I had nothing of importance to attend to, while our people would be absent in their trip to and from the fort, and was desirous of seeing my friend Henry, who, I

understood, was about half a day's march from where I was the last night, I therefore set off this morning, accompanied by an Indian lad who serves as a guide, with the intention of visiting this place. After walking all day, without finding either food or water, and but a few inches of snow, just as the sun was descending below the horizon, we thought we described a small grove at a considerable distance, directly before us. So long, therefore, as the light remained, we directed our course to that object; but, as soon as the daylight failed, we had nothing by which to guide ourselves excepting the stars, which, however, answered very well until even their faint twinkling was obscured by clouds and we were enveloped in total darkness. In this forlorn condition, we thought it best to continue our march as well as we could; for we were unwilling to lie down, with little or nothing with which to cover us and keep ourselves from freezing. There was no wood with which we could make a fire, or buffalo dung, which often serves as fuel when travelling about these plains. Neither could we find water to drink, and without fire, we could not melt the snow for this purpose. We suffered much from the want of water, as we had nothing to eat but very dry provisions which greatly excited thirst. To be deprived of drink for one day is more distressing than to be destitute for food for two. It would not have been safe for us to camp without a fire, for we should have been continually exposed to be trodden by the large herds of buffaloes that are perpetually roving about the plains, or to be devoured by the wolves which ever follow the buffalo. We therefore continued travelling, uncertain whither we were going, until at length the dogs that drew my sledge suddenly passed by us, as if they saw some uncommon object directly before us. We did not attempt to impede their motion, but followed them as fast as we could, until they brought us to the place where we now are. It is almost incredible that my dogs should have smelt this camp at such a distance, for we walked vigorously for four hours after they passed us before we arrived.

"We are happy in finding fifteen tents of Crees and Assiniboin, who want for none of the dainties of this country; and I met, as usual, with a very hospitable reception. The mistress of the tent where I unharnessed the dogs put my sledge, etc., in a safe place. She was then proceeding to give food to my dogs, which labor I offered to do myself; but she told me to remain quiet and smoke my pipe, for she added "they shall be taken good care of, and will be as safe in my hands as they would be were they in your own." Notwithstanding it was near midnight when I arrived, yet, at that late hour, the most of the Indians rose, and many of them invited me to their tents to eat a few mouthfuls, and to smoke the sociable pipe.

"Friday, March 9, 1804. North side of Devil's Lake. In the morning I left the Canadians' camp, and this afternoon reached this place, where



SCENE AT A PORTAGE.



INDIAN ENCAMPMENT.

I found my young guide waiting my return. He is the son of a chief among the Crees and Assiniboins. His grandfather was Monsieur Florimeaux, a Frenchman, who passed a number of years in the Indian country. When he went to Canada he took his son, the father of my young guide, along with him as far as Quebec, intending to send him to France. But the lad, who was then twelve or thirteen years old did not like to leave his native country. After remaining in Canada some time therefore, he deserted, and returned to this part of the world, where he in time became a famous warrior, and at length a chief. He is much respected and beloved by his relatives, and is revered by his own family. As a husband he is affectionate, and as a father, he is kind. It was perhaps fortunate for him that he did not go to France; for I am persuaded he could not have lived more happily and at ease in any part of the world than in this independent country, which is abundantly supplied with all the necessities and many of the luxuries of life.

"Saturday, March 10, 1804. In the middle of an extensive plain. Early in the morning, accompanied by my young guide, I left our last night's lodging to go to the place where I expect to find our people, which is about two days' march farther into the great plain than where I separated with my interpreter on the 6th inst. After walking all day without finding either food or water, at eight o'clock at night we have concluded to lay ourselves down, in order, if possible, to get a little rest. In the daytime the snow melted a little, but in the evening it has frozen hard, and our feet and legs, as high as our knees, are so much covered with ice that we cannot take off our shoes, and having nothing with which to make a fire in order to thaw them, we must pass the night with them on. A more serious evil is the risk we must run of being killed by wild beasts.

"Sunday, March 11, 1804. Ca-ta-buy-se-pu, or The River that Calls. This stream is so named by the superstitious natives, who imagine that a spirit is constantly going up and down it; and they say that they often hear its voice distinctly, which resembles the cry of a human being. The last night was so unpleasant to me that I could not even sleep, arising in part from the constant fear I was in of being torn to pieces before the morning by wild beasts. Despondency to a degree took possession of my spirits. But the light of the morning dissipated my fears, and restored to my mind its usual cheerfulness. As soon as the light of day appeared we left the place where we had lain, not a little pleased that the wild beasts had not fallen on us. It has snowed and rained all day. Here I find my interpreter and eighty tents, or nearly two hundred men with their families.—Along the banks of this rivulet there is a little timber, consisting chiefly of the inferior species of the maple; but nowhere else is there even a shrub to be seen. The surrounding country is a barren plain, where nothing grows excepting grass,

which rises from six to eight inches in height, and furnishes food for the buffalo.

"Wednesday, March 14th, 1804. Last evening my people returned from the fort; and as I now had spirits for the natives, they, of course, drank during the whole night. Being so numerous, they made a terrible noise. They stole a small keg of spirits from us and one of them attempted to stab me. The knife went through my clothes and just grazed the skin of my body. Today I spoke to the Indian who made this attempt, and he cried like a child and said that he had nearly killed his father, meaning me, and asked why I did not tie him when he had lost the use of his reason.—My people inform me that there is little or no snow for three days' march from this; but after that, there is an abundance all the way to the fort.

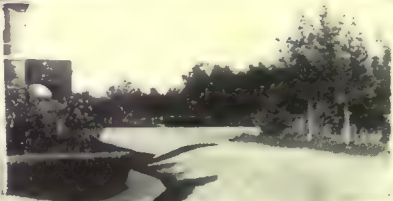
"Friday March 16th, 1804. About twelve o'clock we left the Indians' camp; but, being heavily loaded considering that there is no snow and that our property is drawn by dogs on sledges, we made slow progress. After we had encamped we sent our dogs, which are twenty-two in number, after the buffalo; and that soon stopped one of them, when one of our party went and killed him with an axe, for we have not got a gun with us. It is, however, imprudent for us to venture thus far without fire-arms; for every white man, when in this savage country, ought at all times to be well armed. Then he need be under little apprehension of an attack; for Indians, when sober, are not inclined to hazard their lives, and, when they apprehend danger from quarrelling, will remain quiet and peaceable.

"Thursday, March 22nd, 1804. Lac la Pêche. Here we have arrived, and I am happy in reaching a place where I can take a little repose after so long and fatiguing a jaunt. Yet it has been, in many respects, both pleasant and profitable. The country which I have travelled over was beautifully situated, and overspread with buffaloes and other kinds of animals, as well as many other delightful objects, which in succession presented themselves to our view. These things made the days glide away almost imperceptibly. But there were times when my situation was far from being agreeable; they, however, soon passed away, and we have all abundant reason to render thanks to a kind Providence, for His protection and for a safe return to our homes and families."

Another early journal of Western adventure and exploration is that of Larocque, of which an important portion is published in a report of the Canadian Archivist for 1910. Larocque was a contemporary and acquaintance of Harmon. The special interest of his journal lies in the fact that it describes the first visit of white men to the country of the Crow Indians, and provides the earliest authoritative account of that tribe, if we except the narrative of La Vérendrye's expedition of 1742 and 1743.



CITY HALL - REGINA



GOVERNMENT HOUSE
REGINA



REGINA PUBLIC SCHOOL
REGINA SASK.



CITY HALL - REGINA



PROPOSED G.T.P.R. HOTEL REGINA



STRATHCONA SCHOOL
REGINA SASK.



GOVERNMENT HOUSE

During the long period of which we have been treating, the North West Company showed astonishing energy in exploring the West and opening it up to trade, and the Hudson's Bay Company, of which we have said little, had been far from idle in this regard. A long period of relative inaction had been terminated by the agitation of 1749 for the cancellation of the company's charter. At that time its forts were all on the coast and numbered only four or five. In 1751 Captain Coats conducted an exploratory expedition up Wagner Inlet. In November, 1769, the company sent Samuel Hearne on a vain attempt to explore the Northern Seas, which, after a second failure, he reached *via* the Coppermine River two years later. It will be remembered that the great Alexander Mackenzie was also in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company during the early part of his career as an explorer, as also was David Thompson.

In 1816 an expedition was sent up by the British Government to search for the long-desired North West passage, and after its failure a reward of twenty thousand pounds was promised to any one who should show the existence of a water route north of the American continent. Owing to this encouragement, two notable expeditions followed. The first was under the leadership of David Buchan and Sir John Franklin. The second was under that of Captain John Ross and Captain Edward Parry. Captain Parry continued for several years his unsuccessful efforts to discover the northern passage. Franklin was also sent overland in 1819 to explore the country west of the Coppermine River. While these and various other expeditions failed of their primary purpose, they gave to the world much valuable geographical knowledge, though they added but little, if anything, to what was known of that portion of the North West to which this treatise is devoted.

In 1821, however, Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, made the first of his notable journeys across the continent. On his way he ascended the Saskatchewan as far as Cumberland House. He also visited Lake Athabasca. Sir George was a most interesting character, and the reports of his journeys did much to make the country better known. He was famous for the extraordinary speed at which he travelled. When journeying by water, he did not even allow his men to stop for meals. Two of his little barks would be tied side by side, and half the crew would thus be released from the paddle for a hasty repast, after which they would take the places of the voyageurs who in the meanwhile had continued their labours. Of one of his journeys Sir George wrote as follows:

"Here (that is, at Colville) terminated a long and laborious journey of nearly two thousand miles on horseback, across plains, mountains, rivers and forests. For six weeks and five days we have been constantly riding,

or at least, as constantly as the strength of our horses would allow, from early dawn to sunset, and we have, on the average, been in the saddle eleven and a half hours a day."

In the main the relations of the rival companies in the pursuit of the fur trade were at first reasonably free from acrimony, though the Hudson's Bay Company always looked on its competitors as poachers. Throughout the region of the interior in which the Hudson's Bay Company conducted active operations, the rival concerns systematically established their trading posts side by side with those of the British company. As the competition became keener, mutual recriminations became more and more general, and culminated eventually in numerous deeds of violence. These lawless proceedings at last developed into real warfare. The Red River settlement was established by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1812, perhaps chiefly to check the ingress and hamper the operations of the North West Company. This region thus became the scene of bloody feuds, of which we will have more to say in the chapter devoted to the Selkirk settlement. The murder of Governor Semple of the Hudson's Bay Company, with twenty of his followers, by partisans of the North West Company, in 1816 at Seven Oaks, together with the forcible seizure of Fort Douglas by the North Westers and its recapture by Selkirk in the following year, 1817, roused public sentiment in Great Britain and Canada, and in the councils of the companies themselves, to the necessity of putting a stop to this disgraceful strife. Accordingly, in 1821, mutual concessions were made, and the North West Company was absorbed by its ancient rival.

CHAPTER V

LIFE AND CUSTOMS OF PRAIRIE TRADERS AND HUNTERS

NATIONALITY OF EARLY TRADERS AND HUNTERS—GATEWAYS TO THE WEST—
TRADING WITH THE NATIVES—MARRIAGES WITH NATIVES—MAINTENANCE OF DISCIPLINE—COURIEURS DU BOIS—DEGRADING EFFECTS OF FIRE WATER—LONELINESS—DANGERS FROM HOSTILE INDIANS—HARDSHIPS OF TRAVEL AMONG INDIAN ENCAMPMENTS—AN ILLUMINATING QUOTATION FROM POND'S JOURNAL—TRANSPORTATION: CARTS; DOG TRAINS; H. B. COMPANY'S RIVER BOATS; CANOES—VARIETIES OF FURS SOUGHT—THE BUFFALO HUNTS AND HUNTERS, WITH THEIR LAWS—ROMANCE AND REVELRY OF THE TRADING POSTS.

Few topics in connection with the early history of the West and of Saskatchewan in particular are of greater interest than that presented to the student who undertakes to form an intelligent mental picture of the life and habits of the hardy traders who constituted the advance guard of white civilization. As indicated in preceding chapters, the majority of these adventurers were associated with the Hudson's Bay Company, or some of its important rivals. A very large proportion were Scots from the Orkneys. Many others were French-Canadians, though even the Montreal traders included a large proportion of Scotchmen. Americans were present, however, in not inconsiderable numbers, and a dozen other nationalities were represented.

Access was obtained to the country, by the Hudson's Bay Company and their dependents, by means of Hudson's Bay. The traders from Old Canada came up *via* the Great Lakes, the Grand Portage west of Fort William, and the series of lakes and rivers which from that point form the natural highways into the interior. In later times Pembina, just south of the Manitoba boundary, and St. Paul were the headquarters for most of the American traders. Until times within the memory of many yet living, it was quite possible for a newcomer without a guide to follow the well-beaten trails leading between Northern Saskatchewan and St. Paul or Fort Garry.

In the interior most of the traders were connected with some or other of the numerous permanent trading posts, or "forts." These were commonly

built in a commanding situation at the head of some beautiful river, or at the junction of two great streams. They were usually in the form of parallelograms from ten to twenty-four rods in width, and from eighteen to thirty in length. The walls consisted of a stockade of pickets often fifteen to twenty-five feet in height, and made of the upright trunks of trees placed in a trench and fastened along the top by horizontal beams. At each corner of the fort, if of any pretensions, there would be a strong bastion, built of squared logs, and provided with loopholes for guns sweeping every side of the fort. There were also other loopholes for musketry all along the side walls. Over the gateway there commonly was still another bastion commanding the entrance. Along the inside of the stockade was a gallery high enough to permit those occupying it to fire over the top of the pickets. Within the palisades would be gardens, an open square, and the dwellings, shops and store houses of the traders. These were often plastered within and without and washed over with white earth in the place of lime. By night sentinels would pace the gallery crying the hours, watch by watch.¹ It was a very usual thing for the competing companies to establish such forts as we have described, side by side.

Within the forts the dull routine of daily life was varied by the tumultuous celebration of numerous national festivals. The following description of such an event is from Harmon:

"Sunday, November 30, 1800. This being St. Andrew's day, which is a fête among the Scotch, and our burgeois, Mr. Macleod, belonging to that nation, the people of the fort, agreeably to the custom of the country, early in the morning presented him with a cross, etc., and at the same time a number of others who were at his door discharged a volley or two of muskets. Soon after they were invited into the hall, where they received a reasonable *dram*, after which Mr. Macleod made them a present of a sufficiency of spirits to keep them merry during the remainder of the day, which they drank at their own houses. In the evening they were invited to dance in the hall; and during it they received several flagons of spirits. They behaved with considerable propriety until about eleven o'clock, when their heads had become heated by the great quantity of spiritous liquor they had drunk during the course of the day and the evening. Some of them became quarrelsome, as the Canadians generally are when intoxicated, and to high words blows soon succeeded; and finally two battles were fought, which put an end to this *truly genteel* North Western ball."

Connected with the fort there would generally be a disproportionate army of employees and dependents of all sorts. The fort at Alexander was

¹Harmon describes such forts in his diary of October 23rd and June 13th, 1800, and an interesting description is quoted in G. Mercer Adams' *Canadian North West* from "The Story of a Dead Monopoly," Cornhill magazine, August, 1870.

a relatively small one, but we find there, with Harmon in charge, one clerk, two interpreters, five labouring men and many women and children belonging either to the traders or to Indians absent on war expeditions or engaged in hunting. Harmon had about a hundred mouths to fill from the company's stores for the greater part of the summer.

The trade with the Indians was, of course, entirely a system of barter, the beaver skin being the standard of trade. When an Indian would arrive with his burden of furs, they would be separated, classified and valued by the trader, who would deliver to the hunter a number of wooden counters, each representing the value of a beaver skin, and equivalent altogether to the price placed upon the furs. When this had been settled, the Indian would proceed to the store room and lay out his counters or "beaver skins" upon the table, dividing them into little groups, each representing the amount he felt disposed or able to invest in the different articles of value to be found on the traders' shelves and selected for purchase. So many beaver skins would be for tomahawks of Birmingham manufacture, so many for scalping knives, so many for powder horns and ammunition, so many for flints, axes, blankets, guns, etc. Probably he would find at first that his pile of beaver skins set aside for the purchase of finery and luxuries was disproportionate with that devoted to some absolute necessity, and the little mounds of counters would have to be redivided. All this was a slow process, and before the hunter finally gave his order, it would probably be discussed by him with his family. When at last the beaver skins were subdivided to his satisfaction, the Indian would step back and the trader would proceed to fill his order. Such methods still prevail in the remoter parts of the Far North.

In the daytime the Indians usually came and went freely about the fort, and frequently indulged in native dances within the enclosure. In connection with these festivities, the traders—especially, perhaps, those of the Nor' West Company—would present the Indians with a not inconsiderable supply of well-diluted liquors.

Most of the white men took from among their Indian neighbours a wife or concubine. The ceremonies tending such an event were simple. The trader made to the parents of the girl of his choice a present of such articles as he supposed would be most acceptable, usually including an abundance of rum, and if the parents accepted the present, the girl assumed the garb of civilization, or something approaching it, and took up her residence permanently within the fort. The traders were usually under contract for a period of seven years, and at the end of that time, if they left the country, their families became the wards of the company. The young Indian women themselves seemed as a rule well pleased to take up life with the white men, even on these unpromising terms. Such matches were encouraged by the

companies, as they increased the influence exercised by the traders themselves, and rendered it easier to retain them in the service.

As a general rule, those in charge of trading stations maintained their authority by moral suasion and force of character alone, but sometimes more vigorous methods were necessary. Harmon relates an amusing anecdote in this connection:

"Monday, October 7, 1811. The next day after I had chastised the Indian as above described, he sent one of his wives to request me either to come and see him or to send him some medicine. I, therefore, sent him some salve with which to dress the wound on his head. A few days after he became so well as to be able to hunt; and he killed and brought home a number of beavers, with which he yesterday made a feast; and I concluded that it would be necessary for me to go, or he might think that I was afraid of him. I accordingly put a brace of pistols in my pocket and hung a sword by my side, and directed my interpreter to arm himself in a similar manner and to accompany me. We proceeded to the house of the chief, where we found nearly an hundred Indians assembled. As soon as we arrived he requested us to be seated. He then rose and stood in the centre of the circle formed by the guests, and with a distinct and elevated voice made a long harangue, in which he did not forget to make mention of the beating which he had lately received from me. He said that if it had been given to him by any other person but the Big Knife (the name which they gave to me), he would either have lost his own life or taken that of the person attacking him. But now, he said, he considered himself as my *wife*; for that was the way, he said, that he treated his women (of whom he has four) when they behave ill. He said that he thanked me for what I had done, that it had given him sense. To this I replied that in a remote country I had left my friends and relations, who wanted for none of the good things of this world, and had come a great distance with such articles as the Indians needed, and which I would exchange for their furs, with which I could purchase more; and in this way I could always supply their necessities; that I considered the Indians as my children, and that I must chastise them when they behaved ill, as it was for their good. 'You all know,' said I, 'that I treat good Indians well, and that I strive to live in peace with you.' 'Yes,' replied the father-in-law to the chief. 'Big Knife speaks the truth. My son had no sense and vexed him, and therefore has deserved the beating which he has received.' Quâs then told the Indians that if ever he heard of any of them laughing at him for the beating he had received he would make them repent of their mirth."

The moral influence of the traders upon their Indian associates was usually far from good. Harmon himself, a man of noble character, remarks in one place in his journal: "I have passed the day in reading the Bible

and in meditating upon my present way of living, and I must confess that it too much resembles that of a savage." When he remonstrated with his companions on their godless behaviour, their reply was that in this country there was neither God nor devil. Many of the white men who had been in the country for any considerable time laid aside the greater part of the restraints of Christian and civilized life and degenerated morally to a level little, if any, superior to that of the savages.² Nevertheless, there always were among the adventurers men of honour and discretion. The influence exercised by the wilderness depended in every case upon the original character of the individual white man himself. The most serious degeneration occurred not in the forts, but among the wandering white hunters and traders. These *courriers du bois* had, however, their characteristic virtues—courage, endurance, enterprise, good humor and perseverance.

Often as it has been denied, practically all the traders debauched the Indians with liquor whenever it suited their purposes. When the Indians once acquired a taste for the intoxicants, it indeed became almost impossible to do business with them without the use of fire water. When the Indians first saw its effects, however, they were frequently filled with consternation. The naïve criticism quoted in the following extract might well provide a text for reformers even today:

"Tuesday, January 1, 1811. This being the first day of another year, our people have passed it, according to the custom of the Canadians, in drinking and fighting. Some of the principal Indians of this place desired us to allow them to remain at the fort that they might see our people drink. As soon as they began to be a little intoxicated and to quarrel among themselves, the natives began to be apprehensive that something might befall them also. They therefore hid themselves under the beds and elsewhere, saying that they thought the white people had gone mad, for they appeared not to know what they were about. They perceived that those who were the most beastly the early part of the day became the most quiet the latter part, in view of which they exclaimed, 'The senses of the white people have returned to them again,' and they appeared not a little surprised at the change; for it was the first time they had seen a person intoxicated."

To men of refined and social instincts, perhaps the cruelest of the deprivations endured by the traders was the isolation from congenial companionship. In the smaller forts, except among the *courriers du bois* and labourers, the only language spoken would be that of the Indians. The traders, of course, in time became masters of several languages, but it would frequently happen that young men fresh from homes of refinement in the far East would in the wilderness be plunged into such an environment

² Harmon's journal, November 16th, 1800.

that for months together they might never hear their own language spoken, or be able to take any intelligent part in any conversation not confined severely to the routine of trade. The situation was further complicated by the diversity existing among the Indian tongues themselves. Thus Harmon's duties brought him into familiar contact with fifteen tribes, no two of whom spoke precisely the same language. Indeed, nine of these languages Harmon describes as radically different the one from the other.

Intercourse with the outside world was possible only at rare intervals. The companies maintained a crude postal system, but the letters were slowly accumulated and forwarded from point to point throughout the enormous interior, and might consume a twelvemonth in ultimately arriving from or reaching the East.

Of course the more intelligent clerks and traders found relief in reading and reflection, but books were few, and the difficulties in the way of study many.

At all times the handful of white men scattered through the plains and forests were subject to more or less danger from hostile Indians. The traders connected with the Hudson's Bay Company suffered less in this regard than did the others, as none of the rival concerns succeeded equally well in impressing the natives with its authority, dignity and neutrality as regards Indian feuds. In the old records frequent references occur to periods of anxiety during which the forts were subject to actual or threatened attacks. In the open plains the traders were of course in still greater danger from Indian attack, and it was often necessary to forbear lighting fires at their encampments for fear of inviting robbery and massacre.

Generally speaking, the Indians brought their wares directly to the fort, but, especially as competition became keener, it was frequently necessary for the companies to send out representatives on trading excursions. The company's delegate, with a small retinue of servants and guides, would set off to visit scattered encampments. He would take with him a small assortment of goods for immediate use, and would make it his business to secure future permanent custom and to induce the Indians to frequent his fort. These little caravans were frequently overtaken by blizzards and severe cold. By day the party would advance as rapidly as possible and by night would encamp around a great fire, if fuel could be obtained, which was not always the case. Unexpected bad weather would, of course, disorganize more or less the party's plans, and frequently on these expeditions they would be obliged to go for days without food. On such occasions one can imagine with what glee the killing of a stray buffalo would be greeted. The two following entries in the journals of one of the old traders indicate the hardships to which such adventurers were accustomed:



TRAPPERS ON THE MARCH.



TRADER AT AN INDIAN CAMP.

"For six days after I had sent the people to fish in the above mentioned lake (Devil's Lake) we subsisted at the fort on parchement skins, dogs, herbs, and a few small fish that we took out of the river opposite to the fort.

"During the last three days we have subsisted on tallow and dried cherries. This evening my men returned from Alexandria with sledges loaded with buffalo meat and the sight of it was truly reviving. Had this favour been withheld from us a few days longer, we must have all miserably perished by famine."

As a general rule the strangers would receive a hearty welcome in the Indian villages, but these were often a surprising distance apart. Indeed, as Harmon and others have remarked, such visitors were treated by the Indians with more real politeness than is commonly shown to strangers in the civilized parts of the world.

The reader will readily forgive me for here introducing a somewhat lengthy extract from the delightful journal of the courageous and unscrupulous Peter Pond. He came to Canada from Connecticut between 1765 and 1769 and spent his first winter as a fur trader in the North West in the latter year. Of his relations with the North West Company we have spoken elsewhere. It may be remarked that only a fragment of Pond's journal has survived. This previous relic was saved from destruction not many years since when a worthy New England house-cleaner was consigning to the flames a mass of old papers that had lain in the garret for a century or more:

"I then embarkt. The Thirteenth Day I arrived and put my Goods into the Same House I Had wintered in ye year before. I heard by Sume Indians there was a large Band of the Natives Incamp't on the Banks of the River about Two Hundred Miles above, Which Wanted to Sea a trader. I conkluded ameatley to Put a Small asortment of Goods into a Cannoe and go up to Them—a thing that never was attempted before By the Oldest of the traders on Account of the Rudeness of those People who were Nottawaseas By Nation But the Band was Cald Yantonoes—the Cheafe of the Band Allwase Lead them on the Plaines. As I was about to imbark the Cheafe arrived to Give me an Invatation to Cum up and trade with them. I agreed and we Seat off toGather—I By water and he by land. I was nine days Gitting up to thare Camp. The Cheafe arrived Befour me—his Rout was Shorter than Mine By Cuting across the Plaines. When I arived within three Miles of ye camp it Beaing Weat Weather and Cold I incamp't and turned up my Canoe which Made us a grand Shelter. At Night it Began to Snow and frease and Blows Hard. We ware then on a Larg Sand flat By the River Side. Earley in the Morning the wind took the Canew up in the Air—Leat hir fall on the frozen flat and Broke hir in Pecis. I

was then in a Sad Situation. About Noon I Perseaved a Number of the Natives on ye Opaset Sid of the River Aproaching me—Sum on horseback—Others on foot. When thay Came Near, finding the Situation we ware in, thay forded the River and offered me thare asistans to take my Goods up to thare Camp. I was glad and Excepted thare offer. We Marcht on with our Loded Horses and Cuming Near the Camp Made a Stop and Seat Down on the Ground. I Perseaved five Parsons from the Camp Aproching, four was imployd in Caring a Beaver Blanket finely Panted—the Other held in his Hand a Callemeat or Pipe of Pece, Verely finely Drest with Differant feathers with Panted Hairs. They all Seat By me Except the one who Held the Pipe. Thay ordered the Pipe Lit With a Grate dele of Sarremoney. After Smokeing a fue Whifs the Stem was pinte East and West—then North and South—then upward toward the Skies—then to ye Earth after which we all Smoked in turn and Apeard Verely frendlye. I could not understand one word they said But from thare actions I Supposed it to be all friendship. After smokeing thay toock of my shoes and Put on me a pair of fine Mockasans or Leather shoes of thare One make, Raught in a Cureas Manner—then thay Lade me down on the Blanket—One Hold of Each Corner and Cared me to the Camp in a Lodg among a Verely Vennarabel Asembly of Old men. I was Plased at the Bottom or Back Part which is Asteamed the Highest Plase. After Smokeing an Old man Ros up on his feet with as much Greaveaty as Can be Conseaved of; he Came to me—Laid his Hands on my Head and Grond out—I—I—I three times—then drawed his Rite Hand Down on my Armes faneing a Sort of a Crey as if he Shead tears—then sit Down—the Hole follode the Same Exampel which was twelve in Number. Thare was in the Midel of the Lodg a Rased Pece of Ground about five Inchis in Hight five feet long two and a half Brod on which was a fire & Over that Hung three Brass Kettels fild with Meete Boiling for a feast. While we ware Imployd in the Sarremony thare was wateing at the Dore four men to take me up and Care me to another feast. At lenth an Old man toock up some of the Vittels out of one of ye Kittles which apeared to be a Sort of Soope thick and with Pounded Corn Mele. He fead me with three Sponfuls first and then Gave me the Dish which was Bark & the Spoon Made out of a Buffeloes Horn to fead myself. As I had got a good apatite from the fateages of the Day I eat Hartey. As Sun as I had got threw with my part of ye feast I was desired to Steap out the Dore which I Did. The People in Wateing then toock me and Laid me on Another Skin and Carred me to another Lodg where I went threw the same Sarremony. There was not a Woman Among Them—then to a thirde after which I was taken to a Large Prepaired for me in which they had put my People and Goods with a Large Pile of wood and six of thare Men with Spears to Gard it from the Croud. At four oclock I Cummened

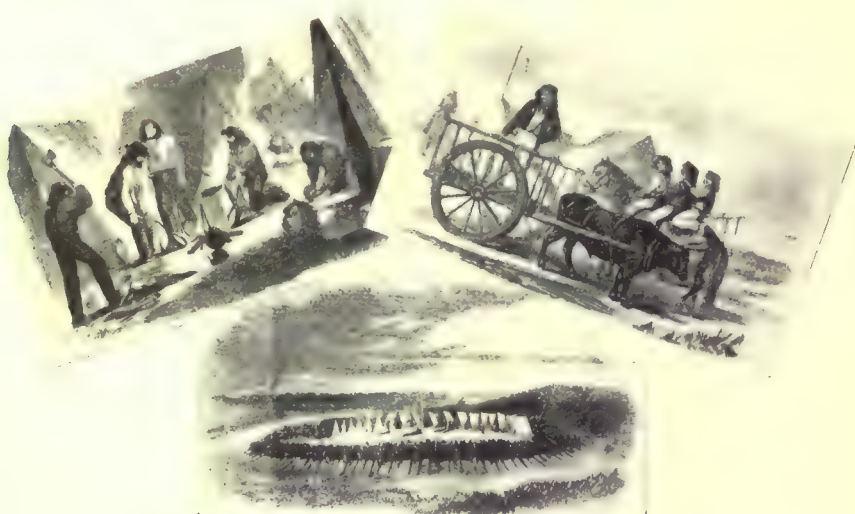
a trade with them But ye Croud was so Grate that the Chefe was Obliged to Dubel this Gard and I went on with my trade in Safety. Seventy-five Loges, at least ten Parsons in Each, will Make Seven Hundred and fifty. My People ware Bystanders—Note a word—Not a Word to Say or Acte. The Chefe who Came Down the River to Envite me up trade with them Gave me to understand that my trade was to Begin at Sundown But he was absnt when thay Compeld me to Begin Befoar the time—he Like wise told me if I was to Contend with them thay Mite take all that I had. I was in a Bad Sittuation But at Sundown the Chefe arived and seeing the Crowd Grate he put to the Gard Six Men more and took the Charge on himself. He was as Well Obade & Kept up as Smart Disapline as I Ever Saw. One of ye band was more than Commonly Dairing—he Ordered one of the Gard to throw his Lans threw him In Case he persisted in his Imperdens—the fellow Came again—the Sentanal threw his lans & it went threw his close and Drew a Leattel Blod But he never atempted agane. I Continued my trade till Near Morning. By that time thare furs ware Gon. Thay Preparad to March of As thay had La on the Spot Sum time Befour my arival, they had got out of Provishon I was not in a Situation to Asist tham Beaing Destatute Myself. By Day Lite I Could not Sea One But the Chefe who Cept Close By me to the last to Prevent aney Insult which mite arise as thay ware Going of. The reson of the Behavior of these People is thay Never Saw a trader Before on thare One Ground or at Least Saw a Bale of Goods Opnd. Sum traders Long Before sent thare Goods into the Planes with thare men to trade with these people—they often would have them Cheaper than the French men Could sell them. These People would fall on them and take the Goods from them at thair One Price til thay Could Not Git Eney. I was the first that atempted to go thare With a Bale of Goods. These People are in thare Sentaments Veray Averishas But in this Instans thay made not the Least Demand for all thar Sarvis. Late in the Morneing the Chefe Left me. I went to work Bundling or Packing my furs which I Got from them.”

Like the Indians, the white traders used dogs, boats, and canoes as their chief means of transportation in early days. To these were added in late times the famous Red River cart,—curious, creaking, lumbering vehicles usually drawn by oxen, and containing no metal in their structure.

Each pair of dogs could draw a load from two hundred to two hundred and fifty pounds, besides perhaps about fifty pounds of provisions for themselves and their driver. Indeed, the loads were frequently very much heavier. Cheadle reports a journey of upwards of one hundred and forty miles made by dog sleds in less than forty-eight hours, the last seventy miles being covered without a halt for rest or food. Dog driving, however, was an art calling for much experience, not to mention an unlimited vocabulary

of expletives. The dogs themselves had commonly a wolf strain in their veins, and were almost as fierce as their undomesticated cousins. In camp it was necessary to place out of their reach not only the provisions, but everything else of animal origin. They would invariably devour any snowshoes, harness, or other leather goods, if given an opportunity.

The Hudson's Bay Company's traders used to mount the Saskatchewan and other northern rivers,—as indeed they frequently do even yet,—in large clumsy boats with a tree or rail attached as a rudder. Along each side was a row of oarsmen who stood to their oars when the currents were strong. These boats had also a mast and sails and were equipped with ropes by which part of the crew working on the shore would pull them up against the rapids.



SCENES IN THE BUFFALO HUNTERS' CAMP.

The Montrealers, however, made almost exclusive use of light canoes carrying a burden of from two to four tons and manned by from six to nine voyageurs. The freight was made up into packs of about ninety pounds each. On portages two or three of these great bundles would constitute the load for each man. It was frequently necessary to portage the canoes also. The furs in which the traders dealt included beaver, otter, muskrat, martin, bear, fox, linx, fisher, mink, wolf and buffalo. On the plains the last named animal was the chief object of chase.

Even within the memory of many now living, the prairies of Saskatchewan and other western provinces teemed with countless migratory herds of buffalo, and in early days they were, at certain seasons, almost inconceiv-

ably numerous. In the early part of the summer during the mating season they were exceedingly ferocious, but in the latter part of the summer it would not be at all dangerous to go right among them. A well developed male in good condition would weigh from one thousand to one thousand five hundred pounds, and a female from eight hundred to one thousand pounds. Their flesh, while less of a delicacy than that of the moose, was excellent food, but the improvident hunters slew them by thousands in mere wanton sport, taking only their skins and tongues. As time advanced, and the fur market called for ever increasing quantities of buffalo skins, this slaughter became more and more reckless, until at last the plains were denuded of the chief resource of the Indians, and the native tribes were consequently reduced to hopeless dependence on the niggardly bounty of the white man's Government.

For the traders operating from the Red River settlements, the great events of the year were the spring and fall buffalo hunts. In 1820 the number of ox carts assembled for the summer hunt reached five hundred, and thirty years after they would total three times that number, with two thousand men, women and children in the caravan. The men were paid three pounds, the women two pounds one shilling and the children a pound for their services in the three months' excursion.

The first expedition started about the middle of June. In early times they operated as a single band, but latterly one party, known as the Red River hunters, used to proceed to the Missouri Coteau, while the other party, known as the White Hare Plain hunters, usually operated west of the Souris River and between the branches of the Saskatchewan.

On their return to the settlements after the summer hunt, a brief interval would be spent in trading and performing some of the sorely neglected duties of husbandry. Before the end of August, the autumn hunt would commence, lasting till the end of October or the early part of November. The place of rendezvous varied from year to year according to the variations in the movements of the migrating buffalo. However, during the later years of the buffalo trade the hunters usually gathered for the autumn expedition at Pembina Mountain.

As they gradually collected, scenes picturesque in the extreme were to be observed in or about the great camp. Here and there the horse dealers would be vigorously plying their calling, describing with vociferous enthusiasm the merits of their beasts, and about them would be talkative and gesticulating groups speaking in many languages. The numberless dogs with their continuous chorus of barking, the hundreds of horses neighing to their companions, the herds of cattle lowing on the plains, and the noisy welcome that greeted the continuous stream of new arrivals made the disorderly camp re-echo all day long.

The dress and general appearance of the hunters would have seemed strange indeed in eastern centers of civilization. The reader should picture to himself a concourse of vigorous pioneers whose bold and graceful abandon, noble stature, bronzed features, varying in shade from the dusky hue of the Indian to the ruddy color of the Celt, and long floating hair, sometimes straight and black, and sometimes fair and waving, would remind one that in them was incarnated the mystery of the mingling of a civilized with a barbarous race. These men were the *bois brûlés*, the children usually of French and Scottish sires and Indian mothers. Their coarse dark blue coats glittered with a barbarous profusion of great brass buttons; their long, waving sashes were of the brightest red; their trousers perhaps of corduroy, perhaps of elk or buffalo leather. Upon their feet would be the moccasins of the Indian wilds.

During the afternoon, the concourse of hunters, decked in their most brilliant finery, would move to a short distance from the encampment to engage in sports. A straight course, half a mile long, would be marked off upon the prairie, and well known leaders would be stationed at each end to superintend the races. On such occasions betting ran high, the stakes including horses, carts, oxen, articles of dress and many other kinds of valuables. Disputes were quickly settled by the umpires. The contestants usually wagered their own steeds, and after the race the losers would strip off saddle and bridle from their coursers and hasten to find consolation in strong liquors, which were consumed in great quantities.

H. M. Robinson, in his *Great Fur Land*, gives a spirited picture of the hunters' camp at nightfall:

"Towards night the huge camp becomes again resonant with a more intense babel of sounds. The lucky winner of the race course parades his gains, and depicts in graphic pantomime his share in the sports, while the loser bewails his losses in maudlin tones or arranges the terms of a new race on the morrow. The betting of the afternoon is succeeded by the deeper gambling of the evening; and the sounds of shuffling cards, the clinking of the buttons and bullets of the moccasin game, and the exclamation of triumph and despair of winner and loser, are everywhere heard. Rum flows freely; for each hunter brings a supply to tide him over the grand encampment and start him fairly on his journey. As the night advances the camp becomes more and more boisterous, the confusion worse confounded. The women disappear from the camp fires, and betake themselves to tents out of harm's way. Drunken men reel about the flaming fires; wild yells fill the still air; quarrels are engendered; fierce invectives in many tongues roll from angry lips, and the saturnalia becomes general. The camp fires, lighting up the strange scene with a lurid glare,—tent, cart and awning,—cast fantastic shadows over all. The orgy continues late into the night, and when the fires flicker and die out, their last feeble glow

reveals shadowy forms stretched promiscuously about, sleeping the sleep of drunkenness."

When at last the main body of hunters had assembled, the caravan would start for the plains. After an interval allowed for stragglers to overtake the party, a president was elected, and a corps of captains was appointed. Each of these chose eight or ten assistants to perform police duties and to enforce the laws of the camp, which had been determined at the rendezvous before the expedition set out. These varied but slightly from year to year. The laws of the buffalo hunt, as drawn up at Pembina in the year 1840, included the following provisions:

- (1) No buffalo to be run on the Sabbath day.
- (2) No party to fork off, lag behind or go before without permission.
- (3) No person to run buffalo before the general order.
- (4) Every captain with his men, to patrol the camp and keep guard in turn.
- (5) For the first trespass against these laws the offender to have his saddle and bridle cut up.
- (6) For the second offence, the coat to be taken off the back of the offender and cut up.
- (7) For the third offence, the offender to be flogged.
- (8) Any person convicted of theft, even to the value of a sinew to be brought to the middle of the camp, and the crier to call out his or her name three times, adding the word "thief" at each time.³

At night the carts were arranged in a great circle with the shafts projecting outwards. Within this barrier the tents were pitched at one end, and the horses and oxen were tethered at the other. All night long sentinels patrolled the camp, and a watchful guard was even maintained against the stealthy attack of treacherous and hostile Indians.

When his scouts had reported to the commander of the hunt the number and position of the buffalo herd, the camp was formed again, and the hunters prepared for the onslaught. Mounted on their fleet and highly trained horses, and cautiously taking advantage of all possible cover, they advanced regularly under their leader's command until near enough to charge the buffalo herd. At the word of command, they then swept down at a gallop upon the startled buffaloes, and poured a deadly volley into their shaggy sides. The bewildered animals, maddened with terror and pain, would scatter over the prairie, tearing up the sward, roaring in rage or agony, and making the earth tremble with their trampling. The hunters followed the

³ The foregoing laws are quoted from a capital article on "The People of the Red River," contained in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, January, 1859.

herd at a gallop, loading and firing their weapons while at full speed. A charge of powder would be settled in place by striking the gun against the saddle, the bullet being dropped from the huntsman's mouth down the barrel without any wads. It is not surprising that their crude, old-fashioned weapons frequently exploded, maiming their reckless users. The wake of the flying herd was marked by piles of dead buffalo, and the prairie was deluged with blood like a field of battle. The carts followed up, and removed the carcasses to the camp. Much of the meat was spoiled by the heat, but the hides and tongues were removed and great quantities of pemmican were made, the meat for this purpose being shredded and boiled with



OLD-TIME PRAIRIE CARAVAN APPROACHING RIVER.

the tallow. This staple article of food was poured, while in a fluid state into sacks made of raw skins. The tongues were cured and the robes dressed. After the autumn hunt, however, the meat was taken back to the settlements frozen.

Such are some of the brief outlines of life among the hunters and traders who first established contact between the western provinces and the civilized world. It was a life full of adventure, glamour and romance, well fitted to call forth the sterner virtues, and characterized by a boyish commingling of frolic and toil. In their isolated posts the commanders or clerks surrounded themselves with the barbaric dignity of feudal barons

and ruled their *voyageurs* and *couricurs du bois* with a despotic hand. In the seasons of rest between their laborious duties of gathering peltries and transporting their supplies, the huntsmen gathered at the forts and held high revel. Marvelous tales of adventure were exchanged, the ancient songs of French Canada and the old lands rang out upon the air, and to the stirring notes of the bag-pipes or violin the hunters and traders danced with the Indian girls. As the season advanced the hunters would gradually settle to preparation for forthcoming excursions. Carts or sleighs, canoes or snow shoes, would be made or repaired by the men who were to use them. Harnesses would be manufactured out of rawhide strips and buffalo skins would be sewn into tents, till at last the period of comparative rest was over, and that of travel, toil and adventure returned.

CHAPTER VI

SASKATCHEWAN INDIANS: ORIGIN, TRIBES AND MODES OF LIFE

ORIGIN OF TERM INDIAN AND OF THE INDIAN RACE—PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS—DIVERSITY OF LINGUISTIC STOCKS—FOUR CHIEF SASKATCHEWAN TRIBES: CHIPPEWEYANS, CREES, SAULTEAUX, ASSINIBOINE-SIOUX—BLACKFEET OF THE FARTHER WEST—ESTIMATED INDIAN POPULATION—TOTEMISM—INDIAN GENEROSITY; DIGNITY AND COURTESY; IMPERTURBABILITY AND INDIFFERENCE TO PAIN—INDIAN CRUELTY; IMPROVIDENCE; LOVE OF DISPLAY—MODES OF DRESS—TABOOING INDIAN VILLAGES AND ENCAMPMENTS—TRIBAL GOVERNMENT; CHIEFS; "SOLDIERS"—INDIAN SLEDS; TRAVAILLES; CARIOLES AND SNOW-SHOES—INDIAN HORSES—POLYGAMY—CANNIBALISM—TREATMENT OF AGED AND OF YOUNG CHILDREN—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—INDIAN FOODS: POMME DE PRAIRIE; PEMMICAN, ETC.—SUTATORIES—FEASTS—NAMING OF CHILDREN—INDIAN DANCES—GAMBLING—STORY TELLING—CUSTOMS AND SUPERSTITIONS RELATING TO HUNTING—WAMPUM—PICTOGRAPHY—MUSIC—INDIAN PIPES—THE INDIANS OF PRE-COLUMBIAN TIMES—TRANSFORMATION WROUGHT BY INTRODUCTION OF HORSES AND FIREARMS—INDIAN WARFARE.

Christopher Columbus, in a letter written in 1493, referred to the aborigines of the new lands which he had discovered as *Indios*. From this misnomer we have inherited the word *Indians*; and from the suggestion which it implies ill informed ethnologists have been led to adopt divers far-fetched or preposterous theories as to the origin of the North American Indians. It is of course out of the question to enter upon any extended study of exploded ethnological theories, but it may be interesting to note that books have been published undertaking to trace the Indians to a primeval home located according to taste in almost any corner of the old world,—Egypt, Carthage, Phoenecia, Canaan, Asia Minor and the Caucasus, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia and India, Central Asia, Siberia, the East Indies, Polynesia, Greece and ancient Celtic Europe, even medieval Ireland and Wales.¹

¹ Alexander Francis Chamberlain, A. M., Ph.D., in article on the North American Indians, Enc. Brit. Edition XI.

In general the North American Indians are brown skinned, though various shades of complexion occur from reddish brown to chocolate color, and sometimes almost black. The hair is uniformly black. The eyes vary in color from hazel brown to dark brown. Indians are usually tall, though some tribes of low stature exist. While most ethnologists feel justified in grouping the aboriginal inhabitants of America north of Mexico as a single race, it must not be forgotten that it includes very widely differing types. It was long ago observed that a very close relationship exists between the natives of North Eastern Asia and the Indians of North America, but whether our Indians are immigrants from Asia, or whether their Asiatic cousins are emigrants from America is a question still under debate. Some authorities believe that in relatively recent times, races quite distinct from the North American Indians have dwelt in what is now Canada and the United States. The Mandans, or white bearded Sioux, a race now practically extinct, are described by La Vérandrye and their other first visitors as sometimes white, and as possessing a grade of culture that seems to mark them off from the other North American Indians as we know them.

In like manner the so-called Mound Builders and the Eskimos have, by many, been considered as non-Indian races.

These views, however, do not seem to find favor with the most widely accepted authorities of the present time. "The exaggerated ideas entertained by some authorities concerning the 'Mound Builders' of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys have led them to assume, without adequate proofs, long continued relations of the tribes inhabiting this part of the country in the past with the ancient people of Yukatan and Mexico, or even an origin of their culture from beyond the Gulf," says Dr. Chamberlain; "but since these mounds were in all probability wholly the work of modern Indians of this area or their immediate ancestors, and the greater part, if not all, of the art and industry represented therein lies easily within the capacity of the aborigines of North America, the 'Mexican' theory in this form appears unnecessary to explain the facts."

Whether or not the North American Indian belong to a single race, they include an astonishing number of different linguistic stocks. Indeed, a study of the many diverse languages spread over America would seem to indicate that the tribes speaking them could not have originated at a common center, unless, indeed, at a period anterior to the formation of organized language. More than fifty of these distinct linguistic branches have been definitely recognized by philologists. It is to be understood that a single one of these linguistic families may include several different but related languages; on the other hand, the most painstaking scholarship has failed to trace any common element in the root words of any two of the linguistic stocks of families themselves. The language of the Cree, for example, is as



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diverse from that of the neighboring Sioux as the English language is from that of the Japanese.²

The Indian tribes with which we have to do in the study of Saskatchewan history are chiefly four,—the Chippewayans,³ Crees, *Saulteaux* and *Stonies*,—though others will be mentioned.

The Chippewayans, including a number of semi-distinct tribes and representing the Athabaskan linguistic stock, have long dwelt in the forests of the northern half of Saskatchewan and adjacent territories. They have never been very numerous, enterprising or blood-thirsty, and consequently the role they have played has been inconspicuous. The general trend of Athabaskan migration seems to have been from somewhere in the interior of North West Canada, though the family is now widely distributed from the interior of Alaska to Mexico and Texas.

The Crees have dwelt chiefly in the South Western part of the Province. They are commonly subdivided as the Plain Crees, the Wood Crees and the Swampies, according to their habitat. The Swampies, however, have resided chiefly in Keewatin and Manitoba. The Crees belong to the Algonquin stock. They are frequently called *Kinistinoes*, or *Kristinoes* by early writers. Various other forms of this name also occur.

The Ojibways, or Chippeways, frequently called the *Saulteaux*, were also Algonquins. They were the chief Indian dwellers in South Eastern Saskatchewan and the adjacent parts of Manitoba. The *Saulteaux* were immigrants from the Eastern provinces, and came to their present home but little more than a century ago.

When Canadian writers speak of the Sioux they usually mean the *Decotas*. The *Assiniboins*, however, who have always been looked upon as Canadian Indians are really of Siouan stock. These *Assiniboins*, or *Stonies*, were at one time very numerous in British Territory, but from the earliest period of white settlement in the West, their numbers have been small.

Along the southern border dwelt the Sioux or *Dacotas*. These are really American Indians, and have from the earliest times been looked upon as interlopers, but they have penetrated British domains so frequently and so persistently, whether in peace or war, that they must be given a place in our history. Indeed, a considerable number of them are now permanent dwellers in Canada. They came chiefly as refugees after the Minnesota massacres of 1862 and 1863, and after the so-called Custer massacre of 1876.

A few Iroquois found their way to the western plains in early times, but even half a century ago they were already nearly extinct or absorbed.

The Blackfeet occupied the western prairies and mountain slopes, and

² *Vide* Chamberlain on N. A. Indians, Enc. Brit. Edition XI.

³ Perhaps it would be more proper to say the *Dénés*, of whom the Chippewayans are a branch.

therefore belonged to Alberta, rather than Saskatchewan. This nation consisted of four tribes: the Blackfoot proper, the Bloods, the Piegans and the Gros Ventres. They, like the Saulteaux and Crees, are of Algonquin origin. The Algonquins are now generally believed to have originated somewhere between the Great Lakes and Hudson Bay, but they are at present the most widely scattered race in British America, and the languages spoken by the tribes have become so diverse as often not to be intelligible to other tribes of the same race.

Various authorities have attempted to compute the Indian population at various times. The more recent students of the subject believe that the figures earlier accepted were usually much too large.

Colonel H. Lefroy, in a treatise on the probable number of the native Indian population in British America places the aggregate of the tribes inhabiting the British plains in 1843 at not more than twenty-three thousand four hundred. Attempts were made to estimate the Indians on the basis of the number visiting the Hudson Bay Co.'s establishments, but these estimates are very unreliable. During the first half of the Seventeenth Century, the Indians were probably four times as numerous as in the middle of the Eighteenth. Doubtless the chief influence at work in producing the wholesale reduction of the Indian population have been epidemics and the destruction of the buffalo and other game upon which the Indian subsisted.

Among numerous Indian tribes, descent usually followed the female line. This is notably the case among the Iroquois, whose social system was more definitely organized, or, at all events, has been more successfully studied than that of most other Indian nations. Each of the five tribes which constituted the original confederacy consisted of eight clans, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that each of the eight clans was sub-divided among the five tribes. Members of the same clan dwelt together in communal lodges. The clans were distinguished by the names of certain animals,—the Wolf, Bear, Beaver, Turtle, Deer, Snipe, Heron, and Hawk. Between the members of any of these eight clans there could be no inter-marriage, as they were looked upon in all cases as near kinsmen, though one might hail from the Rocky Mountains and the other from Lake Champlain. Thus in every family two clans were represented. The children belonged to the mother's clan. It is manifest that such a system of cross relationship bound the tribes indissolubly together, and so constituted a permanent factor making for peace within the confederacy. It would be impossible for any of the tribes to make war on any other tribes, without violating, in the case of every warrior, the principle that war between kinsman and kinsman is sacriligious and unnatural.

Totemism—as such a system of kinship and descent is called—was once thought to have been universal among the Indians, but later authorities hold

a contrary view. The beliefs and institutions in this connection were not identical even within the same nation or stock. For example, female descent prevailed among the Algonquins of the South Eastern but not among those of the North Western Provinces of Canada.

The faults and virtues of the Indians are alike prominent, from the point of view of the white man. Perhaps their most admirable trait is their generosity. Doubtless this characteristic is closely connected with their undeveloped notion of private property, and with the conception of the good of the individual as being entirely subordinate to the good of the tribe. The Indian hunter would rarely return successful from the chase without sending portions of his spoils to some of his neighbors, or inviting his friends to a feast.

Dignity and its allied virtue, courtesy, are in a special sense characteristic Indian traits. Dr. Milton relates that in one season of dire scarcity, he was visited when alone by a friendly native. He sat down and talked for an hour or two, stating that he was out trapping, and that his family was about five miles distant. In due time Milton produced some pemmican for supper, when the fellow justified the sobriquet of Mahayegun, or The Wolf, eating most voraciously. He then mentioned that he had not tasted food for two days. He had visited the white man's tent the day before in his absence and had lit a fire, melted some snow in the pot, and waited for a long time in the hope that some one might come in. At last he had gone away without touching the pemmican which lay on the table right to his hand. "The story was doubtless perfectly true, according with all the signs previously observed and the fact that the pemmican was untouched. With the pangs of hunger gnawing at his stomach, and eyeing no doubt with longing eyes the food around, he had yet, according to Indian etiquette, refrained from clamouring at once for food; he sat and smoked for a long time without making the slightest allusion to his starving condition."

The same author records another instance of a similar character in which a considerable number of starving Indians were involved. "As the miserable company came, they were invited to sit down by the fire. Their cheerfulness belied their looks, and they smoked and chatted gaily without appearing to covet the meat that lay around, or making any request for food." When, however, a supply was cooked and offered to them they ate in silence and dignity, being too well bred to show any signs of greediness, though they proved equal to the consumption of any quantity that was put before them.

In his intercourse with strangers, and on all formal occasions, the typical Indian was dignified to a degree, punctilious in the observation of his accustomed marks of respect to his associates and superiors, and never in haste. Of his customs in these connections we shall have occasion to speak elsewhere.

Growing out of his sense of his own dignity was the Indian's imperturbability and ostentatious contempt for his own physical pain. Instances are recorded in which an Indian submitting to torture at the hands of his enemies has sneered at their alleged unfamiliarity with the refinements of their art, and has himself given instruction and assistance to render more excruciating the agonies inflicted upon him and borne without a sign.

The characteristic Indian faults are the faults of childhood. It must not be forgotten that three centuries ago the Indians were just emerging from the stone age in their cultural development. Mentally and morally they were a race of children. Like children their imagination was vivid, but so limited as to render impossible that projection of oneself into the experience of another, upon which all broad and intelligent sympathies depend. Consequently the Indian was cruel, as judged by our standards.

Again, after the manner of children, he lived only for the present. As a rule he was utterly improvident in all his habits; feasting to excess while abundance lasted, and making no adequate provision for the wants of the future. While capable of cheerfully enduring enormous physical fatigue in pursuits appealing to his barbarous instincts, he held ordinary labor in profound disdain, and was incapable of prolonged and systematic toil the fruit of which was not immediately to be obtained.

As Powell points out, however, the Indian "does not lack industry so much as wisdom."

Like a child, the Indian had an absurd and indiscriminating love of display and showy adornment. The Cree dandy would array himself in scarlet garments; paint a halo of bright vermilion about his eyes, a patch of the same color on each cheek and perhaps a circle about his mouth, arrange his hair in a fantastic manner, and then luxuriate in the admiration of his friends.

The dress of an Indian consisted chiefly of a tight pair of leggings,—each made of a single piece and sewed with a single seam running up the outside,—and a leather breech cloth about a foot wide and five times as long passing between the legs and over a belt, the ends hanging down. The body was also covered with a shirt, belted, and reaching to the thighs, over which the Indian would wrap a blanket of dressed buffalo skin, frequently highly ornamented. Caps were made of a single piece of fur. Their leather garments the Indians generally painted or ornamented with porcupine quills, fringes or tassels, often in a very tasty manner. They also used moccasins and mittens; and horns, claws, feathers and strings of teeth constituted additional ornaments. Many of the Indians rubbed their hair with grease or colored clay to give it a glossy appearance.

The dress of the women was made of the same material as that of the men, but somewhat differently arranged. The shirt was cut or fringed

round the bottom of the skirt and fancifully painted. The arms were covered with detachable sleeves, connected by a cord extending from one to the other across the shoulders. Their hair the women parted at the top of the head and tied behind, or fastened with great knots over the ears and covered with ornaments.

Both men and women frequently tattooed their skins. With the women this form of ornament usually consisted of a line from the middle of the upper lip to the centre of the chin and others down the sides of the chin. The men indulged in tattooing to a much greater extent and frequently covered their bodies with all kinds of fanciful patterns.

"They would often pinch up a fold of the skin and flesh an inch broad, in which they pass the iron barb of an arrow; they raise stripes in this manner from the back of the hand to the shoulder, and thence to the breast, there joining three or four separate circles of incisions made in the same manner on the lower part of the breast. Some content themselves by raising stripes of different lengths upon their arms and thighs, and forming concentric cuts on the breast in a very regular manner, one within another; some with the horns upward, others downward, according to fancy."⁴

"When on the warpath, the figure of a hand is often painted over the mouth. The Ojibways are particularly fond of vermilion, the Plain Crees being partial to white, green and blue. They paint the chest and arms, as well as the face. It was customary to gash the arms, side, chest and legs as a token of grief, and some of the Indians were dreadfully disfigured by the resulting scars. Among the Plain Crees, the arms and breast were often ornamented with figures of animals and various symbols. Such tattooing is performed with a bone or other sharp instrument, the colour being rubbed in."⁵ These ornaments represented the brave's personal or tribal totems and were commonly tattooed upon him at puberty.

Many of the tribes shaved or plucked all the hair except a spot on the crown about the size of a silver dollar. Here the hair grew long and was made the object of the greatest care, being frequently covered with a piece of skin.

The Wood Crees Milton describes as a race of solitary trappers as compared with the Crees of the plains, who are horsemen and very gregarious in their habits. The Wood Crees are very peaceable, and Cheadle considered them remarkably honest,—in this respect differing much from their kinsmen of the prairies. The objects of their chase were moose and fur bearing animals, and occasionally such buffalo as entered the bounds of the woods. They were better clothed and quartered than the Indians of the plains, but often suffered severely from starvation, which, in Cheadle's time, rarely overtook the Plain Crees.

⁴ Coues, p. 365.

⁵ Hind.

The Assiniboin, or Osinpoiles, as Alexander Henry, Sr., calls them, had had in his time no acquaintance with any foreign nation sufficient to affect their pristine habits. "Like the other Indians, they were cruel to their enemies, but, as far as the experience of myself and other Europeans authorises me to speak, they were a harmless people, with a large share of simplicity of manners and plain dealing. They lived in fear of the Cristineaux, by whom they were not only frequently imposed upon, but pilaged when the latter met their bands in smaller numbers than their own."⁶

"They are generally of moderate stature, rather slender and very active; there are, however, many tall and well-proportioned men among them. Their complexion is of lighter copper colour than that of the Crees, and their features are more regular. Their dress, tents, customs and manners are nearly the same as those of the Crees, but they observe more decorum in camp, and are more cleanly and hospitable. Their robes and other garments are kept clean, but daubed with clay. They are excellent riders and notorious horse thieves, even among themselves, perpetually embroiled on account of horses and women; instant murder is frequently the consequence, and indeed to those two causes may be attributed all the quarrels and disturbance among the meadow tribes."⁷

The Crees and the Stone Indians were numerous tribes, and Harmon tells us that they frequently intermarried. The Plain Crees and the Assiniboin were both well supplied with horses, but the Assiniboin were much more skilful in their use, and would never go any distance on foot.

The tents of all the tribes of the plains were made of dressed leather and erected upon poles, usually seventeen in number. Two of these were tied together about three feet from the top. These were set apart at the base, and the others were placed in a slanting position against them, so as to form a circle. The tent would consist of ten or fifteen dressed hides and be about twenty feet in diameter. The fire was always made in the centre, generally within a ring of stones. When new the Indian tents were white, and they were frequently decorated with fantastic devices suggested by dreams, or bygone adventures. Even those who have not seen an Indian village or encampment will realise that a large camp of such tents, pitched regularly on the level prairie, would present a very pleasing appearance, to which the gaily dressed natives and the horses grazing in the vicinity would lend additional interest and colour.

The wigwams of the Wood Indians were generally made of thin, flexible rods, fixed in the ground in a circle and then bent over, tied at tops and covered with strips of white birch bark. These strips were fitted at the bottom with a rim of cedar, around which they were rolled when the lodge was taken down. The most expert soldiers could not pitch or strike

⁶ A. Henry, Sr.

⁷ Coles.

their tents more expeditiously than could the Indian braves, or rather, the Indian women, set up these bark lodges or roll them up to be placed in the canoes.

While certain families enjoyed a hereditary prestige among their people, the office of chief was not a mere matter of inheritance. Usually the community constituted a kind of rude democracy, and its chief rose to power over his people by virtue of his proven skill and courage in hunting and warfare and his exceptional force of character and oratorical ability. As he had no highly developed civil machinery for the enforcement of his will, he could lead his followers only when they chose to follow and were convinced of the wisdom of his plans.

The chief associated with himself ten or a dozen selected braves, whom the old writers designated by the rather ill-chosen name of "soldiers." The commanding officer of this group of police was called the "conductor." These young men regulated the hunting expeditions, and superintended the pitching or raising of the encampments. They kept the members of the tribe together when on the march or setting out upon a tribal hunt, and frequently enforced their authority even to the extent of the breaking of limbs and the destruction of tents. Every young man enjoyed, in his turn, the dignity of being a "soldier," but "the conductor" retained his post as long as he was pleased to keep it. "The conductor," says Larocque, "never does anything of consequence without consulting the other chiefs, and it is in consequence of the resolution taken in council that he harangues and acts. His tent is thrown the first when they raise the camp, he goes foremost all the way (except a few young men who go far before as scouts) and pitches his tent the first, all the others encamp about him. Previous to their flitting he goes about the camp and tells them to throw down their tents, that they are going to such a place, and for such and such a reason. Some of the soldiers go far ahead, and others remain to watch and see if there be no enemies. When buffaloes are seen on the road and they wish to hunt, they cause the people to stop and the old man harangues from one end to the other. When all are ready, the huntsmen set off and the body of the people follow slowly.

"When a quarrel happens between two persons they interfere and try to reconcile them by fair means (that is, when they push their quarrels too far), but I do not know that they employed an authoritative one. Generally a present of a horse or gun is made to the offended person, as the means of reconciliation, but there happen few quarrels, and they are generally occasioned by their wives and jealousy."

The only animals domesticated by the Indians are the horse and dog, and the use of the former animals was confined to the Indians of the plains. The dogs were used as beasts of burden, and could carry upon their shoul-

ders a load of sixty or seventy pounds over a distance of twenty-five or thirty miles a day. The only vehicles for transportation were sleds and travailles. The *travaille* is a contrivance consisting of two poles fastened together at an acute angle, with crossbars between them. The point of the angle rests on the back of the horse or dog, and the baggage is secured to the crossbars. The sleds or *carioles* consisted of thin strips of wood about one and a half feet wide and bound up at the front. The sides were made of green buffalo hide, dried and scraped free from hair. At the back there was a straight board. Over the upper and front part of the sled there was a leather covering. Each *cariole* accommodated but one person. To the back of the sled were attached cords which were held by a man running behind to reduce the danger of the little craft capsizing. The dogs constituting the teams were gaudily decorated. One or two men usually ran in front to beat a track and lead the way.

Indians' snowshoes differed considerably from those now used by the whites. The shoe came to a point in front and was turned up. The side pieces were from eighteen inches to two feet apart and the shoe was frequently five or seven feet in length, double that of the snowshoes nowadays used by white men. The inner side was nearly straight, the outside arching, and the extremities came together behind at a point. The space between was covered with a network of thongs. The Indians farthest north used the simplest style of snowshoe. The natives were trained to their use from early childhood and could walk farther with them in a day through the snow than they could go on the bare ground without them.

By the time the first white man came into the West the Indians of the plains were in the possession of some excellent horses. In this connection Harmon supplies us with some interesting information:

"They sometimes go seventy miles in twelve hours; but forty or forty-five miles is a common day's ride. They do not often use bridles, but guide their horses with halters, made of ropes which are manufactured from the hair of the buffalo, which are very strong and durable. On the back of the horse they put a dressed buffalo skin, on top of which they place a pad, from which are suspended stirrups made of wood and covered with the skin of the testicles of the buffalo.

"Some of these Indians have forty or fifty horses; and they attach great value to those that are distinguished for their speed. Whenever an Assiniboin sells a racer, he separates from him in a most affectionate manner. Immediately before delivering him to the purchaser he steps up to the favourite animal and whispers in his ear, telling him not to be cast down or angry with his master for disposing of him to another, for, he adds, 'You shall not remain long where you are; I sold you to obtain certain articles that I have stood in great need of; but before many nights have

passed I will come and steal you away.' And unless great vigilance on the part of the purchaser prevent, he generally fulfills his promise; for they are the greatest horse thieves, perhaps, on the face of the earth."⁸

When travelling by water the forest Indians used, as a rule, birch-bark canoes, constructed and propelled with great skill. The Indians of the woodless plains, however, had no watercraft except their clumsy *coracles* or bull-boats. These were constructed of leather stretched over a crude framework of light, bent rods. Bull-boats were used chiefly in emergencies when the plain dwellers had occasion to cross a river.

The status of the women varied considerably in different tribes. They performed all the drudgery of the camp, and European critics have usually considered the subdivision of labour very unfair to them. This opinion, however, is not shared by those whose familiarity with Indian life best fits them to form a judgment.

Schoolcraft, like others, emphasises the fact that in the domestic circle the wife was distinctly mistress. "The lodge itself with all its arrangements is the precinct of the government and rule of the wife. She assigns to each member his or her ordinary place to sleep and to put their effects. These places are permanent and only changed at her will, as when there is a guest by day or night. The husband has no voice in this matter, and I have never heard of an instance in which he would so far deviate from his position as to interfere in these minor particulars. . . . The duties and labours of Indian life I believe to be equally and not unequally divided between the male and the female. This division is also a most natural one, and such as must necessarily result from the condition of man as a mere hunter. It is the duty of the male to provide food, and the female to prepare it. . . . To the man belongs not only the business of hunting, for this is an employment, not a pastime, but the care of the territory and the keeping off of intruders and enemies, and the preparation of canoes for travelling, and of arms and instruments of war. The duty of dressing the meats and fowl, on the other hand, is the share of the hunter's wife, with the care and control of the lodge, with the construction and keeping it in order, with all its utensils and appurtenances.

"The whole amount of the transferable materials of the lodge is often comprehended in some half dozen good rolls of bark and as many of rush mats, which the merest girl could easily lift. The mats, which are the substitute for floor cloths, and also the under stratum of the sleeping couch, are made out of the common bulrush, or the flag, gathered at the proper season, and woven in a warp of fine hemp, such as is furnished by traders. The pattern of this soft vegetable woof is dyed and woven in various colours. Before we can affirm that the labour of preparing these barks and

⁸ Harmon.



mats, and setting up and taking down the lodge is disproportionately great or heavy on the females, it will be necessary to inquire into other particulars, both on the side of the male and female.

"Much of the time of the Indian female is passed in idleness. She has not, like the farmer's wife, her cows to milk, her butter and cheese to make and flax to spin. She has not to wash and comb and prepare her children every morning for school. She has no extensive or fine wardrobe to take care of. She has no books to read. She sets little value on time, which is characteristic of the race. What she does is either very plain sewing or some very painstaking ornamental thing. When the sheathing and flooring of the lodges are once made, they are permanent pieces of property, and do not require frequent renewal. When a skin has been dressed and the garment made, it is worn till it is worn out. The articles which enter into the mysteries of the laundry add but little to the cares of the forest housekeeper. There is much unoccupied time when her husband is compelled by their necessities to traverse large tracts and endure great fatigues in all weathers in the quest of food.

"It is also part of her duty at all seasons to provide fuel for the lodge fire. She takes a hatchet of one or two pounds weight, and after collecting dry limbs in the forest, she breaks them into lengths of about eighteen inches and ties them in bundles or faggots and carries them at her leisure to her lodge. Small as these sticks are in length and diameter, but few are required to boil her pot. The lodge being of small circumference, but little heat is required to warm the place, and by suspending the pot by a string from above over a small blaze, she boils the contents without that expenditure of heat which to the amusement of the Indians characterises the immigrant's roaring fire of logs.

"The few fields which the Indians have cleared and prepared for corn-fields in northern latitudes are generally to be traced to some adventitious opening, and have been enlarged very slowly. Could the whole of this physical effort, therefore, be traced to female hands, which is very doubtful, for the old men and boys will often do something, it would not be a very severe imposition.

"There is at least a good deal in this view of the domestic condition of the women to mitigate the severity of the judgment with which the proud and labour-hating hunter has sometimes been visited. He has, in our view, the most important part of the relative duties of Indian life to do. In the lodge he is a mild and considerate man of the non-interfering and non-scolding species. He may indeed be looked upon rather as the guest of his wife than what he is often represented to be, her tyrant, and he is often known only as the lord of the lodge by the attention and respect which she shows to him. He is a man of few words; if her temper is

ruffled he smiles; if he is displeased, he walks away. It is a province in which his actions acknowledge her right to rule; and it is one in which his pride and manliness have exalted him above the folly of altercation." (Schoolcraft.)

In the time of famine Cheadle observed that the children and women were much better supplied than the men. "Although the Indian squaws and children are kept in subjection, and the work falls principally upon them, it is erroneous to suppose that they are ill treated, or that the women labour harder or endure greater hardship than the men. The Indian is constantly engaged in hunting to supply his family with food, and when that is scarce he will set out without any provisions himself, and often travel from morning to night before he finds the game he seeks; then, loaded with meat, he at last toils home again, and while it lasts considers himself entitled to complete rest after his exertions." Many examples of this self-denial and wonderful endurance of hunger are given by Cheadle.

My readers will doubtless be interested in the Indian methods of conducting a courtship. Upon this delicate topic I will again make use of the observations and records left us by first-hand observers.

"The young men", says Larocque, "seldom hunt until they are married, their whole time previous to that epoch being dedicated to dress and parade. A young man rises late in the morning; about midday he begins to dress and he is not finished until late in the evening. He then mounts on his horse, on which he has spread two fais, red and blue, and then in company with his associates he rides about the camp, with the wing of a bustard or hawk before his face in lieu of a fan to keep him from the burning sun.

"At night he dismounts, courts the women or goes to the place of rendezvous and at daylight comes in to sleep. The married man dresses fine only when they raise the camp and on certain special occasions. To please the females and to attract their attention is the motive of the young men's attention to dress. They in their turn dress as clean and fine as they can to please the young men. I have seen courtship carried on in much the same manner as we do, whether it is their usual custom of wooing the girls before marriage or not I do not know, as I could not get the proper information; but some attention and deference seem to be paid to the young female."

According to Harmon, however, courtship and marriage differed rather widely from the customs usually followed nowadays in polite society:

"A young man who is desirous of taking a wife, looks around among the young women of his acquaintance to find one that suits his fancy. Having thus singled out one, to her he makes known his intentions; and if his addresses are favourably received, he visits her in the night season by crawling softly into the tent where she lodges and where she is expect-

ing him after the other inhabitants of the lodge are asleep. Here they pass the night by conversing in a whisper lest they should be heard by the rest of the family, who all occupy the same apartment. As the morning approaches he withdraws in the same silent manner in which he came. . . . The girl then proposes the subject to her mother, and she converses with the father with regard to the intended match. If he give his consent, and the mother agree with him in opinion, she will direct her daughter to invite her suitor to come and live with them. It is now only that they cohabit; and whatever the young man kills, he brings it home and presents it to the father of his wife. In this way he lives during a year or more, without any property he can call his own. After his wife has a child she calls her husband by no other name than the father of her son or daughter. And now he is at liberty to leave the tent of his wife's father, if he pleases. All the Indians on the east side of the Rocky Mountains think it very indecent for a father or mother-in-law to speak to or look in the face of a son or daughter-in-law, and they never do either unless they are very much intoxicated.

"When two young persons of different sexes have an affection for each other and wish to be connected in marriage to which the father of the girl will not consent, they frequently leave the tents of the parents and go and join some distant band of Indians. They are, however, often pursued by the father of the young woman, and should he overtake them, he will bring his daughter back and keep a strict watch over her conduct. All neighbouring tribes often intermarry."

Alexander Henry tells us that the Cristineaux or Crees usually had two wives each and often three. According to Schoolcraft, however, polygamy occurred chiefly among bands that were favorably located and had the best means of subsistence. Even here it was often considered disreputable. There were always some who disapproved of the practice, even though it might increase the brave's general influence among his tribe.

Among many of the Indians it was customary to devour the heart of a courageous enemy with a view to acquiring his bravery, but real cannibalism was regarded universally with horror and superstitious dread. Says Kane: "I do not think that any Indian, at least none that I have ever seen, would eat his fellow creature except under the influence of starvation; nor do I think that there is any tribe of Indians on the North American continent to whom the word cannibal can properly be applied." Anyone known to have been guilty of having used human flesh as food was called by the Algonquin Indians "Weendigo." These wretches were feared and shunned as dangerous madmen, but were, as a rule, not subjected to active molestation. On the other hand, they were rather pitied for the misery which alone could have reduced them to such straits.

Harmon and other observers agree that the aged of both sexes were generally treated kindly and not allowed to want for anything which it was in the power of their relatives to procure for them. When diseased or decrepit, however, and unable to follow their nomadic kinsmen or endure the hardships of savage life, they might, with their own consent, be slain as a release from their misery. This was looked upon as an act of filial piety. Kane relates that one of his Indian friends told him of having killed his own mother. Oppressed by age and infirmity, she had asked him in pity to end her misery, and he had accordingly shot her. When Kane inquired whereabouts he had directed his bullet, his answer was, "Do you think I would shoot her in a bad place? I hit her there"—pointing his finger to the region of the heart. If not thus slain, it would, in many cases, be the sad fate of the sick and decrepit to be left behind as the nomadic bands moved away to new hunting grounds.¹

The Indians were exceedingly devoted to their little children, among whom corporal punishment for juvenile misdemeanours was practically unheard of. Infanticide from motives of prudence was, however, not uncommon among some of the Indians of the North West. With mothers dying in childbirth, their infants were buried. However, infanticide was rare among the Crees; and the Blackfoot Indians believed that women guilty of this unnatural act would never reach the Happy Mountain after death.

The private property of an Indian consisted of his horses, dogs, tents, weapons and household utensils. Some of these things he would bequeath to his friends, but all his clothing and weapons were buried with him. Nothing of which the deceased had made special and personal use was allowed to remain about the encampment, and it was even considered a kind of sacrilege to mention his name or speak of him as dead. East of the Rocky Mountains it was almost universally the custom to bury the dead. The corpse was dressed as gaily as possible and wrapped in a blanket. This garment, Harmon tells us, was never sewn or bound together, however, lest the deceased should be unable to shake it off upon his arrival in the land of the hereafter. Beside the corpse the Indians placed in the grave a pipe and some tobacco, dishes and materials for repairing the snowshoes of the deceased, together with sufficient provisions to support him during his few days' journey to the other world.

Frequently, however, the body, instead of being buried, was elevated on a scaffolding or stage of sticks, some ten feet in the air, and sometimes the

¹ "Upon inquiry I found that it was a common custom among the Chippewayans, to leave the aged, the infirm, and the sick, when supposed incapable of recovery, to perish for want, and that one-half of the aged probably die in this miserable condition." *Journal of John West, M.A., late Chaplain to the Hon. the Hudson's Bay Co., 1820-1823.*

body was incinerated. Harmon relates an incident illustrative of this form of funeral ceremony:

"The corpse was placed on a pile of dried wood with the face upward, which was painted and bare. The body was covered with a robe made of beaver skins and shoes were on the feet. In short, the deceased was clothed in the same manner as when alive, only a little more gaily. His gun and powder horn, together with every trinket which he had possessed, were placed by his side. As they were about to set fire to the wood on which the deceased lay, one of his brothers asked him if he would ever come amongst them again; for they suppose that the soul of a person, after the death of the body, can revisit the earth in another body. They must, therefore, believe in the immortality, though they connect with it the transmigration of the soul.

"The deceased had two wives, who were placed the one at the foot and the other at the head of the corpse; and there they lay until the hair of their heads was almost consumed by the flames and they were almost suffocated by the smoke. When almost senseless they rolled to the ground to a little distance from the fire. As soon as they had recovered a little strength they stood up and began to strike the burning corpse with both their hands alternately, and this disgusting, savage ceremony was continued until the body was nearly consumed. This operation was interrupted by their frequent turns of fainting, arising from the intensity of the heat. If they did not soon recover from these turns and commence the operation of striking the corpse, the men would seize them by the little remaining hair on their heads, and push them into the flames in order to compel them to do it. This violence was specially used towards one of the wives of the deceased, who had frequently run away from him while he was living.

"When the body was nearly burned to ashes, the wives of the deceased gathered up the ashes and the remaining pieces of bones, which they put into bags. These they will be compelled to carry upon their backs and to lay by their sides when they lie down, for about two years. The relations of the deceased will then make a feast and enclose these bones and ashes in a box and deposit them in a shed erected for that purpose in the centre of the village. Until this time the widows are kept in a state of slavery, and are required to daub their faces over with some black substance and to appear clothed in rags and sometimes to go without any clothing except round their waists. But from the time of this feast they are set at liberty from these disagreeable restraints."

In some of the tribes it was customary, especially for women, to cut off a joint from one of their fingers when they lost a near relation. In consequence of this horrid usage, it was not infrequent to see aged women

who lacked the first joint of each finger on both hands. The men on such occasions usually satisfied the proprieties by cutting their hair and by scratching and cutting the faces and arms, frequently in a shocking manner.

During a burial the friends of the deceased would sing a weird chant, and weep and cry aloud in a despairing manner. Suicide from grief at the loss of a member of the family was not uncommon. Harmon is our authority for stating that the strength of conjugal attachment was the frequent cause of suicide in every part of the Indian country.

An important article of food among the Indians of Saskatchewan was the *pomme de prairie*.⁹ This plant has a root nearly a foot long and two or three inches in circumference. It is shaped like a carrot and tastes something like a turnip. The Crees used it in many ways—uncooked, boiled, roasted, dried or crushed into a powder for making soup. Hind remarks that in the Qu'Appelle country especially many bushels of this plant were collected by the squaws and children and large quantities were stored in buffalo bags for the winter. The roots were cut into shreds and dried in the sun.

Animal food, however, supplied the chief sustenance of the Indians. The meat of the buffalo, moose, deer, antelope, bear, etc., was prepared by boiling or roasting. Before the advent of the whites the kettles used were frequently made of bark. The water was heated by throwing into them hot stones. The meat was roasted on a spit stuck in the ground and inclining towards the fire. As the Indians were ignorant of the use of salt for the preservation of their meat, the lean parts of what was not immediately consumed they used to cure by drying in the smoke, and the fat was melted down. Boiled marrow fat was considered a special delicacy.

A staple article of Indian food was pemmican. This consisted of lean meat, dried and pounded fine, and then mixed with melted fat. Sometimes a flavoring of wild berries was added. This mixture was put into leather bags and when cold it became solid. If kept dry, it would remain good for years. This pemmican was very healthy and nourishing food.

Cheadle reports that the Crees regarded the moose as a sacred animal. Certain portions of the meat, including the breast, liver, kidneys and tongue, must be eaten at once. All scraps were burnt, never given to the dogs.

No regular meal hours were observed. The Indians would eat a little half a dozen times a day if they had food to hand, and sometimes, particularly at formal feasts, they would gorge incredibly. Generally speaking, however, they were not great eaters, and sometimes existed for a very long time upon very little food.

In eating, the Indians made use very commonly of birch-bark dishes.

⁹ Botanical name, *psorales esculenta*.

They would take a piece of meat in their fingers and dip it in the soft marrow contained in their dish. The pottery of the Algonquin and Iroquoian tribes was generally crude and undeveloped.

One of the most interesting institutions to be found in connection with every Indian encampment was the sutatory, or sweating-house. Such lodges were commonly made of plaited willows. If for one or two persons only, they were three or four feet in height, and about five feet in diameter. Over the willows were laid the skins of buffaloes, and in the centre of the hut heated stones were placed. The Indian would enter the lodge perfectly naked, carrying with him a dish of water which he would sprinkle over the hot stones. The steam and the heat of the stones would soon put him in a profuse perspiration, and in this condition he would remain for perhaps an hour, though a person unaccustomed to such heat could not bear it for half that time. The Indians believed that by this sweating they rendered their limbs supple. Moreover, they considered sweating a sovereign remedy for most disorders. On leaving the sweating lodge, they would often plunge into a stream or rub themselves with snow. The sutatory was also an important factor in very many of the religious ceremonies observed by the Indians.

Whenever food was plentiful, feasts of a social or religious character were very common. When a chief proposed to make a feast, he sent to his friends little tokens of his intended hospitality, either consisting of small pieces of wood or quills. Every guest brought with him a dish and knife. The host received his guests either standing or sitting in his wigwam, and they were appointed seats according to their age and social status, the most honourable place being next to the chief giving the feast. When the food had been divided up among the guests, the host would light his pipe, draw a few whiffs himself and present the stem towards the sun, the earth and the fire. Having thus done honor to his gods and deceased relatives, he presented the pipe successively to each person present. A small quantity of food was then sacrificed by being cast on the fire, and the feast began. It was considered an evidence of appreciation and good breeding to devour one's portion with the utmost rapidity. While the company were eating, it was customary for the chief to sing, beating time to his song upon a tambourine or drum.

Interesting ceremonies were associated with the birth of children. As soon as the child was born, it was washed in water previously prepared by boiling in it a sweet-scented root. The mother would then order a feast for the neighbouring women who had gathered to assist her. The oldest of the women would cast a small portion of the food into the fire and then divide the rest among the company. Thereupon she would offer up a prayer to the Master of Life on behalf of the newborn infant, asking that its life

might be spared and that it might grow up in beauty. The meat of the first animals killed by a male child was carefully preserved by the parents until sufficient was collected to make a feast. Upon this auspicious occasion the most respected warrior present would place some of the food in the fire, and beseech the Great Spirit to be kind to the lad, allowing him to grow up a skilful hunter and a brave and successful warrior.

Names were usually bestowed by some aged member of the lodge or camp, and the choice was usually considered to be guided by some particular spirit. Frequently the names were suggested by mysterious scenes occurring in dreams. Names bestowed in childhood with solemn ceremony were considered sacred, and were seldom used. An Indian would rarely give his own name, though he would freely indicate those of other persons.

"Among the natives," says Harmon, "those persons who are in any way deformed or have any blemish about them, receive their names from this circumstance, while the others are often named after some beast or bird. No Indian will inform another, even if requested, what his own name is, though he will, if asked, give the names of other Indians. Of the reason of this reserve I am ignorant."

Feasts of a certain character were habitually observed in silence and darkness. After dividing up the food, the master of the lodge would perhaps for half an hour address himself to the spirits of deceased relatives and friends, praying them to be with him to share the food and to assist him in his hunting enterprises. The food would then be eaten in silence, after which the host made still another speech. Thereafter a new fire was kindled and the pipes lit. The whole family would then dance and sing, continuing these exercises for a greater part of the night.

Among the many Indian dances were four of special importance, according to Schoolcraft's classification. These were the war dance, the medicine dance, the wabeno dance, and the dance of honour. Each of these had its own special movements and was performed to special music with associated words.

The dance was a common resource, as Schoolcraft remarks, whenever the mass of the Indian mind was to be acted upon, and it may thus be viewed as related in nature to the school, the platform and the press in civilized society. Harmon gives the following description of a native dance as witnessed by himself:

"While I was at a camp of the natives, I was invited to attend and see them dance. The dancers were about thirty in number, and were all clothed with the skins of the antelope—dresses which were nearly as white as snow: and upon their heads they sprinkled a white earth, which gave them a very genteel appearance. Their dance was conducted in the follow-

ing manner: A man nearly forty years of age arose with a tomahawk in his hand, and made with a very distinct voice, a long harangue. He recounted all the noble exploits which he had achieved, with the several war parties with which he had engaged his enemies; and he made mention of two persons in particular whom he first killed and then took off their scalps; and for each of these he gave a blow with his tomahawk against a post, which was set up expressly for that purpose near the centre of the tent. And now the music began, which consisted of tambourines and the shaking of bells, accompanied by singing. Soon after, the man who had made the harangue began the dance with great majesty, then another rose and joined him; then another, and so on until there were twelve or fifteen up, and all danced round a small fire that was in the middle of the tent. While dancing, they made many savage gestures and shieks, such as they are in the habit of making when they encounter their enemies. In this course they continued for nearly an hour, when they took their seats, and another party got up and went through with the same ceremonies."

All Indians were inordinately addicted to gambling. Before commencing a game of chance, each player collected whatever he intended to stake, and the relative value was mutually agreed upon. The players commonly sat side by side with a blanket over their knees. One favourite game consisted in one player holding in his hands certain small objects, and the other participants being required to guess what he had in each hand. The holder would keep his hands continually in motion, now under the blanket, now behind his back. At each change of position the hands are held out to invite a guess, but usually considerable time elapsed before a stake was risked. Meantime the onlookers drummed and sang, and the players' bodies bent rhythmically backwards and forwards. Such a game might last half a day or more, or until one of the players had won all the stakes.

Story telling was a favourite form of entertainment in the Indian camp, and in this art the aborigines greatly excelled. The scene described was acted out in so far as was possible, by very free use of gesture and pantomime. Sometimes the stories were simply tales of adventure. Very often they were deliberately adapted to the inculcation of Indian virtues in the breasts of the children and young folk who were permitted to hear them. Others of their tales embodied the religious beliefs of the tribe, or the traditional history of its mighty men of old. William Henry tells us that by the tone of voice, the Indian story teller would clearly indicate whether he was relating incidents communicated to him by others, or whether he was describing his own experience or expressing his own personal sentiments. Some examples of Indian folk lore will be given in a future chapter.

Some of the most important Indian customs were, of course, those relating to the chase. The favorite method of hunting the buffalo was by the



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use of what is called the buffalo pound. This was an enclosure formed with straight sticks about four feet high, wattled with smaller branches. If possible, the enclosure was lower than the surrounding prairie. From each side of the opening there extended two ranges of sticks at a wide angle. This lane would reach perhaps two miles into the plain. When a herd of buffalo wandered near or had been cautiously rounded up in the vicinity, some of the most experienced hunters would go forth to decoy the animals into the pound. They would cover their faces and array themselves in buffalo skins, and take positions between the herd and the pound, bellowing from time to time in imitation of the wild battle. Their actions would so closely resemble those of the buffalo themselves that the authors of some of our old journals confess that had they not been in the secret they would have been as much deceived as the unthinking cattle. When the herd was got in motion and approached the pound, the dogs were muzzled and all the members of the band would surround the enclosure. Sometimes horsemen pressed upon the herd from behind, and as they approached they were gradually raised to a high pitch of excitement, and would rush forward, tumbling wildly into the pit inside the gateway of the pound. When the buffaloes were secured within the enclosure, the Indians smoked their ceremonial pipes, and then went into the yard killing the buffalo with their bows and arrows. When the animals were all slaughtered, their tongues were taken to the tent of the chief; part of them were used for a feast and the remainder were generally given back as presents. The meat and skins were then distributed among the people. Should any of the party be displeased with their share, they were too dignified to complain, but would quietly decamp and join another band.

As the Indians believed that animals were possessed of souls similar to their own, they frequently addressed long harangues to the animals they had taken. Sometimes these speeches would be delivered before the slaughter and sometimes afterwards. The bear was held in special honor. When one was slain the Indians would kiss and stroke its head, apologizing profusely for having taken its life, and explaining at length the dire necessity which had forced such an act upon them. At the lodge the bear's head would be adorned with trinkets such as wristbands and belts of wampum and laid upon a scaffold. Near its nose the Indians would place a huge quantity of tobacco. Pipes would be lit, and the master of the lodge would blow smoke into the bear's nostrils to appease its anger at being killed. After all this formality the chief would make a speech in which he would specially deplore the necessity under which men labored of thus destroying their friends. Then the whole party would devote themselves to a hearty feast of bear's flesh. Even the head, after remaining a few days on the scaffold, would find its way into the kettle.

The superstitions of the Indians sometimes seriously interfered with their hunting operations. An unpropitious dream would be sufficient to prevent an attempt being made to capture any animals of the chase even if they were numerous in the vicinity.

Various simple arts had their place in Indian life. Basketry was highly developed among many Indian tribes, and woven goods made of buffalo hair were produced by the Indians of the plains. Wampum ornaments were manufactured especially by many of the Algonquins and Iroquois tribes.

Wampum might be called the shell money of the North American Indians. It consisted of beads made from shells, and required considerable skill in its manufacture. The beads were cylindrical in form, purple or white in color, and about a quarter of an inch in length. The term "wampum" was applied to the beads only when strung or woven together. Wampum belts served as symbols of authority, and were surrendered on defeat in battle. They were also used to commemorate feats of personal or tribal history. Belts passing from one nation to another on the occasion of any important inter-tribal transaction were very carefully preserved as public treasures and memorials. The patterns on the belts served as mnemonic symbols, particular facts being associated with a particular string or figure to aid the memory.

No real hieroglyphics were used by the aborigines of America north of Mexico, but picture writing was widely practised. This mode of communication was of great service. When a band of Indians separated they would fix in the ground where they had encamped a number of sticks leaning towards the direction in which they were travelling. If they had been successful in the chase, the Indians painted or drew, on pieces of bark, pictures indicating the number and kinds of animals which they had killed, and then hung the piece of bark upon a stick. Other Indians, unsuccessful in the chase, finding these notices, might derive important advantages from them, and be guided to a place where they would probably obtain a supply of food. But for such devices, the Indians would have been in much greater danger of perishing by starvation than they already were. Upon the piece of bark there would also be symbols representing the phase of the moon indicative of the time of the month. So accurate was this mode of conveying intelligence that a person accustomed to it would generally ascertain the designated time to within twenty-four hours.

The Indians also used pictography upon their leather tents, and even upon their garments. In some tribes a warrior's robe might contain a pictorial history of his wars and hunting expeditions, and show the number of scalps he had taken.

"The pictographic delineation of ideas is found to exist chiefly among the Shamans, hunters and travellers of the Ojibwa, and there does not appear

to be a recognized system by which the work of any one person is fully intelligible to another. . . . The figures are more than simply mnemonic; they are ideographic."¹⁰

Agriculture was engaged in but little by the Indians of the North West. The Saulteaux, however, and some others, planted Indian corn and potatoes. Other tribes also cultivated tobacco, pumpkins, beans, etc. Sugar was made from the sap of the maple tree in regions where it grew.

Indian music constituted an exceedingly important factor in tribal life. It was the medium through which man communicated with his own soul, with the unseen world, and in a special manner with his companions. The music of each Indian ceremony had its peculiar rhythm. Fasting, prayer, hunting, courtship, games, and the facing or defying of death, all had their special and peculiar songs associated with them.

The only wind instrument known of by Schoolcraft as existing among Indians was a kind of flute, made generally of some cylindrical pieces of cedar, united with fish glue, and having a snake skin drawn in a wet state tightly over it to prevent its cracking. In this instrument eight holes are perforated by burning. It had a mouth piece, and was blown like a flageolet. This was called a "pibbegwon." The "taywaegun" was a drum or tambourine, made by stretching a skin over the end of a section of hollow tree. The "sheshwegwon" was a rattle, made sometimes of the wild gourd, sometimes of a bladder, and sometimes by attaching the dried hoofs of a deer to a stick.

"In the hot summer evenings," says Schoolcraft, "the children of the Chippeway Algonquins, along the shores of the upper lakes and in the northern latitudes, frequently assemble before their parents lodges, and amuse themselves by chants of various kinds, with shouts and wild dancing. Attracted by such shouts of merriment and gambols, I walked out one evening to a green lawn skirting the edge of the St. Mary's river, with the fall in full view, to get hold of the meaning of some of these chants. The air and the plain were literally sparkling with the phosphorescent light of the fire fly." The following is Schoolcraft's translation of the fire-fly song as he then heard it: "Flitting-white-fire-insect! Waving-white-fire-bug! give me light before I go to bed! Come, little dancing white-fire-bug! Come little flitting white-fire-beast! Light me with your bright white-flame-instrument—your little candle."

"Metre there was none," he says, "at least of a regular character; they were the wild improvisations of childhood in a merry mood."

Indian smoking pipes were usually made of a kind of stone harder than gypsum and softer than carbonate of lime, now known to science as catlinite,

¹⁰ Hoffman.

in honor of the well known traveller Catlin. He was the first white man to visit the famous pipestone quarry on the Missouri Coteau, 1836. This quarry was the centre of Indian poetry and romance. Here was to be found what was apparently the only deposit of red pipe stone, though grey pipe stone occurred elsewhere. For ages the red pipe stone quarry was the most sacred shrine of the red man. It was neutral ground, and upon entering it the Indians buried their weapons of war, and met as friends.

Different tribes of Indians show a preference for different shapes and ornament in making their pipes. While the stone pipes of the Indians were the result of long and patient labor, they could on emergency manufacture a pipe at very short notice. They would join together some reeds, and attach to the end a piece of firm clay, which they would mould with their fingers.¹¹

Chamberlain, one of our most distinguished authorities on Indian affairs, believes, with many others, that the amount and extent of tribal wars north of Mexico in pre-Columbian times was not nearly so great as is generally supposed. Such wars usually involved only a portion of the tribes concerned, there often being permanent peace tribes.

Even within historic times, the hunting grounds of the various tribes were definitely distinguished the one from the other, and, upon the whole, it was very unusual for any nation to encroach upon the territory of the others.

The Indian birth rate was low, and owing to their mode of life and barbarous practices in connection with the treatment of disease, the death rate was high. From these and other causes the population was practically stationary. The small bands or tribes scattered throughout an enormous continent abounding in game were generally able to maintain themselves in comparative plenty without moving far from their natal hunting grounds. When discovered by the Europeans, Powell tells us that the Indians of the East were found living in fixed habitations from which their wanderings were but occasional excursions. The extraordinary dissimilarity of most of their languages, shows that in primitive times the different nations had practically nothing to do with each other. The gradual introduction of fire arms and the acquisition of the horse, which was of course introduced into America by the white men, are responsible for great changes in aboriginal habits. The horse made nomads of many tribes which there is abundance of evidence to show were formerly almost sedentary in character.

Moreover, as the white settlers displaced the native tribes the latter retreated westward, and, strengthened by the weapons obtained from the Europeans, they in turn displaced adjacent tribes. Thus, long before the first white man had crossed the continent, the malign influence of white

¹¹ Hind.

settlement had produced an almost universal state of war all through the interior, as tribes driven from their ancestral homes retreated to lands previously occupied by other peoples. Nomadic habits and, in consequence, Indian wars, were further encouraged when a commercial value was given to skins and furs. It thus appears that in pre-Columbian times, the normal condition of the tribes was one of peace, and the original moral responsibility for its disturbance rests with ourselves.

Personal vengeance lay at the root of much Indian strife. A savage whose near relation had been killed was never content until he had avenged the death, if possible by killing the murderer, or some person nearly related to him; at all events, by killing somebody. Even a natural death would often be avenged by indiscriminate homicide. This barbarous custom was strengthened by the belief that death from natural causes was attributable to some one's hostile magic. The following entry from an old journal is of special interest in this connection:

"Yesterday five Sicannies came here, from MacLeod's Lake, who form a small war party. Their leader, or war chief, desired me to allow them to go where they might think proper; upon which I inquired of them whither they wished to direct their course, and what their intention was. The speaker replied that when they left their lands their intention was to go and try to take a scalp or two from the Indians of Fraser's Lake, 'who,' he added, 'have done us no injury; but we have lost a relation, and we must try and avenge his death on some one.' This is a custom common to a greater or less extent to all the tribes."

Through various parts of the West there existed special paths of travel through which hunting was disallowed. They constituted established war roads for the Ojibways and Crees in their periodical expeditions against the Sioux. One of these extended from near the elbow of the south branch of the Saskatchewan to the flank of the Grand Coteau. War parties would frequently travel four hundred or five hundred miles before they would reach the territories of their enemies.

The Wood Crees and Chippeweyans, and the forest tribes generally, were less given to warfare than the Indians of the plains. The summer was the only season employed for military operations, but with its return the Plain Indians usually engaged in war, offensive or defensive, every year. The war pipe was then lighted, and those wishing to join in the approaching campaign smoked it together. No one, however, was compelled to enlist.

Pitched battles were unknown. Warfare consisted in stealthy and unexpected attacks. In these onslaughts the attacking party generally had greatly the advantage and usually wrought terrible havoc among the men of their enemies' tribes. The women and children were taken alive, if possible, and carried home as slaves. They were sometimes even adopted into the

families of their enemies, in the place of children lost, and were then treated with all the tenderness and affection that would be exercised in the case of near relations. These captives were rarely tortured, though warriors who fell into the hands of their enemies might expect to die a terrible death.

The Indians were usually very skilful archers. From childhood to maturity their youths passed almost half their time shooting arrows at a mark. To render this sport the more interesting, the participants had almost always something at stake. In times of war, the stone arrow heads were sometimes dipped in poisonous juices.

When an Indian settlement expected an immediate attack which it would be unable to resist, the whole camp would flee, leaving their lodges standing. Under such circumstances, however, it was not unusual for the old and feeble warriors to remain. They would dress themselves in their gayest garments, paint their faces, light their pipes and sing their war-songs until the enemy arrived and dispatched them.

As a general rule, Indian raids were not associated with any very great loss of life. If a victorious party returned with a score of hideous trophies after their summer's war excursion, the warriors were well satisfied with their success.

The practice of scalping, which most people associate solely with Indian warfare, has been common in Asia, and Africa, and even in Europe. It is described by Herodotus as a Scythian practice, and it existed among the Franks and Anglo-Saxons as late as the ninth century. Its motive lay in the desire of the warrior to preserve some indisputable token of his prowess. The Indian braves wore scalping tufts as an implied challenge. Captured scalps were dried, mounted and consecrated by solemn dances, and were sometimes worn as articles of personal adornment.

CHAPTER VII

INDIAN RELIGION AND FOLK LORE

DIFFICULTY IN ASCERTAINING THE FACTS—ANIMISM AND EARLY MYTHOLOGIES—TRANSITION THROUGH PANTHEISM TOWARDS MONOTHEISM—DEMIGODS—SUBORDINATE MANITOUS—INDIAN MYSTERY MEN—HERBALISTS; WABENOS; THE JESSAKKIDS; THE MIDÉS—FASTS AND PENANCES AT PUBERTY—ADMISSION TO RELIGIOUS ORDERS—FEATS AND FUNCTIONS OF INDIAN PRIESTS—CONSULTING THE GREAT TURTLE—BELIEFS REGARDING THE SOUL—DREAMS—THE TREATMENT OF DISEASE—LEGEND OF THE WHITE STONE CANOE—LEGEND OF THE ORIGIN OF THE EVIL SPIRIT—WILLIAM HENRY ON INDIAN ELOQUENCE—AN IROQUOIS LEGEND.

Regarding the religion of the Aborigines, much has been written, but unfortunately much of the information has been erroneous or misleading. The Indian's almost ineradicable reticence, especially with regard to topics upon which he has reason to suspect that the white man will look with ridicule, has made the facts hard to discover; and our own religious and philosophic standpoint is so far removed from that of the race of children of whom we are speaking that the whites have the intensest difficulty in grasping Indian religious conceptions and ideas, consequently we tend to read into Indian lore notions really attributable to our own religious inheritance and quite foreign to that of the Red Man. Moreover, ever since the advent of the whites, the institutions of the Aborigines have been sinking into decay, and have been subject to insidious transformation resulting from intercourse with the pale-faces.

Every intelligent observer of childhood will have noticed that at a certain stage of development little children tend to treat all things in their environment as if possessed of life and intelligence. Here we have a clue to animism underlying Indian religious conceptions in their least developed forms. Upon Animism proper followed the development of mythologies in which it is noteworthy that most of the characters are considered as mythic animals rather than mythic men. Some of these are the first ancestors of the animals of today; others are the spirits of mountains, winds and other natural phenomena; while yet others of these deities include fire

and the heavenly bodies, notably the sun. That great luminary came to be regarded as the symbol of a divine intelligence and in Indian picture writing, the figure of the sun denoted the Great Spirit. Largely owing to the influence of the White Men, the ancient animal mythology has gradually degenerated into mere fairy tales and folk stories, told for the amusement of children and their elders.

Among some of the Indian tribes, notably the Iroquoian, we may trace a gradual growth toward Monotheism by way of Pantheism. Among numerous Algonquin tribes, also, we see distinct approaches to the conception of a single supreme being, but it is impossible to define to what extent the mythology of even these pagan tribes has been moulded by Christian influences.

All over America, native races have held in veneration various religious heroes or demigods, who reformed the institutions of mankind, and then retired temporarily or permanently from intercourse with the nations. The great Ojibway hero is Nana-bo-zho; among the Crees it is Wis-a-ket-chak. The Sioux demigod was Ic-tin-i-ke. The Blackfeet hero was Na-piw, and that of the Iroquois rejoiced in the alarming name of Te-hor-on-hi-a-wak-hon.

The Algonquin mythology manifests a firm belief in a cosmic mystery or a manitou present throughout all nature.¹ Nana-bo-zho is the creator of the world and of everything it contains, and the author of the institutions and religious ceremonies of Algonquin society. He is also the central figure in a great deluge legend, common in one form or other in very many races. Numerous other manitous of varying degrees of importance also received the homage of the Indians.

In the valley of the Qu'Appelle River, Mr. Hind mentions that he frequently saw offerings to manitous or fairies suspended to branches of trees. They consisted of bits of cloth, strings of beads, shreds of painted buffalo hide, bear's teeth and claws, and the like. This custom was general in the Valley of Lake Winnipeg, and along parts of the Red River. Such offerings were never molested by other Indians or half-breeds.

The Indian Priests are generally known by the misleading title of Medicine-Men. Mystery Men would be a better name; and in reading books about the Indians one will gain a more intelligent grasp of Indian notions if one mentally substitutes the word "magic" for the word "medicine" wherever it occurs.

There was indeed an important class of persons commonly denoted as medicine-men who were herbalists. These were simply persons really or supposedly versed in the mysterious properties of various plants.

Among the Ojibway Indians there were three distinct classes of mystery-men proper, the Midé, the Jessakkid and the Wabeno. The Wabenos, unlike the other mystery-men, did not constitute an organized society. They relied

¹ Enc. Brit.

chiefly for their prompting upon dreams superinduced by long fasting. Their magic was supposed to promote the success of hunting expeditions, love affairs and the like. The grateful beneficiaries commonly repaid them by feasts given in their honor. These were always celebrated at night and associated with singing and dancing. In the course of the programme the Wabeno would entertain the company by further exhibitions of his magic. By the use of mysterious herbs he was enabled, apparently, to handle with impunity red-hot stones and bathe his hands in boiling water or syrup.

The Jessakkid was much superior in dignity to the Wabeno. He was a seer or prophet described by the Indians as a revealer of hidden truths. The mysterious powers of the Jessakkid were supposed to be received direct from the Thunder God at the time of the Sacred Fast observed upon entering manhood.

The highest class of the mystery-men was that of the Midé. While the power of the Jessakkid consisted in bringing calamities upon one's enemies, that of the Midé lay in the averting of evil.

"The lodge used by this class of men consists of four poles stuck in the ground, forming a square of three or four feet, and upward in diameter, around which are wrapped birch bark, robes, or canvas, in such a way as to form an upright cylinder. Communion is held with the Turtle, who is the most powerful Man'ido of the Jessakkid, and through him, with numerous other malevolent Man'idos, especially the Animiki, or thunder-bird. The fact is that there is not the slightest connection between the practice of the Jessakkid, and that of the Mide'wiwin, and it is seldom, if at all, that a Midé becomes a Jessakkid, although the latter sometimes gains admission into the Mide'wiwin, chiefly with the intention of strengthening his power with the tribe."²

The chief divinity of the Ojibway is called Kit-chi-man-i-do, or the Great Spirit, and the second in rank is Dzhe-Man'ido, who is the guardian of the Midé Society, and the author of their sacred rites. The name Kit-chi-man-i-do is always spoken with reverence. Indeed, its use is avoided except in connection with the rites of the Mide'wiwin or a sacred feast or the offering up of tobacco.

An event of extreme importance in the life of an Ojibway youth was his first religious fast, undertaken at puberty. Long abstinence from food produced at last the desired vision of some object—perhaps an animal, perhaps some exceedingly commonplace object—which was accepted as embodying or representing the guardian spirit of the individual, and was never mentioned by him without a preliminary sacrifice. A small effigy of this manitou was thenceforward carried suspended by a string about the

² Powell.

Indian's neck or in his "medicine bag." Almost every male Indian had such a bag. It was usually made of leather, and was about two feet long and one foot broad. It contained the image representing the bird, beast or other being which was considered the peculiar residence of the individual's tutelary spirit. With it were kept a variety of other trinkets looked upon by the Indians as sacred.

When a youth applied for admission into the secret society of the Midé priests, if his admission was approved, he was assigned a special instructor, and sometimes spent several years in preparation for the first of the four separate and distinct degrees of the Midé'wiwin.

"It has always been the custom of the Midé priests to preserve birch-bark records bearing delicate incised lines to represent pictorially the ground plan of the number of degrees to which the owner is entitled. Such records or charts are sacred and are never exposed to public view."³

These sacred charts are now exceedingly rare and valuable. Powell gives a very minute description of one representing a "pictorial resume of the traditional history of the origin of the Midé'wiwin. This curious birch-bark document was more than seven feet long and eighteen inches in width."

When a candidate is being initiated, he takes four ceremonial vapor baths in the sutatory or sweating house. During the last of these the camp would resound with the beating of drums and the cries of many dancers, while the officiating priest was propitiating and invoking the presence of Kit-chi-man-i-do. Late in the night the candidate would retire to his own wigwam, and the next day his initiation would occur amid impressive ceremonies.

The Midé priests were experts in many mystifying feats. One of the most astonishing of them consisted in making a medicine bag move on the ground as if it were alive—probably by the temporary retention within the bag of some small animal. Many of the performances of these sorcerers were so inexplicable to the uninitiated that the belief has been confidently held even by many white men that the Indian priests were really in league with evil spirits. The Bishop of Montreal in 1848, writing upon these topics,⁴ refrains from denying the possibility of demoniacal assistance, but relates an incident which throws a sidelight upon the real nature of the apparent miracles performed:

"That in many instances the performances of the sorcerers are mere juggling cheats, is matter beyond dispute, and a remarkable example of this nature was related to me by a gentleman to whom I have already owed myself indebted for much information. He was present when one of these fellows pretended to conjure back and produce to view bullets which he had

³ Powell.

⁴ Journal of the Bishop of Montreal, during a visit to the Church Missionary Societies N. W. American Mission.



TYPES OF
SASKATCHEWAN INDIANS

told some of the Indians to throw with all their might into the river. He was either naked or stripped for the purpose, and his very hair was searched in order to ascertain that he had no bullets in it. The factor, observed, however, that in executing his various movements and gesticulations to operate the charm, he passed his hands over his face, and was convinced that by a piece of well concealed dexterity, he took the bullets from his mouth, and the factor privately desired one of the other Indians when the exhibition was about to be repeated, to make a little notch in his bullet by which it might be recognised. The bullet produced by the conjuror was, of course, without the mark and the cheat was detected."

One of the most important functions of the Midé was that of consulting on behalf of his people the Great Turtle or Guardian Spirit of the Ojibways. Alexander Henry, writing about 1764, has given us one of the most circumstantial accounts of such a ceremony. From it the following extract is taken:

"For invoking and consulting the Great Turtle, the first thing to be done was the building of a large house or wigwam, within which was placed a species of tent, for the use of the priests and reception of the spirit. The tent was formed of moose-skin, hung over a frame of wood-work. Five poles or rather pillars, of five different species of timber, about ten feet in height and eight inches in diameter were set in a circle of about four feet in diameter. The holes made to receive them were about two feet deep, and the pillars being set, the holes were filled up again with the earth which had been dug out. At top, the pillars were bound together by a circular hoop or girder. Over the whole of this edifice were spread the moose-skins covering it at the top and around the sides, and made fast with thongs of the same; except that on one side a part was left unfastened to admit of the entrance of the priest.

"The ceremonies did not commence but with the approach of night. To give light within the house, several fires were kindled around the tent. Nearly the whole of the village assembled in the house, and myself among the rest. It was not long before the priest appeared, almost in a state of nakedness. As he approached the tent, the skins were lifted up as much as was necessary to allow of his creeping under them on his hands and knees. His head was scarcely inside, when the edifice, massy as it has been described, began to shake; and the skins were no sooner let fall, than the sounds of numerous voices were heard beneath them, some yelling, some barking as dogs, some howling like wolves; and in this horrible concert were mingled screams and sobs, as of despair, anguish and sharpest pain. Articulate speech was also uttered, as if from human lips; but in a tongue unknown to any of the audience.

"After some time, these confused and frightful noises were succeeded by a perfect silence; and now a voice, not heard before, seemed to manifest

the arrival of a new character in the tent. This was a low and feeble voice, resembling the cry of a young puppy. The sound was no sooner distinguished, than all the Indians clapped their hands for joy, exclaiming that this was the Chief Spirit, the Turtle, the Spirit that never lied. Other voices which they had discriminated from time to time they had previously hissed, as recognising them to belong to evil and lying spirits which deceive mankind.

"New sounds came from the tent. During the space of half an hour, a succession of songs were heard, in which a diversity of voices met the ear. From his first entrance till these songs were finished, we heard nothing in the proper voice of the priest; but now he addressed the multitude, declaring the presence of the *Great Turtle*, and the Spirit's readiness to answer such questions as should be proposed.

"The questions were to come from the chief of the village, who was silent, however, till after he had put a large quantity of tobacco into the tent, introducing it at the aperture.

"The questions of public interest being resolved, individuals were now permitted to seize the opportunity of inquiring into the condition of their absent friends, and the fate of such as were sick. I observed that the answers given to these questions allowed of much latitude of interpretation. . . . The Great Turtle continued to be consulted till near midnight, when the crowd dispersed to their respective lodges. I was on the watch through the scene I have described to detect the particular contrivances by which the fraud was carried on; but such was the skill displayed in the performance, or such my deficiency of penetration, that I made no discoveries, but came away as I went, with no more than those general surmises which will naturally be entertained by the reader."

Schoolcraft declares that the Algonquins believed that every person had two souls, one of which had the power of leaving the body in dreams, while the other remained in it until after the burial. Provision was made for the egress of this second soul, the lid or cover of the receptacle of the body being merely tied down, and never nailed, and the rope or string being left loose. Over the grave was placed a cover of cedar bark to shelter it from the rain, and in this an aperture was also left to allow the soul to escape.

Dreams were esteemed as highly important by all Indians, and were encouraged by long fasting. A young Indian's initial fast, marking the end of childhood and the attainment of maturity, was viewed with special solemnity. Schoolcraft says, indeed, that it was as important among Indians as is baptism among Christians. It was looked upon as a free-will rite, in which the individual dedicated himself to the religious duties of manhood.

It is impossible to separate the rites and ceremonies supposedly connected with the healing of disease by magic means from the other religious and

semi-religious usages observed among the Indian peoples. The customary incantations and the barbarous treatment to which the sufferers were subjected must very seriously have augmented the death role. Alexander Henry may again be quoted for an interesting description of the means used in the hope of recovering the sick:

"I was once present at a performance of this kind, in which the patient was a female child of about twelve years of age. Several of the elder chiefs were invited to the scene, and the same compliment was paid myself on account of the medical skill for which they were pleased to give me credit.

"The physician (so to call him), seated himself on the ground and placed before him on a blanket was a basin of water, in which were three bones, the larger ones, as it appeared to me of a swan's wing. In his hand he had his shishiquoi, or rattle, with which he beat time to his medicine song. The sick child lay on a blanket near to the physician. She appeared to have much fever and a severe oppression of the lungs, breathing with difficulty and betraying the last stages of consumption.

"After singing for some time, the physician took one of the bones out of the basin; the bone was hollow, and one end being applied to the breast of the patient, he put the other into his mouth in order to remove the disorder by suction. Having persevered in this as long as he thought proper, he suddenly seemed to force the bone into his mouth and swallow it. He now acted the part of one suffering severe pain, but, presently finding relief, he made a long speech, and after this returned to singing to the accompaniment of his rattle. With the latter during his song he struck his head, breast, sides and back; at the same time straining as if to vomit forth the bone.

"Relinquishing this attempt, he put himself to suction a second time, and with the second of the three bones. This also he seemed to swallow.

"Upon its disappearance he began to distort himself in the most frightful manner, using every gesture which could convey the idea of pain; at length he succeeded, or pretended to succeed, in throwing up one of the bones. This was handed about to the spectators, and strictly examined; but nothing remarkable could be discovered. Upon this he went back to his song and rattle, and after some time threw up the second of the two bones. In the groove of this, the physician upon examination, found and displayed to all present a small white substance, the piece of a quill of a feather. It was passed round the company from one to the other, and declared by the physician to be the thing causing the disorder of the patient.

"The multitude believe that these physicians, whom the French call *jongleurs*, or jugglers, can inflict as well as remove disorders. They believe that by drawing the figure of any person in the sand or ashes or clay, or by considering any object as the figure of a person, and then pricking it with a stick or other substance, or doing in any other manner that which done to a

living body would cause pain or injury, the individual represented, or supposed to be represented, will suffer accordingly. On the other hand the mischief being done, another physician of equal pretensions, can by suction remove it. Unfortunately, however, the operations which I have described were not successful in the instance referred to; for on the day after which they had taken place, the girl died."

Space will not permit us to reproduce Indian tales in any number. Very many of them, indeed, are of little interest except to the serious student engaged in tracing the development of a barbarous race. The tales are commonly so grotesque as to make little appeal to the white reader. On the other hand many of them are singularly beautiful, and of such a couple of examples may be quoted. The following story was taken down by Schoolcraft.

THE WHITE STONE CANOE.

"There was once a very beautiful young girl who died on the day she was to have been married to a handsome young warrior. He was also brave, but his heart was not proof against this loss. From the hour when she was buried there was no more joy or peace for him. He went often to visit the spot where the women had buried her, and sat musing there, when it was thought by some of his friends he would do better to try and amuse himself in the chase, or by diverting his thoughts on the war-path. But war and hunting had both lost their charm for him. His heart was already dead within him. He pushed aside both his war club and his bow and arrows.

"He had heard the old people say that there was a path that led to the land of the souls, and he determined to follow it. He accordingly set out one morning, after having completed his preparations for the journey. At first he did not know which way to go. He was only guided by the tradition that he must go south. For a while he could see no change in the face of the country. Forests and hills and valleys and streams had the same looks which they wore in his native place. There was snow on the ground when he set out, and it was sometimes seen to be piled and matted on the trees and bushes. At length it began to diminish and finally disappeared. The forest assumed a more cheerful appearance. The leaves put forth their buds, and before he was aware of the completeness of the change, he found himself surrounded by Spring. He had left behind him the land of snow and ice. The air became mild; the dark clouds of winter had rolled away from the sky; a pure field of blue was above him, and as he went he saw the flowers beside his path and heard the song of the birds. By these signs he knew he was going the right way, for they agreed with the traditions of his tribe. At length he espied a path. It led him through a grove and up a long and elevated ridge, on the top of which he came to a lodge. At the door stood an

old man with white hair, whose eyes, though deeply sunk, had a fiery brilliancy. He had a long robe of skins thrown loosely round his shoulders, and a staff in his hand.

"The young Chippewayan began to tell his story, but the chief arrested him before he had proceeded ten words. 'I have expected you,' he replied, 'and have just risen to bid you welcome to my abode. She whom you seek passed here but a few days since, and being fatigued with her journey, rested herself here. Enter my lodge and be seated, and I will then satisfy your inquiries, and give you directions for your journey from this point.' Having done this, they both issued forth from the lodge door. 'You see yonder gulf,' said he, 'and the wide stretching blue plains beyond? It is the land of souls. You stand upon its border, and my lodge is the gate of its entrance. But you cannot take your body along. Leave it here with your bow and arrows, your bundle and your dog. You will find them safe on your return.' So saying, he re-entered the lodge, and the freed traveller bounded forward as if his feet had suddenly become endowed with the power of wings. But all things retained their natural color and shapes. The woods and leaves, the streams and lakes were only more comely than he had ever witnessed. Animals bounded across his path with a freedom and confidence which seemed to tell him that there was no blood shed here. Birds of beautiful plumage inhabited the groves and sported on the waters. There was but one thing in which he saw a very unusual effect. He noticed that his passage was not stopped by trees or other objects. He appeared to walk directly through them. They were, in fact, but the souls and shadows of material things. He became sensible that he was in a land of shadows. When he had travelled half a day's journey through a country which was continually becoming now more attractive, he came to the banks of a broad lake, in the centre of which was a large and beautiful island. He found a canoe of shining white stone tied to the shore. He was now sure he had come the right path, for the aged man had told him of this. There were also shining paddles. He immediately entered the canoe and took the paddles in his hand, when to his joy and surprise, turning round, he beheld the object of his search, in another canoe exactly its counterpart in everything. She had exactly imitated his motions, and they were side by side. They at once pushed out from shore and began to cross the lake. Its waves seemed to be rising and at a distance looked ready to swallow them up, but just as they entered the whitened edge of them, they seemed to melt away as if they were but the images of waves. But no sooner was one wreath of foam passed, than another still more threatening rose up. Thus they were in perpetual fear, and what added to it was the clearness of the water through which they could see heaps of beings who had perished before, and whose bones lay strewn at the bottom of the lake. The Master of Life, however, had decreed to let them pass, for

the actions of neither of them had been bad. But they saw many others struggling and sinking in the waves. Old men and young men, males and females were there; some passed and some sank. It was only the little children whose canoes seemed to meet no waves. At length every difficulty was gone as if in a moment, and they both leaped out on The Happy Island. They felt that the very air was food. It strengthened and nourished them. They wandered together over the blissful fields where everything was formed to please the eye and the ear. There were no tempests—there was no ice or chilly winds—no one shivered for the want of warm clothes; no one suffered from hunger; no one mourned for the dead. They saw no graves; they heard of no wars. There was no hunting of animals, for the air itself was their food. Gladly would the young warrior have remained there for ever, but he had to go back for his body. He did not see the Master of Life, but he heard his voice in a soft breeze; ‘Go back,’ said the voice, ‘to the land from which you came. Your time has not yet come. The duties for which I made you and which you are to perform, are not yet finished. Return to your people and perform the duties of a good man. You will be the ruler of your tribe for many days. The rules you must observe will be told you by my messenger who keeps the gate. When he surrenders back your body, he will tell you what to do. Listen to him, and you shall afterwards return to the Spirit which you must now leave behind. She is accepted, and will be for ever here, as young and as happy as she was when I first called her from the land of the snows.’ When this voice ceased, the narrator awoke. It was the fancy of a dream, and he was still in the bitter land of snow, and hunger and tears.” . . .

Many of the myths conflict with each other to a greater or less extent, and stories prevalent among some tribes are treated as unworthy of credence by others. Schoolcraft reproduces a legend of the origin of Machimanito, or the Great Evil Spirit. In the days of creation the Master of Life made creature after creature and sometimes experimentally, as partially completed products, without definitely endowing them with life. On a certain occasion he made a creature on the model of many beasts of the field, but with hands like a god—like himself and with uplifted head. In this creature he had left some germs of life which he had forgotten to take away when he discarded his creation, casting it into an old cave amongst the remains of other works that had been thrown thither without life. Long afterwards, however, the germ of vitality worked in the image, and it came forth from the cave with a great noise and terrible to behold. Thus originated the Spirit of Evil.

As Schoolcraft remarks, “The coolness with which the fact is assumed that the origin of evil was incidental in the process of developing a perfect humanity would, at an earlier date, have been quite appalling to the schoolmen.”

Though but few Iroquois made their way to the Western plains, the following tale reported by William Henry in 1766⁵ is of such high intrinsic interest that it is well worth reproducing as an example of one of the best Indian stories extant. This William Henry was the uncle of Alexander Henry. Having been taken prisoner by Iroquois, he owed his life to his adoption into his captors' tribe. He was possessed of a faculty for languages and took pains to acquire that of his captors, so that he became much respected by old Cannassatego, a warrior, councillor and chief man of the village. He took much pains to instruct the white man in the principles of Indian eloquence. "This," says Henry, "is an art (it may seem strange to say it, but it is strictly true) carried much higher among these savages than it is now in any part of Europe, as it is their only polite art, and they practise it from their infancy, as everything of consequence is transacted in councils, and all the force of their government consists in persuasion."

On one occasion the Indian had been making inquiries of Henry regarding the history, customs and religious opinions of the white people.

"When he had sat silent a few minutes he said, 'White man, listen to me; hear me, Coseagon. You say that there is but one great good Mannitta. You know of no more. If there were but one, how unhappy must he be without friends, without companions, without that equality in conversation by which pleasure is mutually given and received. I tell you that there are more than a hundred of them. They live in the sun and in the moon; they love one another as brethren; they visit and converse with each other, and they sometimes visit, though they do not often converse with us. Every country has its great good Mannitta who first peoples that country. I am now going to tell you how my country was first made and peopled.'

"Then raising his voice and entering into the council style and manner of speaking with that modulation which I might call the quoting tone, being what they use in repeating messages, treaties or anything that has been said by others in former times, other places or preceding councils; a tone so particular, that if you come into council in the middle of a speech, you can tell whether the person is delivering his own sentiments or reciting those of another, this tone having the same effect in their speeches, and answering the same end with our marginal inverted commas in writing, to distinguish borrowed passages quoted as authorities; only that the Indians have three differences in the quoting tones, none of which we have in writing, viz.: the approving accent, the disapproving accent and the uncertain or doubting, and that there is something measured or musical in all these tones. I say, Cannasatego, in the quoting or historical tone, with the approving accent, and with an air

⁵ "Account of the Captivity of William Henry in 1755, and of His Residence Among the Seneca Indians Six Years and Seven Months Till He Made His Escape from Them."

of great authority and dignity, went on with his account of the manner in which his country was made and peopled.

"When our great, good Mannitta raised Akanishionegy,⁶ out of the great waters he said to his brethren, "How fine a country is this! I will make the Red Men the best of men to enjoy it." Then with five handfuls of red seed like the eggs of flies did he strew the fertile fields of Onondaga. Little worms came out of the seeds and penetrated the earth, where the spirits who had never yet seen the light entered into and united with them. Mannitta watered the earth with his rain; the sun warmed it; the worms with the spirits in them grew, putting forth arms and legs and moved the light earth that covered them. After nine moons they came forth perfect boys and girls. Mannitta covered them with his mantle of warm purple cloud and nourished them with milk from his finger ends. Nine summers did he nurse them, and nine summers more did he instruct them how to live. In the meantime he had made for their use trees, plants and animals of various kinds. Akanishionegy was then covered with woods and filled with creatures. Then he assembled his children together and said, "Ye are five nations for ye sprang each from a different handful of the seed I sowed; but ye are all brethren and I am your father, for I made you all; I have nursed and brought you up; Mohocks, I have made you bold and valiant, and see I give you corn for your food. Oneidas, I have made you patient of pain and of hunger, the nuts and the fruits of the trees are yours. Sennekers, I have made you industrious and active; beans do I give you for nourishment. Cayugas, I have made you strong, friendly and generous; ground nuts and every root shall refresh you. Onondogas, I have made you wise, just and eloquent; squashes and grapes have I given you to eat and tobacco to smoke in the council. The beasts, birds and fishes have I given to you all in common. As I have loved and taken care of you all, so do you love and take care of one another. Communicate freely to each other the good things that I have given you, and learn to imitate each other's virtues. I have made you the best people in the world, and I have given you the best country. You will defend it from the invasions of the other nations, from the children of other Mannittas and keep possession of it for yourselves while the sun and moon give light and the waters run in the rivers. This you shall do if you observe my words. Spirits, I am now about to leave you. The bodies that I have given you will in time grow old and wear out, so that you will be weary of them, or from various accidents they will become unfit for your habitation, and you will leave them. I cannot remain here always to give you new ones.

"I have great affairs to mind in distant places, and I cannot attend so long to the nursing of children. I have enabled you therefore among your-

⁶ The Land of the Iroquois.

selves to produce new bodies ; to supply the place of the old ones, that every one of you when he parts with his old habitation may in due time find a new one, and never wander longer than he chooses under the earth, deprived of the light of the sun.

“Nourish and instruct your children as I have nourished and instructed you. Be just to all men and kind to strangers that come among you. So shall you be happy and beloved by all, and I myself will sometimes visit and assist you.” Saying this he wrapped himself in a bright cloud and went like a swift arrow to the sun, where his brethren rejoiced at his return. From thence he often looked with pleasure to his brothers, the country he had formed and the nation he had produced to inhabit it.

“Here the five nations lived long and happily, communicating freely to each other as their wants required, all the good things that had been given them, and generations had succeeded generations when the great evil Mannitta came among them and put evil thoughts in their hearts. Then the Mohocks said, “We abound in corn which our brothers have not ; let us oblige them to give us a great deal of fruits, beans, roots, squashes and tobacco for a very little corn, so shall we live in idleness and plenty while they labour and live hardly.” And in the same manner spoke the other nations. Hence arose discord and animosity and hatred, insomuch that they were on the point of lifting the hatchet against each other, and miring the ground with brothers’ blood. Their father saw this from the sun, and was angry with his children. A thick blue and red cloud covered all the land, and he spoke to them in thunder. “Wretches !” said he, “Did I not freely give to each of you different kinds of good things, and those in plenty, that each might have something in his power to contribute to his brothers’ happiness, and so increase the happiness and strengthen the union of the whole, and do you now abuse those gifts to oppress each other ; and would one brother, to make himself, in imagination, more happy, make four brethren, in reality, more miserable ? Ye have become unworthy of the goodness I have shown you, and shall no longer enjoy my favors.”—Then the sun of Akanishiongy gave forth darkness instead of light, the rivers ran backwards to the mountains, and, with all their fish, reentered the fountains from which they sprang, forsaking their ancient beds, and leaving dry the banks they used to water.

“The clouds withheld their rain, and carried it away to other regions. The surface of the earth became dust ; whirlwinds filled the air with it, and every breathing creature was almost stifled with it ; everything green withered ; the birds flew away ; the beasts ran out of the country, and last of all, the afflicted people, famished nearly to death, their dry eyes not having even a tear left, departed sorrowing, begging every where for food from those who despised them for their late wickedness to one another.

“Nine summers passed away, and their distresses continued. Then the

evil spirit left them, for they no longer listened to his counsels; they began mutually to feel and pity one another's misfortunes; they began to love and to help each other. The nation among whom they were scattered now began to esteem them, and offered to adopt and incorporate them among themselves. But they said, "No, we are still a people; we choose to continue a people; perhaps our great Mannitta will restore us to our country, and we will then remember this your offered kindness." The Great Mannitta, seeing their hearts changed, looked on them with compassion. He spoke, and the sun again gave light; the rivers came again forth from the fountains and ran rejoicing through the delighted valleys; the trees and plants renewed their verdure, the birds and beasts returned to the forests, and the five nations, with glad and thankful hearts, went back to repossess their ancient seats. From that time down to the present day it has been an inviolable rule and custom among the nations, that every brother is welcome to what a brother can spare of the good things which the spirit has caused to spring for him out of the earth.'"

CHAPTER VIII

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT COLONY IN THE CANADIAN WEST

EARLY SASKATCHEWAN SETTLEMENTS OFFSHOOTS FROM THE RED RIVER COLONY—SELKIRK'S MOTIVES, PHILANTHROPIC AND COMMERCIAL—TRANSFER OF ASSINIBOIA FROM H. B. COMPANY TO SELKIRK, 1811—MILES MACDONELL BRINGS FIRST IMMIGRANTS—FOUNDING OF FORT DOUGLAS—SALE OF FOOD STUFFS TO FUR TRADERS FORBIDDEN—RESENTMENT OF NORTH WEST COMPANY AND ARREST OF MILES MACDONELL—COLONY DESERTED; BUT LATER REESTABLISHED—HARDSHIPS OF EARLY SETTLERS—NORTH WEST COMPANY'S PLOT TO ANNIHILATE THE COLONY—MASSACRE AT SEVEN OAKS, 1816—SELKIRK TO THE RESCUE—THE GRASSHOPPER PLAGUE—EFFECT OF THE UNION OF HUDSON'S BAY AND NORTH WEST COMPANIES, 1821—STORMS AND FLOODS OF 1826, AND SUBSEQUENT YEARS—DEPARTURE OF THE DEMEURON MERCENARIES AND OF THE SWISS COLONISTS—SELKIRK'S EXECUTORS SURRENDER THE COLONY—CLAIMS OF RETIRED SERVANTS OF HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY—COUNCIL OF ASSINIBOIA—AGITATION FOR FREE TRADE—JAMES SINCLAIR AND THE SAYER TRIAL—NEWSPAPERS AND POSTAL SERVICE—EXPLORATION OF THE FARTHER WEST—APPROACHING COLLAPSE OF HUDSON'S BAY REGIME.

The first settlements in the present Province of Saskatchewan were primarily offshoots from the Red River Colony, established by Thomas, fifth Earl of Selkirk, in the year 1812. Already this remarkable philanthropist and adventurer had been engaged in colony building, having established settlements in Prince Edward Island and in West Central Ontario. Strange to relate, it was through Sir Alexander Mackenzie's reports of the far West that Selkirk was led to bring thither the first serious tillers of the soil to appear on the British prairies—an enterprise resisted by Sir Alexander Mackenzie and his Montreal colleagues with unrelenting severity.

The motives of Lord Selkirk have frequently been severely questioned. Since he was only human, they were probably mixed, but the researches of each succeeding decade tend to corroborate the views now held by most historians that the visionary Earl was genuinely concerned for the betterment of the peasantry of the British Isles, and was chiefly intent upon demonstrating that on the untilled fields of British America numberless multitudes

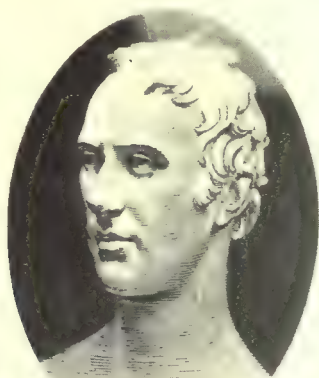
might find refuge from the hopeless prospect confronting them in the old lands.

At the same time there is no doubt that the Earl's colonizing scheme was intended to bring advantages to the Hudson's Bay Company in its struggle with Canadian rivals. The bitter competition of recent years had seriously shaken the ancient Company. Its shares, which at one time had been rated at double their par value had fallen in 1809 to fifty *per centum*.

In order to gain control of the Company's policy, Selkirk purchased forty *per centum* of the Company's shares, and a considerable portion of



SIMPSON.



SELKIRK.



STRATHCONA.

the remainder he controlled through friends. On May 11, 1811, he secured from the Company the transfer to him of 16,493 square miles, including the southern portion of the present Province of Manitoba and a large part of south eastern Saskatchewan.¹ His enemies maintain that the Earl's real motive was his desire to plant in the country a large group of dependents

¹ According to Rev. James Taylor, in an article published by the Veterans of the Fur Trade Association, in 1905, the western boundary of this vast tract, as defined on the map accompanying this deed, ran through Fort Carlton. Mr. Taylor now agrees with the present writer that the deed would place the western boundary in Saskatchewan, indeed, but much farther east. The territory thus acquired by Selkirk was called the District of Assiniboia. Its southern boundary, as at first defined, proved to be in American territory. Ultimately, for municipal purposes, Assiniboia became, in 1835, a circular district of fifty miles radius, having Fort Garry as center.

who would be virtually game-keepers to the Hudson's Bay Company, employed to cut off the communications of the Montreal merchants trading in the interior. It is undeniable that the scheme was grossly mismanaged if indeed the Earl's purpose was to establish a prosperous agricultural colony. On the other hand, if the undertaking had for its object active resistance to the North West Company, a fatal blunder was committed in so locating the settlement that no line of communication could in actual practice be kept open between it and the Company's base on the shores of Hudson's Bay.

Our chief present interest is with events rather than motives. Selkirk scattered broadcast a glowing prospectus for the encouragement of prospective emigrants, and a considerable number assembled at Stornoway, where they were taken in charge by Captain Miles Macdonell, acting under Selkirk's instructions. Long delays occurred through the open opposition or secret intrigues of representatives of the Montreal traders, but on July 26, 1811, the first party at length set sail, arriving at York Factory two months later. Captain Macdonell had with him ninety laborers and fifteen other emigrants, including the Reverend Mr. Bourke, who, however, never went into the interior. In November, Macdonell moved his *protégés* fifty miles up the Nelson River to winter. Severe hardships were experienced and Macdonell's difficulties were complicated by considerable insubordination among his followers. However, gloomy as was the truth regarding this memorable winter, there is good reason to believe that the facts were not as bad as they have commonly been represented. Much of the information bearing on the matter has come to the modern historian through the distorting medium of accounts written by the North West Company's employees and partisans.

In July, Macdonell and his party set out for the Red River, which they reached in August. It was an ill omen that they were there met by employees of the North West Company disguised as Indians, who warned them not to attempt a permanent settlement. However, by 1813 a considerable number of buildings had been erected, including a post named Fort Douglas. This same year brought a party of Irish immigrants and numerous evicted tenants of the Duchess of Sutherland.

Early in January, 1814, Miles Macdonell, the Governor of the Colony, issued a proclamation that was fraught with serious consequences:

"Whereas the Right Honourable Thomas, Earl of Selkirk, is anxious to provide for the families at present forming settlements on his lands at Red River, with those on the way to it, passing the winter at York and Churchill Forts, in Hudson Bay, as also those who are expected to arrive next autumn, this renders it a necessary and indispensable part of my duty to provide for their support. In the yet uncultivated state of the country, the ordinary resources derived from the buffalo and other wild

animals hunted within the territory, are not deemed more than adequate for the requisite supply. Wherefore it is hereby ordered that no person trading furs or provisions within the territory for the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company, or the North West Company, or any individual, or unconnected traders or persons whatever, shall take any provisions, either of flesh, fish, grain or vegetables, procured or raised within the said territory, by water or land carriage, for one twelve-month from the date hereof; save and except what may be judged necessary for the trading parties at this present time within the territory, to carry them to their respective destinations; and who may, on due application to me, obtain a license for the same.

"The provisions procured and raised as above shall be taken for the use of the colony; and that no loss may accrue to the parties concerned, they will be paid for by British bills at the customary rates. And be it hereby further known, that whosoever shall be detected in attempting to convey out, or shall aid and assist in carrying out, any provisions prohibited as above, either by water or land, shall be taken into custody, and prosecuted, as the laws in such cases direct, and the provisions so taken, as well as any goods and chattels, of whatsoever nature, which may be taken along with them, and also the craft, carriages, and cattle, instrumental in conveying away the same to any part but to the settlement on Red River, shall be forfeited."

While it may be that the precarious condition of the colony at this time rendered some such measure necessary, and while, in the proclamation, Macdonell makes no distinction between the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company and those operating from Montreal, it is, of course, evident that the regulations would press most severely upon the North West Company; and that great organization defiantly resolved to up-root the colony. A party was sent by it to effect Macdonell's arrest. A *mêlée* occurred in which one man was killed and, to prevent further bloodshed, the Governor surrendered and was taken to Montreal. There he was kept for a couple of years, though he was never brought to trial.

When Captain Miles Macdonell left, the infant colony passed under the charge of James Sutherland, who was forced to sign an agreement with the halfbreeds controlled by the North West Company in accordance with which the settlement was to be vacated.

About this same time another party, ignorant of the disasters that had befallen their predecessors, left Scotland to join Selkirk's pioneers. They embarked in June and reached the banks of the Red River in November, finding the colony deserted. Their own supplies were practically exhausted and, there being no others to be had, the unfortunate immigrants were compelled to undertake an additional march of seventy miles through the snow to Pembina, whither most of their predecessors had retreated. Even there famine still faced them, and most of their numbers were obliged to join the Indians and Métis buffalo hunters on the prairie, and to remain with them

through the winter. In the following year, however, the settlers returned to the Red River and made a good start. Colin Robertson assumed charge of Fort Douglas and, on March 17, he seized and destroyed Fort Gibraltar, belonging to the North West Company, and captured Duncan Cameron, who had effected the arrest of Miles Macdonell. Selkirk secured the assistance of a considerable number of French Canadians and his agents were sufficiently strengthened to carry out the wholesale confiscation of property belonging to the North West Company, which was equally violent and unscrupulous in its own policy.

A definite plot was now hatched by the Canadian traders to raise such a force of halfbreeds and Indians in the interior as would annihilate the Red River Colony. This scheme was entrusted largely to the representative of the North West Company at Fort Qu'Appelle, Alexander Macdonell.

In a letter dated March 13, 1816, which Colin Robertson intercepted, Alexander Macdonell wrote that "a storm was brewing in the North" and "ready to burst on the heads of the miserable people." What the North West Company had done last year would be in comparison, he said, "mere child's play." He also spoke of "glorious news from Athabasca," to-wit: the death by starvation of eighteen employees of the Hudson's Bay Company. Robertson realized the dangers of the situation, but he was unable to convince the newly appointed Governor-in-Chief of the Hudson's Bay Company, Robert Semple. Accordingly, Robertson washed his hands of the whole matter, and retired to York Factory, leaving Semple in charge at Fort Douglas.

On June 19, 1816, Governor Semple saw upon the prairie a party of seventy horsemen. The partisans of the North West Company have persistently endeavored to prove that the intentions of this cavalcade were entirely peaceable and that they were simply making a detour around Fort Douglas to join a party of their friends who were arriving from the East. There is probably some truth in this, but an examination of the available evidence makes it very evident that they intended when the junction was effected, assaulting Fort Douglas in force. Governor Semple, with foolhardy rashness, went out with twenty men to meet them. An altercation ensued, whereupon he and his adherents were massacred, only one escaping. This occurred at a spot known as Seven Oaks. The North Westers then advanced upon the colony and under the threats of assassination compelled the hapless immigrants again to desert the settlement. Many were taken East, to Canada. Others retired to Jack River at the north end of Lake Winnipeg.

The story of Selkirk's operations in the following year we cannot here review in detail. He organized a military force, consisting chiefly of French soldiers-of-fortune, captured Fort William, the headquarters of the Canadian traders, and recovered Fort Douglas. Imperial Commissioners now inter-

ferred in the interests of peace, and the scene of warfare was transferred to the law courts, where the representatives of the two companies became engaged in an intricate series of interminable law suits.

A considerable number of the settlers had returned to the Red River, but in the winter of 1817 impending famine forced them to retire once more to Pembina. They must have been made of heroic stuff, for in 1818, they returned to cultivate their deserted farms. New disasters awaited them. On July 18, 1818, a stupendous cloud of grasshoppers settled upon the colony. The invaluable gardens were totally destroyed and once again the settlers found a winter refuge in Pembina. The struggle with the grasshoppers lasted three years.²

Meantime, in 1820, Lord Selkirk and Sir Alexander Mackenzie both died, and in the following year the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company were fused. This last event, while immensely beneficial in many respects, was not without its disadvantages to the colony. The union naturally rendered more economical the administration of the fur trade; this meant that a considerable number of halfbreeds formerly employed by one or the other of the companies were left without any adequate means of support. For a long time many members of this class lived in great poverty.

Under the deed of 1811, creating the colony of Assiniboia, it was expressly stated that one-tenth of the vast area included in the Selkirk grant, was to be reserved for retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, and "for no other use, intent or purpose whatsoever." The size of the estates to be granted these retired servants was dependent upon rank. The master of a trading post was entitled to 1,000 acres, and even an ordinary laborer who had served the company only three years was entitled to 200 acres. These provisions were not faithfully observed, however. Many retired servants were not given deeds to any land, and many that did receive land grants had to be content with farms much smaller than those to which they felt themselves in law and right entitled.

² The following passage is from Abbé Dugas' *Canadian West*, p. 293:

"At the end of two or three weeks the insects went off to die elsewhere, but before taking their departure they left their eggs in the ground, and the next year those eggs produced millions of fresh grasshoppers that ate all the vegetation until the end of July. When they had their wings these rose in clouds so thick that they completely hid the rays of the sun—so much so that those who watched their departure could look at the orb of day without winking an eyelid.

"That year there was no harvest of any kind. In the spring of 1820 each one hastened to sow whatever quantity of grain he had in reserve, for they always were careful to put a little aside each year. The season was favorable, everything grew splendidly, hope for the future caused the miseries of the past to be forgotten, when, on the 26th of July another cloud of grasshoppers came down. This time the poor settlers became entirely discouraged; everything was as completely destroyed as if fire had swept the entire country, but still more discouraging were the quantities of eggs that the insects had left in the earth. In 1821 everything in the form of verdure was eaten, and the soil of the fields and of the prairies was left as black as the dust on the highway. The grasshoppers penetrated everywhere and ate everything—clothes, leather, etc., etc.; nothing could be left within reach of them." (*Notes of Mgr. Provencher.*)

However, upon the whole, the Red River settlement prospered until the winter and spring of 1826. An unexpected snowfall of unprecedented depth occurred in this year, for which the numerous hunters upon the plains were quite unprepared. In spite of relief parties sent out from the colony, many of the hunters perished from cold or exhaustion. Most of their horses were lost and the buffalo herd was driven beyond reach. The cold of this winter was terrific, and it is said that the ice on the river measured nearly six feet in thickness. At all events, when the enormous mass of snow melted in the spring, the river was still impeded with ice, and a disastrous flood occurred. The river rose some fifteen feet above its usual level and practically the whole settlement was under water. After eighteen days the flood began to recede, but it was the middle of June, almost four weeks later, before the settlers were able to return to where their homes had stood. Similar floods had been recorded in 1776, 1790 and 1809. Others occurred in 1852,³ 1861 and later, but the disaster of 1826 probably caused more distress than did any of the others, though only one life was lost.

³ *Notes of the Flood at the Red River, 1852*, by the Bishop of Rupert's Land.

"This little sketch does not profess to be a narrative of the late flood as a whole, but of its effects in that part of which I am the center. Its effects were very different in different places; they varied almost with every reach of the river, and according to the level of the bank at each spot. It was perhaps the most disastrous among the Canadians, around and about the Upper Fort; it was very severe in the Upper and Middle Church Districts; it affected a good deal of the lower part of the Assiniboine; while the upper part of the district of St. James on that river, and those of St. Andrew's and the Indian Settlement, were almost untouched. . . . May 3, from 10 a. m. till 2 p. m., the waters gained so fast as to lead to very painful forebodings. Some houses opposite to us are already abandoned, their inmates tenting on the little knolls behind. We hear of one settler taking a bateau right through his house; another with a boat at his door ready to carry off his goods. I saw this myself, during my walk, at one house on a low point near us. From the fort we hear that more than fifty deserted houses may be seen. The owners of some wholly reckless of the future, and regarding their return to them as uncertain, have in some cases offered them for sale and some have changed hands in this way for 30s or £2. . . . May 10. Another beautiful morning, but the rise in the night is greater than any previous one. The water was now in the granary and store, and I was some time standing in the water, which had got into the ice-celler, endeavoring to rescue some barrels of salted meat, which we had deferred doing on Saturday night. Through the energy of those around me we succeeded in doing this, though the cold was intense. The store of provisions was invaluable to us, as it constituted our summer stock and main dependence during the warm weather. The loss of the ice though in our climate a great luxury, was, under the circumstances, scarcely felt or thought of.

"This day the boat, which we expected for the little boys, arrived about 11 a. m., with Mr. Black, the officer in charge of the Upper Fort, and Mrs. Black, who kindly came to see us. They were distressed at finding us so surrounded with the waters. Their accounts were most painful. The barn of Emilien, the largest farmer among the Canadians had floated away; they reported also the loss of many other houses, carried down by the current. A little time was lost in collecting our pigs, poultry, etc., for transportation, and then the boat went off, taking my three dear little boys and their invaluable nurses to their spot of refuge on the higher ground of St. James to enjoy the kindness and attention of Mr. and Mrs. Taylor. The water gained upon us all day. One of my servants brought tidings from Mr. Taylor of a rise in the Assiniboine of five inches and a half during the night. A poor Frenchman called on me, begging for a little relief; his house had been swept away, and besides this he was left without a bateau; he was homeless and spoke of his seven children with tears in his eyes, but added, 'C'est le bon Dieu qui afflige'—a lesson of patience to all."



MAIN ST. WEST SIDE QÜ. APPELLE. SASK.

The philosophic Scotchmen of Red River found it possible to discover redeeming features even in this disaster. It resulted in the emigration of the disbanded soldiery that Selkirk had brought to the colony—a class of men with whom the typical Selkirker could have little in common. More unfortunately the Swiss artisan settlers, the first of whom had arrived in 1821, also departed with them, settling in Minnesota, where St. Paul now stands. A process of natural selection was at work which was to result in the permanent settlement of the shores of the Red River by men who could not be dismayed, and therefore could not fail.

As years passed by, Lord Selkirk's executors became more and more weary of their duties in connection with the guardianship of his colony. Accordingly, in 1834, it was transferred to the Hudson's Bay Company under a secret arrangement. Though Selkirk is alleged to have spent about £200,000 upon the settlement, his executors were content to accept in 1836 in full quittance of their claims, the sum of £84,111. There is, in many quarters, a strong conviction that the terms of the agreement were contrary to the spirit of Selkirk's will and distinctly to the disadvantage of the immigrants and halfbreeds.

As so many of those affected in this matter are now prominent citizens in the province of Saskatchewan, it seems necessary to explain their oft-repeated protests against this surrender and the consequences it entailed. By such well informed authorities as Rev. James Taylor, sometime Principal of Emmanuel College, who for a generation has battled unweariedly for the rights of the retired traders and servants, it is even questioned whether any *bona fide* surrender of the Selkirk estate ever occurred. However, even if the district of Assiniboia as originally confined had been reconveyed to the Hudson's Bay Company, it is argued that such reconveyance manifestly could not effect the previously established rights and interests of retired servants. Selkirk's will could involve only nine-tenths of the district originally surrendered by the Hudson's Bay Company. That meant that a vast area of land remained the property of, or was held in trust for, the servants of the company and their descendants. Mr. Taylor declares that Sir George Simpson for the last thirty-seven years of his life was simply the attorney for the executors. In course of time important documents were mislaid or concealed and the legal rights of the retired servants became more and more obscure. Accordingly, the feeling spread that the great company was deliberately intent upon robbing its retired servants and their descendants of their lawful rights. To this topic it will be necessary to recur in future pages of our history.

The Governors of Assiniboia—appointed by Selkirk, his executors or their attorneys—had usually associated with them a few persons known as their council, though, as a matter of fact, its powers and functions had been

almost purely formal. In 1832 the minutes of the council indicated considerable legislative activity, but in earlier days any real functions which it exercised had been judicial, and this primary characteristic of the council disappeared but gradually. In 1835, however, a distinct step in advance was taken. The Council of Assiniboia, as then constituted under Sir George Simpson, acting executor under Selkirk's will, and Alexander Christie, Governor of Assiniboia, consisted of these two officials and thirteen other prominent citizens.

For the next five years the chief topic of public interest in Rupert's Land was the persistent agitation for the abrogation of the Hudson's Bay Company's monopolies. The company constituted the sole purchaser in the market of the settlement, it controlled all imports and exports; it alone could legally engage directly or indirectly in the fur trade; and no opportunity seemed to be neglected of enforcing the company's charter rights in all their obnoxious details. In 1844 Governor McTavish went so far as to command all persons importing goods from England to leave their business correspondence open for his inspection.

Among the most spirited opponents of the company's monopoly was James Sinclair. He belonged to a family long and honorably associated with the service of the great company and this saved him from personal prosecution, though the Hudson's Bay Company refused to bring out goods from England in his name. However, in spite of the company's protests he embarked independently upon the traffic in peltries and, having collected a considerable quantity of furs, offered them for purchase by the company's agent at Fort Garry. Under the circumstances that official thought fit to refuse them. Sinclair then took his furs east *via* the United States and presently appeared with them in London. Rather than have a competitor arise in the open market, the company now paid him handsomely for his peltries, and he returned to the Red River to further prosecute his audacious enterprise. Presently the company undertook to take a test case before its courts, and in 1849 William Sayer, another free trader of less prominent social position, was prosecuted. James Sinclair acted as Sayer's counsel. The trial, however, was but a farce. Sayer made no attempt to deny his participation in the fur trade; but as Louis Riel, Sr., with four hundred armed halfbreeds, all ardent free traders, was present to see that no ill befell Sayer, he was released. This broke up the monopoly. Henceforth the company made practically no attempt to enforce its right to the exclusive trade in furs. However, Sinclair was manifestly a dangerous man from their standpoint. To get him out of the settlement, the company, with the financial co-operation of the British Government, employed him to conduct overland parties of settlers destined for Oregon, where the company still drove an extensive trade.

In 1859 the first newspaper was established in Rupert's Land, the *Nor' Wester*, by Messrs. Buckingham and Caldwell, in opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company. This was the beginning of the end of the old regime. The great company was essentially feudal in character and when confronted by the persistent impertinences of a popular press it became manifestly an anachronism whose despotic authority must presently be laughed out of existence. Prior to 1850 there had been postal service but twice a year *via* York Factory in the summer, and overland *via* Canada in the winter. This was then replaced in 1855 by a monthly service and by 1862 the settlement was in weekly communication with Pembina.

In the great West beyond Fort Garry the chief trading forts were the nuclei of tiny villages, but otherwise there was no settlement further West than Portage la Prairie. However, through the activities of the fur traders and of other explorers, the country was gradually becoming better known. In 1845 Kane, the Canadian painter, had undertaken his remarkable journey of four years' duration through the West. The record he has left of it in his journal and pictures is of permanent interest and value. In 1859 gold was discovered in the bed of the Saskatchewan River, and greatly quickened popular interest in the unknown land. Little came of this discovery, but it kept the eyes of enterprising men upon the West for a number of years.

Between 1857 and 1860 Captain Palliser conducted important exploratory investigations under instructions from the Imperial Government. His operations covered a vast territory from Lake Superior to British Columbia. In 1857 he travelled up the Assiniboine to Fort Ellis, thence *via* the Qu'Appelle, to the "Elbow" of the Saskatchewan, from which point his party proceeded to Fort Carlton, where it took up its winter quarters. The report of this expedition was presented to the Imperial Parliament in 1863. Copies of it are now rare, but they deserve careful examination by those seriously interested in the history of exploration.

Valuable services were also performed by private parties. In 1865 Viscount Milton and Doctor Cheadle published the account of a rather remarkable journey begun in 1864, which carried them across America from Quebec to Victoria. Their purpose was to discover the most direct land route through British territory to the regions of the far West, and to call attention to the remarkable opportunities for colonization presented by North West Canada. The travellers reached Victoria in September, 1863. In 1862 the country was also visited by the Earl of Dunmore and a party of other distinguished Englishmen whose writing aroused much interest. Probably the most important publicity work done in the interest of immigration and industrial development was that performed by James W. Taylor, the American agent at Fort Garry.

In 1867 there occurred an event memorable in the commercial history of

the North West; this was the attempt successfully made by Alexander Begg, the historian, and W. E. Sanford, of Hamilton, subsequently Senator, to establish regular trade between Canada and the Red River settlement.

Meantime, the rule of the great company was tottering to its fall. To the agitation which terminated in the surrender of its territorial rights, and to the prolonged disorders which culminated in the disturbances of 1870, separate chapters must be devoted.

CHAPTER IX

THE FORGOTTEN COMMONWEALTH OF MANITOBA, AND OTHER PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENTS.

SPONTANEOUS RISE OF LOCAL PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENTS—NEGLECTED
SETTLEMENTS AT PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE—THOMAS SPENCE—PROTESTS
AND PETITIONS, 1867—PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT SET UP, 1868—
INTERESTING STATE CORRESPONDENCE—COLLAPSE OF SPENCE'S GOV-
ERNMENT—OTHER PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENTS.

The settlers of Western British America have ever been characterized equally by the love of freedom and by distaste for anarchy. Consequently when on account of the remoteness of a settlement or its temporary political conditions, the arm of the central authority was paralyzed, local provisional governments have been established at various times.

In 1868 there existed in part of the North West a shortlived provisional government of this kind, the very tradition of which has been almost forgotten. Its brief history justifies recall.

It will be remembered that the ancient colony of Assiniboia was of very small geographical dimensions when compared with the enormous provinces into which the North West is now subdivided. Beyond its western limits one of the first settlements of importance was that centering round Portage la Prairie, or Caledonia, as it was then called. Here the people did not even enjoy the perhaps doubtful advantages of being under the ancient Council of Assiniboia. They were subject immediately and only to the paternal despotism and forgetfulness of the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The sturdy pioneers of Portage la Prairie objected equally to both despotism and forgetfulness. Their chief spokesman was Thomas Spence, an interesting character whom many old timers in the present Province of Manitoba well remember. While he never came to affluence nor to important office under any recognised government, he was a man of considerable parts, and was possessed of the essential qualifications of a successful agitator. He could recognise the anomaly of the existing state of affairs; he manifestly enjoyed helping his neighbors to see their grievances; he loved making speeches and writing letters; he had unlimited self-confidence and an imperturbable sense of his own dignity; and he would not and could not be silenced. He must have been a man worth knowing!

On the 31st of May, 1867, a group of the settlers of Portage la Prairie assembled in the little store of Thomas Spence, of Caledonia, to protest against the existing system of government, or lack of it, and to make their grievances known afar. Mr. Spence occupied the chair, and at the close of the proceedings, the records showed that he received the formal thanks of his fellow citizens for "the dignified manner in which the meeting had been conducted." The settlers crystallized their views in a series of interesting resolutions. One of these sets forth that "already efforts had been made by the people to organize and carry on a local government." Of this experiment we know nothing except what is contained in the last clause of this resolution, wherein we read the mournful news that the settlers of Portage la Prairie had "failed to continue the same successfully, through a want of unity and dignity in the Government."

The discontented pioneers called the attention of the powers that were, to the anomalous condition of the colony at Portage la Prairie. "Being beyond the fifty miles limit from Fort Garry and the jurisdiction of the Council of Assiniboia, this settlement, containing a population of nearly five hundred, is totally without law or protection, civil or criminal, and entirely at the mercy of lawless bands of Indians and others." The meeting placed upon record its desire "to lay before the British and the British North American Confederate Governments their regret and despondency as loyal British subjects left to continue in their anomalous condition." To this resolution is appended a publicity advertisement in the framing of which we can see the hand of Mr. Spence. The settlers of Caledonia "inhabit a section of the country which for salubrity of climate, richness of soil and luxuriousness of vegetation, and as an agricultural country, capable of supporting in comparative affluence millions of people, cannot be excelled, if equalled, in any part of the world."

"With a view of reflecting the sentiments of this people to the British Government," it was resolved that "a memorial be addressed to Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen, praying for redress and British law and protection being extended to them as loyal British subjects, and that Messrs. Spence, McLean and Garvin Garnoch be a Committee to draft and forward the same to the proper authorities and that a copy of the resolutions be transmitted to the Canadian Government with a request that the same may be laid before the House at the first meeting of the Confederate Parliament of British North West America."

This Committee performed its duties, but the far-away Eastern statesmen failed to respond with a promptitude at all commensurate with the earnestness of the Caledonian settlers.

Consequently, on January 17, 1868, Mr. Spence and his colleagues notified Mr. Angus Morrison, M. P., in a lengthy letter, that the delay in con-

sidering their requests had culminated in the establishment of a provisional government. This letter runs as follows:

Portage la Prairie, via Red River Settlement, January 17, 1868.

"Dear Sir:—The President and Council of Manitoba, Rupert's Land, have the honour to request that you will lay before the Government and Parliament of the Dominion of Canada this communication and information, and to request on our behalf from the Government at the earliest convenience after consideration, a reply for the ultimate guidance and consideration of this Government.

"1. For the information of your Government we would in the first place beg to state that the election of the President and Council and organization of this Government only took place in the early part of the present month, and that the election was regularly conducted by the vote of the people. (In the adjoining colony of Assiniboia the election of the Council, the supposed representatives of the people, takes place in London, England.)

"This settlement had hitherto been totally unprovided for with law or protection, either by the Imperial Government or the Hudson's Bay Company, without even a flag of acknowledgement, anomalous to any British settlement in the Empire, all of which has been twice fully laid before Her Majesty's Government by petition of the people, praying for redress and protection, and to be admitted into the Confederation of the Dominion of Canada (or even attached *pro tem*), of which no further acknowledgement has been received than the mere official replies of receipt, and that the same "had been laid at the foot of the Throne."

"Meantime, in view of the increase of crime, and the overbearing tone of the Indians towards the settlers,—some of them immigrants of recent date from Canada,—plunder and robbery daily going on, self-preservation demanded the immediate organization of an independent Government.

"2. The boundaries of the infant Government of Manitoba for jurisdiction are declared to be as follows:

"South, by the boundary line between the United States and British North America. East by the boundary line of the jurisdiction of the Government of Assiniboia; West, by the River Souris, or Mouse River, running to the North and the Little Saskatchewan running to the South into the Assiniboia; and on the north by Lake Manitoba, as far as Manitoba house, which area embraces a large portion of the garden of the North West.

"3. The Council of Manitoba have recently with much satisfaction learned the resolutions regarding this country, and brought down to the House by the Honourable Mr. McDougall, on 30th November, last; but, previous to this knowledge, this Council was pledged to the Electors to act resolutely on either of the two following pledges, viz.: 'First; to know from the Gov-

ernment of the Dominion of Canada, in consequence of the 146th section of the "British North America Act of 1867," if that Government would be disposed to at once, under existing urgent circumstances, recognize the existence of this petty Government, or if we can be assured by your government of our admission or attachment to the Dominion within six months. Second; that should the reply of your Government prove unfavourable, as a last and desperate resource to throw ourselves upon the liberality and protection of the United States Government for recognition and ultimate annexation.'

"This step as a last resort and after grave deliberation is to this Council and people an extremely reluctant one; but when all the circumstances of their total neglect and patient endurance of many years' disappointment, and daily perceiving the rapid advancement of their American neighbours are considered, any liberal Government could not but sympathize with a neglected people, compelled to renounce their loyalty under such circumstances. But this Council sincerely hope and pray that the early and favourable reply of your Government will avert such a humiliation and calamity, through which serious and complicated evils might arise between the several Governments interested. We have etc.,

(Signed) THOS. SPENCE,
President of the Council.

DAVID CUSITAR,
MALCOLM CUMMING,
FREDERICK A. BIRD,
WILLIAM CARNOCH.
Council of Manitoba.

A month later we find President Spence serving the Imperial Government with a similar notice, through the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and indicating to the home authorities the active measures already inaugurated by his Government for the welfare of Manitoba. This letter will also bear quoting.

"La Prairie, Manitoba, via Red River Settlement, 19 February, 1868.

"My Lord:—As President elect by the people of the newly organized Government and council of Manitoba in British Territory, I have the dutiful honour of laying before your Lordship, for the consideration of Her Most Gracious Majesty, our beloved Queen, the circumstances attending the creation of the self-supporting petty Government in this isolated portion of Her Majesty's Dominions; and as loyal British subjects we humbly and sincerely trust Her Most Gracious Majesty and Her advisors will be pleased forthwith to give this government favourable recognition, it being simply our aim to

develop our resources, improve the condition of the people, and generally advance and preserve British interests in the rising far-West.

"An humble address from the people of this settlement to Her Majesty the Queen was forwarded through the Governor-General of Canada in June, last, briefly setting forth the superior attractions of this portion of the British Dominions, the growing population, and the gradual influx of immigrants, humbly praying for recognition, law and protection, to which no reply or acknowledgement has yet reached this people.

"Early in January, last, at a public meeting of settlers who numbered over four hundred, it was unanimously declared to at once proceed to the election and construction of a government, which has accordingly been duly carried out, a revenue imposed, public buildings commenced to carry out the laws, provisions made for Indian treaties, construction of roads and other public works tending to promote the interests and welfare of the people.

"I have the honor to remain, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's obedient servant,

"T. SPENCE,

"*Pres. of Council.*

"To the Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs, London, England."

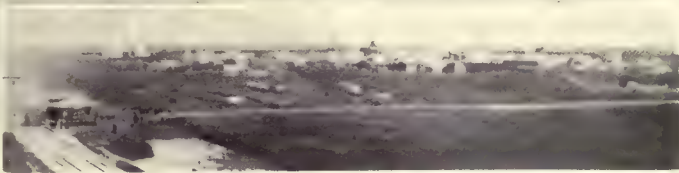
The regime of the Council of Manitoba was unfortunately of brief duration. The new government fell a victim to the disrespect of its own subjects and to the legal difficulties of its situation as these were set forth by Her Majesty's Secretary of State.

A contumacious shoe-maker in Caledonia, Macpherson by name, circulated the rumour that the new riders of the colony were using, for the purchase of liquor for their private consumption, moneys collected as public taxes. This accusation involved a manifest case of *lese majesty*. The offending shoe-maker was consequently haled into the back shop to be examined by the President in Council. The friends of the accused thereupon riotously effected his release, and the first provisional government passed out amid laughter and profanity.

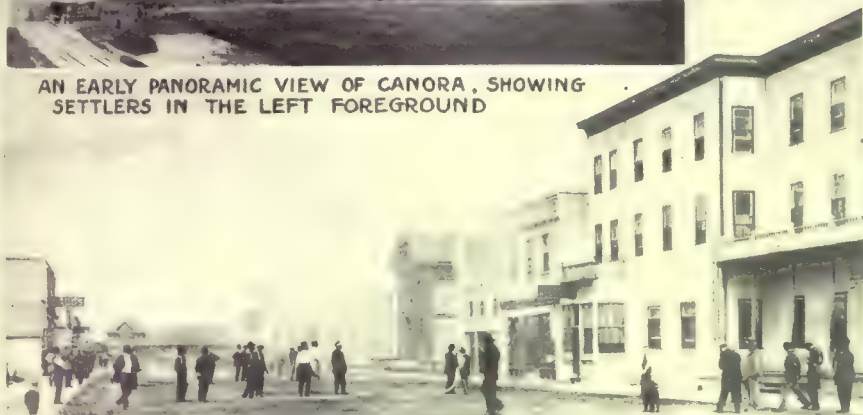
In acknowledgement of Mr. Spence's letter, the British Colonial Secretary on May 30, 1868, wrote as follows:

"In these communications you explain the measures that have been taken for creating a self-supporting government in Manitoba within the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company.

"The people of Manitoba are probably not aware that the creation of a separate government in the manner set forth in these papers has no force in law, and that they have no authority to create or organize government, or even to set up municipal institutions (properly so-called), for themselves, without reference to the Hudson's Bay Company or the Crown.



AN EARLY PANORAMIC VIEW OF CANORA, SHOWING
SETTLERS IN THE LEFT FOREGROUND



DEMONSTRATION OF HIGH PRESSURE FIRE
PROTECTION SYSTEM AT CANORA, SASK.



CHATEAU CHAMBERLIN NEW HOTEL.

"Her Majesty's Government are advised that there is no objection to the people of Manitoba voluntarily submitting themselves to rules and regulations which they may agree to observe for the greater protection and improvement of the territory in which they live, but which will have no force as regards others than those who may have so submitted themselves..

"As it is inferred that the intention is to exercise jurisdiction over offenders in criminal cases, to levy taxes compulsorily, and to attempt to put in force other powers, which can only be exercised by a properly constituted government, I am desirous to warn you that you and your coadjutors are acting illegally in this matter, and that, by the course you are adopting, you are incurring grave responsibilities."

One cannot help smiling at the simplicity, directness and self-confidence of those responsible for the establishment of the provisional government in the "Colony of Manitoba," but the thoughtful reader, conversant with the conditions of the times, must likewise feel some genuine admiration for these sturdy politicians. In a community containing any number of such men as Thomas Spence, David Cusitar, Malcolm Cumming, Frederick A. Bird, William Carnoch, Thomas Anderson, John McLean and the like, it was manifestly preposterous that self-governing institutions should be longer delayed. As a matter of fact, in accordance with their request, their grievances were laid before the Dominion Parliament at its first session and their petitions, backed up by their practical activities, played a part in hastening the annexation of the West to the new Dominion. Moreover, it is interesting to remember that when a real provincial government was established, the new province was not named after Assiniboia, the ancient centre of the Red River Settlement. It perpetuates the name adopted by the settlers of Portage la Prairie, and their Provisional Council.

Other provisional governments were those of John Bruce at Fort Garry, 1869; Louis Riel at Fort Garry, 1870; Gabriel Dumont at Batoche, in 1875; and Louis Riel at Batoche in 1885. Each of these will be in due course treated of in later chapters.

CHAPTER X

THE SURRENDER OF THE NORTH WEST TERRITORIES BY THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

ATTACK ON H. B. Co.'s CHARTER, 1749—RENEWAL AND REVISION OF CHARTER, 1821—CORRESPONDENCE OF 1837-38, WITH RENEWAL FOR 21 YEARS—AGITATION REVIVED IN HOUSE OF COMMONS 1849—LOCAL INCONVENIENCE CAUSED BY EXCLUSION OF BRITISH HUNTERS FROM AMERICAN TERRITORY, 1856—ANNEXATION PROPAGANDA—INFLUENCE OF CANADIAN EXPLORING PARTIES—REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF 1857—DEADLOCK—TRADE MONOPOLY SURRENDERED, 1859—JAMES W. TAYLOR'S REPORTS TO CONGRESS—BILL INTRODUCED AT WASHINGTON FOR ANNEXATION OF BRITISH AMERICA, 1866—WEAKNESS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT—PROPOSED CONQUEST OF CENTRAL BRITISH AMERICA, 1861 AND 1867—MEMORIAL TO THE QUEEN—CARNARVON'S OBJECTIONS TO IMMEDIATE UNION OF RUPERT'S LAND TO CANADA—PETITION FROM PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE SETTLEMENT—McDOUGALL'S RESOLUTION IN CANADIAN PARLIAMENT—CANADIAN DELEGATES CONFER WITH HUDSON'S BAY Co.—CONDITIONS OF TRANSFER ACCEPTED, 1869—SURRENDER BY HUDSON'S BAY Co. CONFIRMED, JUNE 23, 1870—TERMS OF TRANSFER—ITS IMPORTANCE.

The transfer of the North West, including what is now the Province of Saskatchewan, from the jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company to that of the Dominion of Canada involves an interesting story. Some of the most remarkable incidents in connection with this momentous surrender has been all but forgotten by the Canadians of the present generation, and to recall them should be valuable, especially to the sons and daughters of the new provinces that have arisen in what was once the Hudson's Bay Company's territory. The very fact that these provinces are today part of the British Empire is itself a result of the action of the company and of the Governments of Canada and the United Kingdom half a century ago.

The agitation for the cancellation of the extraordinary rights and privileges exercised by the Hudson's Bay Company dated back to more than a century even from that time. In 1749, as we have seen elsewhere, an unsuccessful attempt was made in the British Parliament to deprive the company of its charter on the plea of "non-user." One of the duties devolving upon it,

according to the terms of its charter, was that of promoting colonization and settlement, but in the year mentioned the company had only some four or five forts on all the coast of Hudson's Bay, and employed only one hundred and twenty servants, though it had been carrying on an enormous trade for over eighty years.

Emerging triumphant from this battle with its enemies in the British Parliament, the great corporation entered upon the prolonged struggle with rival companies, which has been treated of in an earlier chapter. This rivalry involves the establishment of a very large number of trading centres throughout the whole western area of British America, and culminated in the amalgamation of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company in 1821.¹ The lease was renewed for a period of twenty-one years.

Under the legislation of 1821 the criminal and civil jurisdiction of Canadian Courts had been extended into the company's territories, but provision was made for the maintenance of concurrent jurisdiction on the part of the company, and, as a matter of fact, the Canadian authorities had very little occasion to exercise their powers. Generally speaking, the whites in the West had seemed pretty well satisfied with the company's policy and methods. In 1837, however, the Dickson disturbance took place, when that self-styled "Liberator of the Indian Race" assembled his half-breed followers and attempted to raise a revolt in the Red River Settlement.

In February of 1837, Governor Pelly called the attention of the Government to the approaching termination of the grant of exclusive trade and proposed its renewal. "The country in which the Hudson's Bay Company then traded was divided into four districts, known as the Northern, Southern, Columbia and Montreal Departments. In these were 136 establishments, employing 25 chief factors, 27 chief traders, 152 clerks, and about 1,200 regular servants, besides the occasional labor of a great number of natives in boating and other services."²

Lord Glenelg turned the matter over to the Board of Trade, which body advised him that it would approve the extension of the charter for a definite period. Glenelg emphasized the necessity of protecting the present and future colonies within the Hudson Bay Territories and of exempting them from the company's jurisdiction. Consequently in 1838 Glenelg's secretary wrote Governor Pelly, proposing the extension of the grant subject to such exemption for settled communities. The charter was renewed accordingly on this basis for another period of twenty-one years, at a yearly rental of five shillings.

¹ "The number of Hudson's Bay Company's employees was scarcely the third of that of the North West Company."—Abbé Dugas' *"Canadian West,"* p. 173.

² These figures were taken from a letter written by Mr. George Simpson. They are somewhat in excess of the figures quoted elsewhere in the official correspondence with the British Government.

In 1849 another agitation adverse to the company's monopoly was aroused in the British House of Commons by Mr. A. K. Isbister, and a select committee was appointed to determine the status of the Hudson's Bay Company with respect to territory, trade, taxation and government. Little came of this investigation so far as the British Government was concerned, but it gave support and encouragement to the resistance of the company's monopoly in which James Sinclair figured so prominently.

In 1856 the discontent of the inhabitants was further augmented by a proclamation issued under the instructions of the President of the United States, notifying "such of the inhabitants of the British Possessions as are in the habit of crossing the boundary line between the United States and Great Britain (49th Parallel of North Latitude) for the purpose of hunting and trapping, etc., on American soil, that such depredation will no longer be permitted." This proclamation was probably issued with the idea that the people of the Red River settlement would agitate for annexation to the United States if they found themselves cut off from access to the buffalo country. These hunting grounds stretched across the line to the Missouri, and to them the British settlers annually resorted to procure skins and provisions.

Indeed, ten years earlier, a petition had gone from Assiniboia to the American Government. In the recorded evidence of Mr. Isbister before the House of Commons Committee in London the following questions and answers occur:

Q. Is it within your knowledge that any application or complaint was ever made to the Government of America on the subject?

A. There was a petition addressed by the Red River Settlers to the American Government, I believe.

Q. What is the date of the petition?

A. It was about 1846, at the time of the excitement connected with the Oregon Boundary Question.

Q. What was the general purport of the petition?

A. I believe that they desired the American Government to annex the Red River Territory to the United States, and promised their assistance against the Hudson's Bay Company in the event of war.

The prestige of the Company was also being weakened by the activities of the Canadian exploring parties under Palliser, and later under Dawson and Hind, whom everyone looked upon as forerunners of a change of sovereignty.

In 1857 a committee of the House of Commons drew up a lengthy report on the Hudson's Bay Company and its affairs. In this document it was pointed out that districts in the Red River and Saskatchewan were among those likely to be desired for early occupation, and the hope was expressed

that there would be "no difficulty in effecting arrangements as between Her Majesty's Government and the Hudson's Bay Company by which these districts may be ceded to Canada on equitable principles." The Privy Council believed it to be desirable that for the present the Company "should continue to enjoy the privilege of exclusive trade," but recommended that a bill should be prepared forthwith to lay the foundation for a new order of affairs.

In the controversies of 1857 the interests of Canada were represented by Chief Justice Draper, C. B., who presented important arguments supporting the claim that considerable territory under the sway of the Hudson's Bay Company rightfully belonged to Canada already. He quoted a letter from the Company dated 1796, in which it was asked that the French be prohibited from travelling or driving trade "beyond the midway between Canada and Albany Fort." The Company had defined its territory as then including "but a very small district of land from the South-East of the Bay necessary for a frontier." This line would have given to the authorities of French Canada territories now claimed as within those of the Hudson's Bay Company. The claim to all the country the waters of which ran into the Hudson Bay was not advanced until considerably later, and in the meantime Canadian traders had well established themselves in the disputed district. The Hon. William McGillivray, in 1818, had stated under oath that there were no Hudson Bay traders established in the Indian country about Lake Winnipeg or the Red River for eight or nine years after he had been used (as a partner in the North-West Company) to trade in that country. However, the vested interests and long admitted rights and privileges of the Great Company were too strong to be imperilled by any such legal subtleties as those advanced on behalf of Canada.

In this same year, 1857, a petition signed by 959 settlers at the Red River and by the leading Indian Chiefs had been addressed to the Canadian Legislature with a view to the annexation of the North-West Territories to Canada, but in vain. In 1858, the Governor of the Company was advised by the Home Government that the license would be renewed for a further term of twenty-one years, after its expiration on the 30th of May, 1859, subject to certain conditions. Vancouver Island, and any other present and prospective colonies should be definitely excluded from the jurisdiction of the Company, and the boundary between the Hudson Bay Territory and Canada should be authoritatively determined. Districts suitable for settlement should be rendered free for annexation to Canada. Her Majesty's Government proposed that the pecuniary compensation due the Company should be settled by a Board of three committees, representing respectively Canada, the

Company and the Home Government. With these propositions the Company expressed themselves in general agreement, but an *impasse* was presently reached, delaying for several years a solution of the difficulty.

The Company was quite prepared to acquiesce in the submission to the Privy Council of the question of the extent of its territory, but refused to be a party to any proceeding which was to call in question the actual validity of its Charter. Accordingly, in 1859, the Home Government suggested as an interim settlement the issue of a fresh license of monopoly, valid only for one year. The Governor of the Company replied that "the intelligence of the renewal of the license for a year would not even reach a large portion of the posts of the Company before that period had expired. If better means can be devised for maintaining order and peace in the Indian country, and for the protection of the Indian tribes from the evils which have hitherto been found inseparable from competition in the trade, as well as for the colonization and agricultural improvement of the territory, the question of the abolition of the Hudson's Bay Company should only be one of just indemnity to the shareholders for their legal rights and interests."

Consequently this proposition was rejected by the Company, and after 1859 the monopoly of the trade was not again renewed. The Company, however, still continued to exercise the right of administration.

In 1861 there appeared at Fort Garry an American official who was long and prominently associated with public life in Western Canada, and in Fort Garry, or Winnipeg, in particular. This was James W. Taylor, a special agent sent by the Hon. H. B. Chase, the Secretary of the American Treasury, to investigate conditions in North-West British America, in their bearing upon American interests. In a letter to his superiors at Washington, dated July, 1861, Mr. Taylor wrote as follows:

"I anticipate also, if further exploration shall attract the attention of the world to the sources of the Saskatchewan and Athabasca in the same degree as in 1858 to Fraser River, that the scale will be decisively turned in favor of the following measures, which are even now prominent in London.

1. An Act of Parliament organizing a Crown colony North-West of Minnesota, with an inhabitable area of 300,000 square miles.
2. A Union of all the American provinces of England, having for a prominent object a common highway from ocean to ocean on British territory.
3. An overland mail, to be speedily followed by colonization, adequate to the achievement and support of a continental railway.

"One thing is very apparent; unless the English Government shall promptly respond to the manifest destiny of the great interior of British America—the basin of Lake Winnipeg—the speedy Americanization of that fertile district is inevitable. The indispensable requisites to the

integrity of British Dominion on this continent are such action in behalf of the Saskatchewan and Red River districts as the Fraser River excitement secured for the area fronting on the North Pacific three years since."

For a time much anxiety seems to have been aroused by the presence of a considerable military force on the American Frontier. However, in March, 1864, an armed American force was given permission to cross the line to attack refugee Sioux Indians, it being only stipulated that no blood should be shed in houses or enclosures of the settlers if the Sioux took refuge in these places.

In 1866, Sir Edmund Head called the attention of the Home Government to Taylor's remarkable reports. He spoke of the recent gold discoveries along the Saskatchewan and of the probability of an inrush of settlers, and added the following recommendations:

"We think therefore that we are the more bound most respectfully to suggest whether, if it is intended to retain the territory north of the 49th Parallel as British soil, some steps ought not to be taken for asserting its British character, and maintaining law and order within it.

"This may, no doubt, either be effected by the direct action of the English Government, or be attempted by the agency of Canada, but, as we understood the latter course to have been deliberately selected, the Committee (provided the Company are fairly dealt with, in the matter of compensation) can have no right to offer any remarks on the subject."

How urgent the situation really was, and how seriously the Americans were considering the propriety of annexing the British West, is indicated in the following facsimile of the preamble to a bill introduced this year in the American Congress:

"39TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION.

"Printer's No. 266.

"H. R. 754.

"IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

JULY 2, 1866.

"Read twice, referred to the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

"Mr. BAKER, on leave, introduced the following bill:

"A BILL for the admission of the states of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Canada East and Canada West, and for the organization of the territories of Selkirk, Saskatchewan, and Columbia.

"The opening by us of the North Pacific Railway seals the destiny of

"the British Possessions west of the 91st Meridian. They will become so "Americanised in interests and feelings that they will be in fact severed "from the new Dominion, and the question of their annexation will be but a question of time. . . ."

Next year Governor McTavish called attention to serious Indian outbreaks that had occurred within the sight of Fort Garry. The culprits were Americans and immediately escaped across the border. Out of this outrage had developed a violent animosity towards the Indians, and one of them had been murdered by a half-breed within the very walls of the Fort.

"The Half-breed is now in gaol," said the Governor, "awaiting his trial for murder at the August quarterly court. No attempt has yet been made to set him free, but many are of the opinion that the attempt will yet be made, and in the circumstances in which the Government here is placed will, if made, probably be successful, as for some time past the Government may be said to have existed on sufferance." Note the ominous phrase with which the foregoing quotation closes.

The Blackfeet were also reported to be in a very unsettled and violent frame of mind, and altogether the Government had plenty cause for anxiety. It was well known that mischievous persons were at work in the Red River settlement inciting to resistance of the established Government, and the local authorities begged for military aid from the Home Government.

Taylor's correspondence contains quotations from the *Nor'wester* newspaper, referring to unchecked disorders and commenting upon the situation in the following terms:

"This is a signal proof of what we have frequently affirmed, that the Government at Red River is unsuited to the times. We require a change: we need more vigor, more energy, more strength, more vigilance, more general effectiveness. Let it come how it may, and whence it may, but a change is absolutely necessary. Allowing that we should have to pay some taxes, we would rather do that and have security of life and property than continue to be under a rule which is cheap, certainly, but which fails to afford security."

The following paragraph from Taylor's report makes rather startling reading:

"I hasten, sir, to lay before you these facts in regard to the Red River settlement, as confirming my conviction that no portion of the British territory on this continent is so assailable, so certain of occupation by American troops in case of a war with England as Fort Garry and the immense district thence extending along the valley of the Saskatchewan to the Rocky Mountains. If our struggle is to be in the fullest sense a struggle for national existence, against foreign foes as well as domestic traitors, Minnesota, however remote from the scenes of the southern insurrection, will claim the

distinction of a winter campaign for the conquest of Central British America. I append a rough diagram, exhibiting that portion of British territory (enclosed in heavy black lines), which one thousand hardy Minnesotans, aided by the French, American and half-breed population could seize before the 4th of March."³

So anxious was the Hudson's Bay Company at this time to have troops sent to Fort Garry that their Governor in London offered on behalf of the Company to pay for their transport both ways, and for their maintenance. When the American force, however, departed from Pembina it was no longer possible to argue that British interests at large were imperilled by it. Nevertheless, in spite of the objections of the General commanding in Canada, the Colonial Secretary was convinced of the necessity for the presence of a military force of some description, and orders were sent for 120 men of the Royal Canadian Rifles to proceed to Fort Garry. But for this imperial protection it is probable that the West would have been invaded by Fenian filibusters in 1867.

From Montreal the officers administering the Government forwarded on the 11th of February, 1867, a series of resolutions adopted at a public meeting of inhabitants of the Red River settlement. They wished to join confederation, and to have a detachment of troops. A committee had also been formed by them to prepare a memorial to the Queen, Andrew McDermott, Esq., Dr. Schultz, Colonel Robinson and Mr. Spence. This memorial was signed by eighty-four persons and dated from the Red River settlement January 17, 1867.

In his dispatch to the Earl of Carnarvon the Canadian Administrator advised against the immediate union of the Hudson's Bay territory to Canada, or the creation of a crown colony at the Red River, for the following reasons:

First—That at present the channel of all the trade to and from the Red River settlement was in the hands of the United States.

Secondly—That it was doubtful whether water communication, save for defensive purposes, could ever be made from the settlement to Lake Superior.

Thirdly—That, until thorough surveys were made, the possibility of the construction of a remunerative line of railway to Lake Superior could not be estimated.

Fourthly—That even supposing a water communication or a railway were opened from Fort Garry to Lake Superior, all use of it in time of war would be impossible, unless a British gunboat fleet could enter that lake.

Accordingly the Administrator concluded that "until a safe communication for military purposes is completed between Canada and Fort Garry,

³ Dated December 17th, 1861.

either the union of the Hudson's Bay Territory to Canada, or the creation of a crown colony at the Red River settlement, would be a source of weakness and danger to Canada and England."

Later in the same year, however, still another noteworthy petition, to which we alluded in Chapter IX, was forwarded from Portage la Prairie. At the risk of repetition it seems worth while reproducing it here at length:

"To Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, etc., etc., etc., in Council assembled.

"The Memorial of the Inhabitants of Portage la Prairie Settlement, in Rupert's Land, British North America, humbly sheweth,

"That in consequence of British law and protection only extending through the Council of Assiniboia for a radius of fifty miles round Fort Garry, your Majesty's loyal subjects, inhabitants of this settlement, are left totally without law or protection, civil or criminal, and wholly different from any part of the British Empire;

"That this settlement contains a population of nearly 500, exclusive of Indians, and although nearer to the United States frontier than the adjoining settlement of Red River, and notwithstanding its vastly superior agricultural resources and climate, your Majesty's loyal memorialists are left helpless to develop the same or to attract immigration, from the want of law and protection.

"Your Majesty's memorialists would here humbly represent that, in the opinion of settlers here, farmers who have immigrated from Canada, this settlement and the country extending westward for hundreds of miles is proved by actual experience to be one of the richest agricultural countries in the world, and is even acknowledged by the Government of the State of Minnesota, in its immigration pamphlets, to be vastly superior.

"Your Majesty's memorialists would further humbly represent that, with the proper machinery to develop the resources of this vast, rich and beautiful country, it would become the most attractive point of emigration in the British Empire, and that the facilities offered by Nature for the construction of a railway to the Rocky Mountains, for cheapness of construction is unequalled, being one vast prairie, and wooded level, and the depth of snow in winter rarely exceeds a few inches.

"Your Majesty's memorialists humbly trust that with the confederation of the British North American provinces the time has arrived when they may fairly urge upon your Majesty's Government the importance of favorably considering this memorial, and immediate action hereon, or your Majesty's Royal sanction for our development, under the care and protection of the Confederate Government of British North America, in the interim of a final settlement with the Hudson's Bay Company.

"Wherefore, your Majesty's memorialists humbly pray that your



PART OF THE BUSINESS SECTION OF FRONT STREET,
WOLSELEY.



LOOKING SOUTH FROM THE TOWN HALL, WOLSELEY.



A VIEW OF THE RESERVOIR, WOLSELEY.

Gracious Majesty may be pleased to cause action to be taken as will give immediate protection to your Majesty's loyal memorialists, and the privileges of British subjects.

"And as in duty bound they will ever pray.

"(Signed) THOS. SPENCE AND OTHERS.

"Caledonia, Portage la Prairie,

"1 June, 1867."

A week or ten days later similar representations were made⁴ by Messrs. Spence, McLean, Garvin Garnoch, Corrigan, Thomas Anderson, Sinclair, F. A. Bird, C. Whiteford, Hay and their friends. At the meeting when these representations were drawn up in the store of Mr. Spence it was "moved by Mr. Hay, and seconded by Mr. J. Whiteford, 'That the Honorable George Brown, M. P., be requested to present a copy of these resolutions and memorial at the first Confederate Parliament, and move to bring in a bill for the temporary protection of this settlement under the Confederate Government, with Her Gracious Majesty's sanction.' Carried."

Accordingly within a month of the meeting of the first Parliament of the Dominion, the Hon. William McDougall brought forward a series of resolutions praying for the union of Rupert's Land and the Territories with Canada, and Sir George A. Cartier and Mr. McDougall were in 1868 sent to England as Canadian delegates to confer with the Hudson's Bay Company. Terms were arranged, and an Act was passed by the Imperial Parliament in the same year authorizing the change of control. The proposed arrangement was accepted by the Canadian Parliament in June, 1869, and on November 19th the Company made its surrender to Her Majesty. On June 23rd of the following year an Order in Council was issued at Windsor confirming the surrender.

Under the terms of the transfer, the Company's special rights were extinguished in consideration of the payment of three hundred thousand pounds sterling by the Dominion and the recognition of the Company's right to claim, in any township within the fertile belt, one-twentieth of the land set out for settlement. The boundaries of this fertile belt were defined as follows: "On the South by the United States boundary; on the West by the Rocky Mountains; on the North by the northern branch of the Saskatchewan; on the East by Lake Winnipeg and the Lake of the Woods with the waters connecting them." In 1867, in accordance with the Dominion Lands Act, it was agreed that "the said one-twentieth will be exactly met by allotting in every fifth township the whole of sections eight and twenty-six, and in each and every other township, the whole of section eight, and

⁴ June 10, 1867.

the South half of section twenty-six." The Company, of course, retained its liberty to carry on its trade in its corporate capacity, and it was agreed that no exceptional tax was to be placed on the Company's land, trade or servants. While the terms of the surrender had been under consideration the London directors had officially informed the employees that "should the Company surrender their chartered rights, they would expect compensation for the officers and servants as well as for the proprietors." The spirit and letter of these promises were forgotten when the surrender was made—a circumstance pregnant with trouble for the future.

The retired servants of the Company, with their families, included very many of the whites, a large proportion of the English Half-breeds and the great majority of the French Half-breeds in the British West. [As we have previously pointed out, these people believed that one-tenth of the territory formerly ceded to Selkirk belonged rightfully to themselves and their heirs, and that these lands were therefore legally incapable of being surrendered by the Hudson's Bay Company. These facts seem to have been deliberately concealed by the Company during the progress of negotiations with the Governments of the United Kingdom and Canada. Consequently the people of the East never to this day have been able to understand the bitter sense of wrong cherished especially by the Half-breeds of the West. Those who were in a position to realize their grievance cooperated in a conspiracy of silence. This was a primary cause of the troubles of 1870 and 1885.

However, whatever may have been the errors attending the annexation of the British North West to Canada, the importance of the transfer cannot be exaggerated. Already the danger to British connections was serious indeed, and within the territories themselves the old regime had become an impossible anachronism. A "government existing on sufferance" is not a government at all, and in 1870 the condition of the British possessions from the Lake of the Woods to the Pacific Ocean was one closely approaching anarchy. No mighty upheaval occurred, but the dangers incident to the situation must be apparent to every thoughtful reader. Many strong reasons were urged, both in the East and in the West, against the annexation of Rupert's Land to Canada; its justification lay in the fact that there was no alternative if British territory in America were to be preserved intact and escape a deluge of blood.

CHAPTER XI

A LESSON LOST: THE TROUBLES OF 1870

BEARING ON HISTORY OF SASKATCHEWAN—QUESTIONABLE APPLICATION OF THE TERM REBELLION—SETTLERS AND HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY EMPLOYEES IGNORED IN THE NEGOTIATION OF TRANSFER—CONSEQUENT FEARS AND MISAPPREHENSIONS—CANADIAN SURVEYS ANTECEDENT TO TRANSFER—McDOUGALL APPOINTED LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR BY CANADA PRIOR TO THE CESSION OF THE WEST—McDOUGALL'S ENTRANCE BARRED—McTAVISH BEING ILL, SANCTIONS ESTABLISHMENT OF PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT—BRUCE AND RIEL'S "DECLARATION"—ATTITUDE OF ENGLISH SETTLERS—DISASTROUS FOLLIES OF COLONEL DENNIS—RIEL'S PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT—COMMENTS ON INCLUSION OF O'DONOHUE—ARRIVAL OF CANADIAN COMMISSIONERS—PUBLIC ASSEMBLY OF JANUARY 25, 1870—SETTLERS SEND REPRESENTATIVES TO NEGOTIATE TERMS OF NEW CONSTITUTION—RISING OF PORTAGE LOYALISTS—EXECUTION OF THOMAS SCOTT—ARRANGEMENTS FOR MILITARY EXPEDITION—GRANVILLE'S INSTRUCTIONS—RIEL AND THE UNION JACK—THE MANITOBA ACT—NEW GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED—SERVICES OF ARCHBISHOP TACHÉ—AGITATION FOR PUNISHMENT OF SCOTT'S MURDERERS—DOMINION AUTHORITIES PAY RIEL AND LEPINE TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY.

The story of the upheaval in the Red River Settlement in 1869 and 1870 belong especially to the history of Manitoba, but its bearing upon subsequent events in Saskatchewan makes it necessary for us to briefly review it. Whether from the point of law and equity the uprising should be called a rebellion is a matter in which there may be difference of opinion. Riel persistently claimed to be loyal to the British Crown, and it is hard to see how obstructions offered to the illegal encroachments of the Government of a sister colony could be defined as rebellion. In the report of a Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council, December 16, 1869, the Canadian Premier declared that the resistance of the Half-breeds "is evidently not against the sovereignty of Her Majesty or the government of the Hudson's Bay Company, but to the assumption of the government by Canada."

The essential fact remains, that by way of protest against the colossal folly and unpardonable bungling of the Imperial and Dominion Authorities, an extra-constitutional government held full sway for a period of about nine months. Had the manifest lessons involved in this unfortunate affair been duly taken to heart, the more serious and bloody uprising of 1885 in Saskatchewan would have been averted.

In negotiating for the annexation of Rupert's Land to Canada, the British and Canadian Authorities ignored (almost ostentatiously) the ten thousand white and Half-breed settlers of the Red River district. The terms of the proposed transfer were never discussed with them or their representatives, and indeed reached the settlement only in vague and inaccurate rumors. While a considerable number of the better informed colonists, consisting chiefly of recent immigrants from the East, were exceedingly anxious for the annexation, a large proportion were indifferent, and many others were bitterly opposed to it. The subordinate officials and traders of the Hudson's Bay Company believed that their interests were being ignored in the transfer, and the Half-breeds, who, by virtue of their Indian blood, felt themselves to be, with the Indians, the natural possessors of the land, resented a surrender by which they believed that their birth-right would be forfeited.

Moreover, the servants and retired employees believed that, as regards the lands assigned to them and their heirs under the terms of the Selkirk grant, but now tacitly included in the territory the Great Company assumed now to be surrendering Canada, the action of the Company was in law and equity invalid.

These misapprehensions might have been corrected before any serious mischief transpired had it not been for the action of the Dominion Government in sending surveyors into the country even before the terms of the transfer had been agreed upon. Thus before the country was legally a part of Canada at all, its officials proceeded to lay out the land upon approved modern rectangular plans of survey, entirely ignoring the primitive system already in vogue among the settlers. The existing farms almost all took the form of river lots of narrow frontage and a couple of miles in depth. These could not be made to fit into the new system, and the settlers naturally concluded that they were to be robbed of their holdings. The domineering tone and supercilious arrogance of many of the officials employed in the survey seriously aggravated the indignation of the inhabitants.

As if follies enough had not already been committed, the Dominion Government, still prior to the acquirement of any legal title to the territory and without any consultation with the colonists, appointed as Lieutenant-Governor the Honorable William McDougall, whose subsequent humiliat-

ing experience gave him the unfortunate title of "Wandering Willie," and practically drove that energetic politician out of public life. The unlucky Governor was himself treated with scant courtesy by those who appointed him, and had every reason to resent the character of the support with which they seconded his ill-starred efforts to carry out their vague and foolish behests. Mr. McDougall journeyed westward *via* St. Paul, then the terminus of the railway system, and prepared there for his journey of four hundred miles across the prairies. His retinue was a considerable one, including Mr. Richards as Attorney-General and Premier, Mr. Provencher as Provincial Secretary, Captain Cameron, who was to command some future mounted constabulary and maintain the peace, together with various other officials and their families. All of these were complete strangers to the country and its people, and although Governor McDougall was to have authority to fill one-fourth of the places of the Council from among the residents of the settlement, the people were kept in ignorance of his plans in this connection.

For our present purposes it will be sufficient to outline the sequence of events very briefly.

Mr. McDougall reached Pembina and prepared to enter his prospective domain. The excited Half-breeds had determined, however, that no such entry should occur until negotiations between the Red River Settlers and the Federal Government had crystallized in a constitution satisfactory to the pioneers. Accordingly an armed force seized the highway between Fort Garry and the boundary to prevent McDougall's ingress, while the Half-breed leader, Louis Riel himself, took possession of Fort Garry, and Governor McTavish being incapacitated by sickness and really on his death-bed, Riel called a convention to establish a Provisional Government. The English delegates at this convention insisted on consulting Mr. McTavish and a Committee consisting of Messrs. Sutherland and Fraser interviewed him. Mr. McTavish said to them:

"Form a Government for God's sake and restore peace and order in the settlement."

On December 8th Bruce, who till December 28th was nominally President of the Provisional Government, and Riel distributed among the Colonists what was called their "Declaration to the people of Rupert's Land and the North West." In it Riel declared, among other things, on behalf of himself and his associates, "that we refuse to recognize the authority of Canada, which pretends to have a right to coerce us and impose upon us a despotic form of government still more contrary to our rights and interests as British subjects than was that government to which we had subjected ourselves through necessity up to a certain date. . . . (We) shall continue to oppose with all our strength the establishment of a

Canadian Authority in our country under the announced form. . . . Meanwhile we hold ourselves in readiness to enter into such negotiations with the Canadian Government as may be favourable for the good government and prosperity of this people."

The English settlers generally held aloof from the whole disturbance. In a subsequent report by Mr. J. S. Dennis, on the attitude of the English-speaking portion of the colony, the following communication is quoted as fairly indicating the position taken by them: "We feel a disposition to extend a sincere welcome to the Honorable McDougall as a gentleman who has been selected for our future Governor. We regret sincerely that the good name of the colony should be prejudiced by any such action as that which we are told is contemplated by a portion of the French Half-breeds. We consider it a most outrageous proceeding on their part, and one that we would be glad to see put a stop to. At the same time, should an appeal to arms be necessary, we could hardly justify ourselves in engaging in a conflict which would be in our opinion one of nationalities and religions, and of which we could hardly at present foresee the termination. . . . We feel confidence in the future administration of the Government of this country; at the same time we have not been consulted in any way, as a people, in entering into the Dominion. The character of the Government has been settled in Canada. . . . We are prepared to accept it respectfully, to obey the laws and to become good subjects. But when you present us the issue of a conflict with the French party, with whom we have hitherto lived in friendship . . . in which conflict the aid of the Indians would be invoked and perhaps obtained by that party, we feel disinclined to enter upon it, and think that the Dominion should accept the responsibility of establishing amongst us what it, and it alone, had decided upon."

The dignified course for Mr. McDougall and his party, on being refused admittance to the Colony, would have been to return to the East, but Sir John A. McDonald wrote to him: "I hope no consideration will induce you to leave your post,—that is, to return to Canada just now." Accordingly the humiliated official remained through long weeks vainly knocking at the door of the Red River Settlement. Under date of the 1st of December, he issued a proclamation that he was the Lieutenant-Governor of the North West, which was not the case, and appointed Colonel Dennis his Lieutenant-Conservator of the Peace, with authority to rally loyal subjects for the dispersal and overthrow of the insurgent faction. This proclamation was posted in public places in the settlement during the night of the 13th of November. Dennis then enrolled volunteers, who succeeded only in getting themselves into trouble and strengthening the hands of Riel. Dennis himself fled the country, and numerous loyalists became prisoners at Fort Garry.

Early in January a formal provisional Government was definitely organized with Riel as President, O'Donoghue, an out-spoken Fenian, as Secretary-Treasurer, and Lepine as Adjutant-General. Evidently Riel did not feel himself strong enough to exclude from his Council the Fenian element, but Archbishop Taché is authority for the statement that "sums of money amounting to more than \$4,000,000, men and arms had been offered" by Americans on condition that Riel would espouse annexation, but had been refused.¹

Morice points out that one reason for the retention of O'Donoghue in Riel's administration "may be found in the fact that the young Irishman had uncommon aptitudes in bookkeeping and all that pertains to the duties of an accountant. In an unpublished *Memoir* on the troubles of 1869 and 1870 Rev. Mr. L. Raymond Giroux, one of the Priests stationed at St. Boniface at the time, has the following: 'Mr. Riel, who had at heart the British connection, was one day complaining to me that O'Donoghue was striving to give the movement an annexational complexion, but he said, "I am in absolute need of him; he administers his department with ease and treats exceedingly well the halfbreeds, of whom he had become the idol."'

Meanwhile the Dominion Government was doing what it should have done long before. Commissioners were sent to explain the situation and to negotiate with the settlers. These were Vicar-General Thibault, Colonel De Salaberry and Donald A. Smith. His fellow commissioners arrived ahead of him and their credentials were seized by the insurgents, but Mr. Smith was more successful.

Prior to this, according to Begg, "the intentions of the Canadian Government were never made known to the people of the Settlement by Mr. McDougall, or anyone else in his behalf." By the exercise of much common sense and shrewd diplomacy, Mr. Smith secured the privilege of presenting his papers before a mass-meeting of the settlers, which was held in the open air on 19th of January, with the thermometer at twenty degrees below zero. The Governor General's proclamation, read by Mr. Smith, concluded as follows:—"And I do lastly inform you that in case of your immediate and peaceable obedience and dispersion, I shall order that no legal procedure be taken against any parties implicated in these unfortunate breaches of the law."

On motion of Riel, a convention of twenty English and twenty French representatives was called for January 25th to consider Mr. Smith's mission. The chairman of this gathering was Judge Black, a prominent loyalist. A Bill of Rights was framed as a basis for legislation creating a pro-

¹ A letter to His Excellency the Governor-General of Canada, July 23rd, 1870 (found on p. 42 of N. W. Committee evidence).

² Catholic Church in Western Canada, vol. II, p. 14.

vincial government, and protecting the landed interests of the retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, and Mr. Smith invited the convention to appoint delegates to go to Ottawa and lay their wishes before the Government. Father Richot, Alfred Scott and Judge Black were there-upon selected to negotiate at the capital on behalf of the settlers.

At the close of this public meeting on January 25th at which Mr. Smith presented his credentials and his message from Canada, Riel spoke as follows:

"Before this Assembly breaks up, I cannot but express my feelings, however briefly. I came here with fear. We are not yet enemies, but we came very near being so. As soon as we understood each other we joined in demanding what our English fellow subjects in common with us believed to be our just rights. I am not afraid to say our rights; for we all have rights. We claim no half-rights, mind you, but all the rights we are entitled to. These rights will be set forth by our representatives and what is more, gentlemen, we will get them."

The meeting then broke up with the utmost good feeling on all hands.

On their arrival at Ottawa Father Richot and Mr. Scott were, however, twice subjected to arrest, as rebels, but there being no case against them, they were finally set at liberty about the middle of April.

At Portage la Prairie, on February 14th, a large number of loyalists took up arms against the Provisional Government. Of this act of well-intentioned folly. Mr. D. A. Smith spoke as follows in his official report:

"Had these men, properly armed and organized, been prepared to support the well effected French party when the latter took action about the middle of January, or even in the beginning of February during the sitting of the Convention, order might have been restored without the necessity of firing a single shot; but now the rising was not only rash but purposeless, as without its intervention the prisoners would unquestionably have been released. . . . Captain Boulton led the party and he and his friends at the Portage assured me that he exerted himself to the utmost to keep them from rising, and only joined them at the last moment when he saw they were determined to go forward." Boulton and a large number of his companions were captured on February 17th and Boulton was condemned to be shot. Various prominent citizens, including Mr. Smith, interceded with Riel on Boulton's behalf. On the evening of the 19th, says Mr. Smith:

"I reasoned with him long and earnestly, until at length about 10 o'clock, he yielded and addressing me apparently with much feeling, said, 'Hitherto I have been deaf to all entreaties and in now granting you this man's life,' (or words to that effect) 'may I ask you a favour?' 'Anything,' I replied, 'that in honour I can do.' He continued: 'Canada has disunited

us; will you use your influence to unite us? You can do so, and without this it must be war—bloody civil war.’ I answered that, as I had said on first coming to the country, I would now repeat that I would give my whole heart to effect a peaceable union of the country with Canada. ‘We want only our just rights as British subjects,’ he said. Then I remarked, ‘I shall at once see them and induce them to go on with the election of delegates for that purpose.’”

Meantime the difficulties of Riel and his colleagues were increasing, and, on March 4th, Riel, to assert his waning authority, committed the unpardonable crime and blunder of executing, under circumstances of exceptional brutality, one of his prisoners, a hot headed, irrepressible and irresponsible loyalist and Orangeman, Thomas Scott.

The Canadian Government had already undertaken arrangements for sending a military force to restore and guarantee order in the West while the new government was being set afoot, and on the day following the execution of Scott, Earl Granville cabled the Governor-General in the following terms: “Her Majesty’s Government will give proposed military assistance provided reasonable terms are granted Red River settlers, and provided your government enable Her Majesty’s Government to proclaim the transfer simultaneously with the movement of the force.” In a subsequent communication Earl Granville added the following pregnant warning: “Troops should not be employed in enforcing the sovereignty of Canada on the population, should they refuse to admit it.”

On April 20 Riel ordered the Union Jack to be hoisted at Fort Garry in place of the emblem of the Provisional Government. This caused a violent altercation with O’Donoghue and his annexationists. Riel insisted, however, on keeping the British flag floating from the centre flag staff at Fort Garry, but to please O’Donoghue he allowed the Provisional flag to be erected in front of Government House.

When the arrest, at Ottawa, of the two delegates of the provisional government was learned, O’Donoghue wished to replace the British flag by that of the United States, but Riel forbade this and placed Nault at the foot of the flagstaff with orders to fire on anyone who tried to touch it.

On May 2, 1870, Sir John Macdonald introduced the Manitoba Act in the House of Commons. In its original form the bill so defined the boundaries of the new province that the important settlement of Portage la Prairie would have been left out. This feature was amended and a few other alterations were introduced in the first three days. The Government then forced the bill through, defeating every other proposed change. The measure was framed substantially in conformity to the Bill of Rights drawn up by Riel and his associates, except as regards clauses 1, 10 and 11 of

the Western Manifesto. These provisions had been inserted to protect the claims of those believing themselves entitled to a share in that tenth of the Selkirk lands which had been intended for the ex-employees of the Hudson's Bay Company. However, the Act made provision for the equitable extinction of special Halfbreed and Indian rights to the soil and for the immediate establishment of provincial autonomy. The bill became law on May 12. On the preceding day the indemnity of three hundred thousand pounds was paid over to the Hudson's Bay Company.

Early in April Colonel Wolseley, who subsequently rose to high rank and dignity in the councils of the Empire and its military forces, had been appointed to command the Red River expedition. On the 21st day of May he left Collingwood with part of his forces, and after a journey memorable for the stupendous difficulties overcome, he reached the Red River on August 23, marching in to Fort Garry the following day.³

As Wolseley approached, Riel and his officers, realising that under existing circumstances their remaining at Fort Garry would intensely endanger the peace and their own lives, took to flight, retiring to the United States.⁴ There is no reason to believe that at any time Riel had contemplated armed resistance to Wolseley, coming as the champion of a new constitution accepted by the authorised representatives of the people of the Red River. "I only wish to retain power until I can resign it to a proper government," said Riel to General Butler: "I have done everything for the sake of peace and to prevent bloodshed among the people of the land."⁵

Wolseley thus found himself in peaceable possession, but in a position of very great difficulty, nevertheless. Rupert's Land was now a dependency of Canada, but the new Lieutenant-Governor, the Honourable Adams G. Archibald, did not arrive until September 2, and Wolseley himself had no civil authority. In the emergency he called upon Donald A. Smith to ad-

³ There is a clash of dates in the records: some authorities make August 23rd the date of Wolseley's entry into Fort Garry.

⁴ During the interval between Riel's departure and the entry of the Canadian forces it is alleged by Mr. Taylor that an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company took possession of and concealed such documents as would have invalidated the Company's claim of proprietorship in the "Retired Servants'" lands. The most important of these papers were those in what was called Register Book A. This included an authenticated copy of the deed of the land transferred from the Hudson's Bay Company to Selkirk, June 12, 1811; a map of the lands deeded; a copy of Selkirk's Indian treaty, with accompanying map; Selkirk's will and the letters probate; and power of attorney to Robert Parker Pelly and Sir George Simpson to administer the Selkirk grant on behalf of the executors. After much fruitless negotiation, Mr. Taylor, eighteen years later, obtained access to this Register and made its contents public. As one of the results of the extraordinary policy of concealment alleged against the Company, many of the original settlers were never able to secure patents for the lands in their possession in 1870. It is needless to add that the claims of the "Retired Servants" and their heirs have never been admitted by the Government of Canada.

⁵ *Great Lone Land*, p. 134.

minister affairs pending the Lieutenant-Governor's arrival,—a task which he performed with characteristic efficiency.

An important influence operating to bring about this peaceable issue was that exercised by Bishop Taché. Fearing that the mission of Messrs. Smith, Thibault and Salaberry would prove unavailing, Sir John Macdonald took the precaution to request the Archbishop to return forthwith from a visit to Rome, to exercise his wonderful prestige for the avoidance of bloodshed. Upon this summons the Archbishop promptly acted, braving the hardships of a winter journey to the Red River district, where his exhortation and remonstrances had an indubitable effect in restraining Riel and his companions. Prior to his arrival, however, the settlers had chosen their delegates and had consented to treat with the Canadian Government.

Scott's murder aroused, especially in Ontario, a wild outbreak of indignation, dangerously tinged with fanaticism. The situation was further complicated by an amnesty which the Archbishop had believed himself authorised by the Canadian Government to proclaim, and by the fact that Lieutenant-Governor Archibald officially accepted, with promise of safe conduct, the armed support of Riel and Lepine and a large number of their followers, to repel an expected Fenian invasion, October 7 and 8, 1871. Into the details of this episode we cannot here enter. The upshot of the matter was that the Dominion Authorities paid Riel and Lepine, who had returned to Canada, again to leave the country, which they did, protected by a police escort. Lepine subsequently came back again, stood his trial and was condemned to death, but on the recommendation of Lord Dufferin the penalty was commuted to two years' imprisonment with forfeiture of political rights. The fate of Riel will be recorded in later chapters.

We have now reached the end of the second century since the establishment of British interests in that vast region of North Western America of which the modern Province of Saskatchewan is the centre. We have briefly reviewed the feats and feuds of rival explorers and traders, to the outcome of which we owe the fact that Saskatchewan is today British soil. We have endeavored to picture the character and manners of our aborigines, so often and so oppositely misrepresented and misjudged by the sickly sentimentalist and the hasty man of affairs. We have noted the small beginnings of the tide of settlement that has since swept over Western Canada, and have seen in what a crucible the early pioneers were tried. We have recorded the abdication of its territorial and administrative rights by the Great Company and the beginning in 1870 of the process of provincial organization, the last great step in which was the passing of the Saskatchewan Act twenty-five years later. Finally we have seen the French Halfbreeds

already once in arms against the ignorant arrogance of Ottawa, thus initiating a movement to which many pages of any history of Saskatchewan must be devoted. Accordingly at this point in our labours we might write the words, "End of Part I," for henceforth the main theatre of our history will be, not in the scene of earliest western settlement, but in the Farther North West of which Saskatchewan is a part.

CHAPTER XII

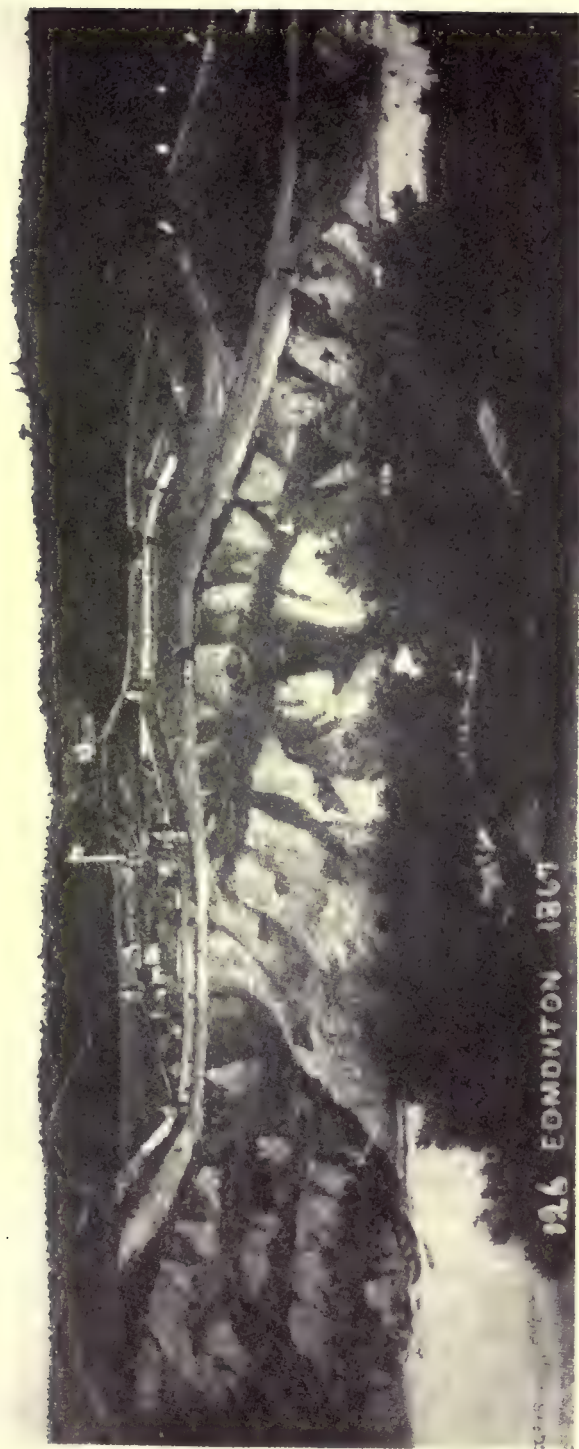
THE FIRST SETTLEMENT IN SASKATCHEWAN; PRELIMINARY OUTLINE OF THE PERIOD, 1870-1876.

EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS IN WHAT IS NOW SASKATCHEWAN—SOURCES OF INFORMATION—EFFECT OF RED RIVER RISING ON THE INDIANS—INFLUENCE OF SETTLERS; AND OF INDIAN WARS IN THE UNITED STATES—PRESTIGE OF THE MISSIONARIES—SMALLPOX EPIDEMIC, 1870—CHRISTIE'S REPORT—FATHER LACOMBE'S REPORT—ORGANIZATION OF BOARD OF HEALTH, 1871—BOUNDARY COMMISSION, 1872 TO 1874—DANGER OF WESTERN CANADA FROM THE FENIANS—ATTITUDE OF FRENCH HALFBREEDS IN MANITOBA—CYPRESS HILL MASSACRE—CREATION OF MOUNTED POLICE FORCE, 1873—PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AT BATOCHE, 1875—NECESSITY FOR RESIDENT GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL—SPREAD OF INFORMATION REGARDING THE WEST.

When, in 1870, a little district, approximately one hundred miles wide and one hundred and forty miles long, was organized into the Province of Manitoba, the remainder of the enormous Territories just ceded to Canada by the Hudson's Bay Company was almost entirely without settlers. The following quotation is from Palliser's famous report of his explorations, 1858-1861:

"The Qu'Appelle lakes may be considered the most western part of the territory east of the Rocky mountains to which the Hudson Bay Company trade; westward of this I may say is unknown, and the whole country in this latitude is untravellered by the white man."

Tiny settlements were, of course, to be found at the various "forts." The most important trading posts, apart from those in the Red River settlement, were Fort Ellice, at the junction of the Qu'Appelle and Assiniboin Rivers; Fort Pelly, on the Assiniboin; Norway House, at the north end of Lake Winnipeg; Cumberland House, on the Saskatchewan; Fort A la Corne, near the junction of the North and South Saskatchewan; Fort Carlton, and Forts Pitt and Edmonton, on the north branch; Fort Touchwood, among the Touchwood Hills; and Fort Qu'Appelle. Captain Palliser reported in 1862 that the Hudson's Bay Company had long since given up all posts in the Blackfoot country. Edmonton in Palliser's time was a trading post, quite



FORT EDMONTON (1867).

as large as Fort Garry. It was built of wood and furnished with strong bastions and palisades. Near it was a farm attached to the establishment, the only one in Saskatchewan, some thirty acres in extent. The population of the fort was one hundred fifty, one-third of these being the Company's employees. Fort Qu'Appelle was then situated sixteen or eighteen miles south of the present place of that name. As the facts in this connection have been disputed by some, it may be worth while to quote the following extracts from the journal of Doctor Hector, who accompanied Captain Palliser:

"The country all around this lake (*i. e.*, Qu'Appelle) is extremely irregular, rising into high hills without any covering but a scanty growth of grass: boulders are also very abundant. . . . At one o'clock we reached our destination, a small trading post of the Hudson's Bay Company, which from having first been situated at the Qu'Appelle Lakes, is known by that name. . . . As this was the place we were to remain at to await Captain Palliser's joining us, I employed the time in making a visit to the Qu'Appelle Lakes, lying about eighteen miles to the north. Having procured a guide and a note from the gentleman in charge to a missionary who lives there, we departed after dinner, intending to return next day. For the first four miles the track, which is almost due north, passes through open woods, . . . making a considerable descent. After that, with the exception of a few clumps, we saw no wood, but crossed a level open plain. We again commenced to descend steadily. It was sunset before we reached the Qu'Appelle River, and descended into its profound valley by a dim twilight, which greatly exaggerated its proportions. Riding along the river we soon came to the house of the missionary, guided by the baying of the dogs. We were very hospitably received by Mr. Pratt, who is a missionary of the Church of England from Red River settlement, and a pure Stoney Indian by birth. He has a very comfortable little house and cultivates an excellent garden, in which he rears, among other things, hops and Indian corn."

When the North West was annexed to Canada, Halfbreed settlements were gradually being established in various parts of what is now Saskatchewan, notably about Prince Albert, Batoche, and Wood Mountain (Willow Bunch). Practically all the whites and Halfbreeds in the country lived by the chase and agricultural settlement can scarcely be said yet to have begun.

Almost our only means of information regarding this wilderness empire in the early days is derived from the writings of missionaries, such as Father Lacombe, the Reverend John McDougall and the Reverend Mr. Nisbet; the famous report made to Lieutenant-Governor Archibald by Captain W. F. Butler and that made to the Federal authorities by Col. Robt. Ross; the personal correspondence of Hudson Bay factors and traders; the reports of explorers and wandering adventurers; and the reminiscences of the very few other Old Timers who had already penetrated through the Western wilderness and are yet living.

The institutions of law and order as understood in civilized communities were as yet wholly unknown in what is now Saskatchewan and Alberta. Serious crimes were committed from time to time without any vindication of the law being possible. The Hudson's Bay Company, itself being a commercial corporation dependent for its profits on the goodwill of the inhabitants, hesitated to exercise even the slight repressive powers within its grasp. Free trade in furs, which really meant uncontrolled trade in whisky, had further demoralized the natives. The rumors of the so-called rebellion, which had marked the establishment of Canadian authority, had most dangerously disturbed the tradition of relative peace that had characterized Western and Central British America, as far as the relation between the whites and the Indians were concerned. The native tribes of the Far West were still involved in ceaseless bloody feuds among themselves.

Moreover, the Indians viewed with the greatest anxiety the gradual inroad of white and Halfbreed settlers. The promiscuous use, by settlers and hunters, of poisons for the destruction of wolves and foxes, was causing the death of numerous dogs and horses belonging to the Indians. Worst of all, the extinction of the buffalo was already a calamity within sight; and for this and all their other misfortunes, the aborigines held the new-comers responsible.

South of the American border a war of extermination was in progress, directed against the Sioux, Blackfeet and Piegans. In the Spring of 1870 an encampment of the last-named tribe, dwelling close to the International boundary line, was surprised at daybreak by American soldiers. The tribe attacked was suffering severely from smallpox, and unable to offer any real resistance. In consequence one hundred and seventy men, women and children were massacred within a few moments. The extreme bitterness of the Indians against the American traders was the further aggravated by the belief general throughout Saskatchewan that the Blackfeet had been deliberately subjected to infection from smallpox by Missouri traders,—an opinion which, says Butler, "monstrous though it may appear, has been somewhat verified by the western press."

The Halfbreed element in the population was chiefly of French extraction, and largely made up of former employees of the Hudson's Bay Company. They had established scattered settlements along the Saskatchewan at Batoche, Prince Albert, Battleford, Willow Bunch, Wood Mountain, and in the neighbourhood of various Hudson Bay trading posts, notably Qu'Appelle. As a general rule they devoted little attention to agriculture. Most of the summer they spent upon the plains, buffalo hunting, and in the winter they traded with and freighted for the Hudson's Bay Company. Says Butler, "They are gay, idle, dissipated, unreliable and ungrateful; in a measure brave; hasty to form conclusions and quick to act upon them; possessing

extraordinary power of endurance and capable of undergoing immense fatigue, yet scarcely ever to be depended on in critical moments; superstitious and ignorant, having a very deep rooted distaste to any fixed employment; opposed to the Indian, yet widely separated from the white man." Politically, Butler found among them "an exact counter-part of French political feeling in Manitoba . . . kept in abeyance by the isolation of the various settlements, as well as by the dread of Indian attack."

Along the North Saskatchewan and various other rivers in what is now Alberta, gold had been discovered, but it was only in the neighbourhood of the forts of the Hudson's Bay Company that continued washing for the precious metal could be carried on. This was owing to the hostility of the Indians and to the practical impossibility of procuring supplies. Nevertheless there was a very strong belief among the best informed that the gold fields of the upper Saskatchewan would presently be the scenes of tumultuous activity akin to that of American mining settlements in the early days. The reader need hardly be told that the prospect of the approaching ingress of large numbers of lawless miners greatly added to the anxieties of thoughtful men.

The famous missionary pioneer, John McDougall, in his book entitled *Western Trails in the Early Seventies*, gives a vivid picture of these chaotic times. By virtue of their personal force of character and superior intelligence, the missionaries came to be looked upon somewhat as were the Judges in Israel in those far-away times, when, as we are told, "every man did that which was right in his own eyes."

"At this time," says Mr. McDougall, "there was not a *bona fide* settler south of the North Saskatchewan. We were there by ourselves, a few English-speaking men and women amongst thousands of natives, and these speaking different languages, and out of the long past still at enmity and in a condition of war with each other.

Under these circumstances it was a serious problem to keep the peace. In each camp were those who desired it; but the crowd who did not care, and those who had personal grievances to be adjusted and revenge to be gratified, these kept our friends and myself on the move. We had to be on guard day and night. Many a time I was called upon to pass judgment between parties of the same tribe, and often between those of distinct nationality. Horses and women were, almost in every case, the reason given for the trouble.

"I made it a rule to listen to the quality of evidence rather than the quantity thereof; but to arbitrate or give judgment with all parties before you fully armed, and their several constituencies behind them ready to fight, made me feel somewhat nervous. However, we knew we were preparing the people for the Government, which we now hoped would soon come

upon the scene. In the meantime 'John's' ruling prevailed, at any rate in the vicinity of our fort."

The year 1870 was marked by one of the most devastating epidemics of smallpox that ever cursed the West. It was about fifty years since it had first appeared among the Indians and already among the British tribes the Stoneys of the Qu'Appelle plains had been almost exterminated by it. In 1869 and 1870 reports reached the Saskatchewan of the prevalence of smallpox of a very malignant type among the Blackfeet, from whom it spread to other Indians of the Southwestern plains. Nevertheless, in April, 1870, a small band of Crees visited the infected country on a war excursion. Coming upon a deserted Blackfoot camp they mutilated some corpses found there and carried away the scalps and clothing as trophies. Upon this act a terrible penalty followed. The pillaged camp had belonged to victims of the plague. On their return home the disease, carried thither by the exulting warriors, spread throughout the whole Cree nation. The terrified Indians scattered and the infection was thus spread broadcast.

From a letter from Chief Factor W. J. Christie, of Carlton House, to Donald A. Smith, under date of September 6, 1870, we learn that in the plains whole bands of the aborigines were being obliterated and that the deadly malady was at work among the whites as well as the Indians. Mr. Christie begged earnestly for medical assistance and for military or police protection against the frantic and superstitious Indians, who unreasonably blamed the whites for the pestilence.

"At Fort Pitt," he says, "two hundred Indians died, and they brought their dead and threw them against the stockades to try and give the infection to the Whites. In all cases, we have to go and bury their dead, and I am told the stench is awful. In the plains, the air for miles from a dead camp is infected from the dead lying unburied. From the Rocky Mountains to this place it rages, and by report it is in Peace River, but this is not confirmed by any letters I have received from Slave Lake. . . . We trade nothing with the Indians; we do all we can to save them, scattering them in the woods, and giving them ammunition, etc., *gratis*, and after all they blame us for the malady. At Fort Pitt, a party came in, thinking to find Chief Trader W. H. Watt there, and were to murder him and Traill if they found them. They say they sent the malady among them,—poor deluded creatures."

On the terrors of this fearful year still more lurid light is cast by letters from the heroic missionaries, such as Father Lacombe. The reader will be interested in perusing the following extracts from a letter from that great Indian apostle to Bishop Taché.¹

¹ Dominion Sess. papers 20 to 46, Vol. IV, No. 5, 1871.



FATHER LACOMBE

"Mission of St. Paul (Crees), Saskatchewan, 12th, Sept., 1870.

" . . . You are aware, My Lord, that I spent all last winter amidst the Crees and Blackfeet. Having left the Reverend Father Dupin and Brother Scandon with the Crees, I came back here for the passage of Monseigneur Grandin. After taking leave of His Lordship, I set out for the camp of the Blackfeet, where I arrived after a journey of twenty days, and remained until Spring. It was then that I first became acquainted with the terrible epidemic disease of which we still continue to suffer. At that time the contagion was not so dangerous as it is now, particularly in the camp in which I was stationed, but information reached me that at 'Rivière des Ventres' and near the Missouri, a great number of the Piegans and Blood Indians were cut off by it.

"After a long and trying journey to Little Slave Lake and Peace River, I arrived at Lac la Biche in the middle of July, and considered myself entitled to a few days' rest, but the time had not yet come. I received intelligence that the Indians were on the eve of arriving at St. Paul stricken by the disease. Bidding farewell to rest, I hastened to the relief of my dear eophytes. *En route*, I met Reverend Father Dupin on his way to Lac la Biche, to be attended,—he was dangerously ill. I got here on the 18th July. None but those who witnessed it can form an idea of the spectacle offered to my view. Upwards of one hundred and thirty families were busily occupied pitching their tents around my dwelling. Hardly alighted from my horse, I had to respond to the cries of the poor sufferers, calling on me with all their might. When I now recall to mind the two months I passed, exposed to the plague, and worn out with fatigue, I most gratefully acknowledge the visible and special protection of Providence. Poor Indians! What a pitiful sight they then offered, and still offer, as a great number still labour under the painful disease. Every one implored my aid and charity,—some for medicine, others for the benefit of the last sacraments. Day and night I was constantly occupied. Scarcely had I time to say Mass. I had to instruct and baptize dying infidels, confess and anoint our neophytes, at the point of death, minister to different wants, give a drink to one and food to another, and kindle the fire during the cold nights. This dreadful epidemic has taken all compassion from the hearts of the Indians. The lepers of a new kind are removed to a distance from the others and sheltered with branches. There they witness the decomposition and putrefaction of their bodies several days before death. I cannot define the nature of the contagion; some say it is smallpox, other scarlatina. For my part, I am led to believe that it is a complication of several diseases and putrid fever. The patient is at first very feverish, the skin becomes red and covered with pimples, these blotches in a few days form scabs filled with infectious matter, then the flesh begins to decompose and fall off in fragments. Worms swarm

in the parts most affected. Inflammation of the throat impedes all passage for meat or drink. While enduring the torments of this cruel agony, the sufferer ceases to breathe, alone in a poor shed with no other assistance than what I can afford. The hideous corpses must be buried, a grave must be dug, and the bodies carried to the burial ground. All this devolves on me, and I am alone with Indians, disheartened and terrified to such a degree that they hardly dare approach even their own relatives. God alone knows what I have had to endure merely to prevent their mortal remains being devoured by dogs. On the other hand, my toils are amply repaid by the consolation I experience in witnessing the happy dispositions of the poor Indians at the hour of death. This tacit teaching of the 'Master of Life' has done more among the Savage Tribes than all our sermons. While I was thus employed an Indian arrived from Victoria, sent by the Chief of his Camp. The messenger eagerly besought me to come and visit his people. With difficulty I escaped from the grasp of my own Indians, and the same day, before sunset, I was in the midst of the Indians of Victoria. They also were afflicted by the epidemic and thought themselves entirely forsaken.

"I baptized several at that place, and did all I could to relieve the sufferers, during the two nights and a day that I devoted to them. I then came back to my Indians, many of whom had expired during my absence, but they had all received the sacraments before I had left.

"At last the news of my situation reached St. Alberts; immediately two lay brothers were sent to my aid, and were of the greatest service to me. The plague having become less intense, I anticipated a little rest. Suddenly a courier from St. Albert conveyed to me the doleful news that the epidemic had just reached that station; the only missionaries left there, being the first infected with the disease, were then dangerously ill, and owing to this, several of their people had died without religious assistance. You, kind and Reverend Pastor, can readily imagine with what speed I flew to assist my dear and afflicted brethren. I rejoiced on finding them out of danger on my arrival, and during two days I was constantly occupied in assisting the dying. The Orphanage of the Sisters of Charity had become an hospital. All their orphans were laid up at once, and reduced to extremity. Seeing that the Fathers were recovering, and somewhat able to assist the sick of their mission, I came back to those I had left at mine. Reverend Father Dupin arrived yesterday. He is better, but still very weak, and unable to bear much exertion. Nevertheless, he willingly consents to remain alone, and benefit the poor sufferers that are still close to our habitation. I am therefore enabled to rejoin the camp of Indians in the Plains to afford them assistance, and profit of the good dispositions produced by the hand of God.

"Your Lordship is undoubtedly aware that the same contagion is cruelly

ravaging at Carlton. Mons. Grandin arrived there at the moment of most painful emergency. You know enough of his zeal and self-sacrifice to form a just idea of the prodigious acts of charity he has accomplished. As soon as he heard of the illness of the missionaries of St. Albert, he decided to leave Carlton and start for Edmonton. The venerable Prelate passed this way a few days ago, and appeared excessively fatigued. He cannot be otherwise, for amidst the horrors of his situation he has had as much to endure from his tender-heartedness, as from his delicate constitution. How could we spare ourselves when we behold such a Chief!

"P. S., 20th Sept.—My Lord, what a melancholy sight in all our Missions of the Saskatchewan; our poor population is more than decimated, as many as six burials in the day at some of our Stations. What a trial! This evening I received heartrending letters from St. Albert. Our best families are entirely cut off by the pestilence. Bishop Grandin having found the missionaries of St. Albert and Lake St. Anne sufficiently recovered to attend the sick, has already gone to the plains to succor the hunters who are dying in great numbers. May God have pity on us. 'Parce Domine, parce populo tuo!'"

To cope with this fearful plague a Saskatchewan Board of Health was organized in 1871, with the following gentlemen as members:

Rev. George McDougall.
Rev. Father Luduc.
Rev. Father Andre.
Richard Hardisty, Chief Factor, Hudson's Bay Company.
Father Lacombe.
Bishop Grandin, St. Albert.
Bishop Farrant, La Biche.
Father Fourmond.
Rev. Henry Steinhur.
Rev. Peter Campbell.
Rev. John McDougall.
John Bunn, Edmonton, Secretary.

This body forbade the sending of furs out of the Saskatchewan region during the current session, reported the sanitary conditions of the territory to the Winnipeg authorities, and took all other precautionary measures possible under the circumstances, and gradually the pestilence was stayed.

Meantime, as a first provision for the coming development and settlement of the Far West, the task of determining the boundary between Canada and the United States was undertaken (1872) by a commission representing the Governments of America, Great Britain and Canada. Two years later the line had been marked as far west as Milk River in Southern Alberta.

Had certain plotters had their will there would have been no need of

surveying any international boundary in North Western America. The story of the Fenian raids which threatened the Canadian West in the early seventies belongs in a special sense to the History of Manitoba, but as events connected with it subsequently had an important bearing upon the treatment of Louis Riel and are of much intrinsic interest, the whole disgraceful episode will here bear review. Moreover, it is manifest that if Manitoba had been wrenched from the Empire, as the insane filibusters desired, then what is now Saskatchewan would certainly not be under the British flag today.

The following extract is from a memorandum accompanying a report of a committee of the Privy Council printed in the sessional papers in 1872

“January 25, 1871.

“In the month of November, 1863, a congress of persons styling themselves the Fenian Brotherhood, and consisting chiefly of natural born and naturalized citizens of the United States of America, was convened at Chicago, in the State of Illinois. Since that time there has been a regularly organized body, styling itself the Fenian Brotherhood. Its headquarters have been in the City of New York. It has had a President, Senate, and House of Delegates, and has occupied buildings on which the Fenian flag has been openly displayed. The Fenian Government has collected a revenue, and has issued bonds and notes; it has a regularly organized army with prescribed uniforms, and officers regularly commissioned, and sworn. There has been no secrecy about this organization, and no attempt to conceal its objects, one of the principal of which has been the conquest of Canada, against the people of which, it is not pretended it has had any cause of complaint. The drilling of the Fenian troops has been carried on in the most open manner, sometimes in the open air, and at other times in halls procured for the purpose.

“In the month of August, 1865, the Canadian Government received confidential information that a Fenian expedition against Canada was being organized in the Western States, and from that time forward preparations for an invasion by a large force were active and increasing, and contributions were levied from American citizens to a very large amount. As an instance of the publicity of the proceedings, reference may be made to a meeting held on September 27, 1865, in Mozart Hall, in Cincinnati, at which Judge Woodruff presided. On that occasion one of the speakers said, according to a report in the *Cincinnati Daily Engineer*, of the 28th September, 1865, ‘250,000 men with bristling bayonets will be seen battling for the cause of Irish freedom before the snow of next December.’

“The same paper reported that after the speaking ‘it was announced that committees would be appointed in the various wards who would visit citizens during the coming week for purpose of raising funds for the purchase of

rifles to be used by an Irish army.' The same proceedings which took place in Cincinnati were adopted in many other cities and towns of the United States during the Autumn of 1865 and Winter of 1865-66.

"As early as March 14, 1865, Her Majesty's Minister at Washington called the attention of the Government of the United States to the fact of the existence of an extensive conspiracy on the part of the so-called Fenian Brotherhood, and pointed out that officers in the service of the United States had taken part in the proceedings of that body. There can be no doubt whatever that the Government of the United States were fully cognizant of the preparations made for the invasion of Canada, which culminated in the raid of June, 1866. The loss of life and property consequent on that outrage constitute one of the claims for reparation. Although the Government of the United States had been warned of the danger to be apprehended from the Fenians, it took no active measures until Canada had been actually invaded, when it is admitted it displayed considerable activity.

"The leader of the invading force was convicted and sentenced to imprisonment, together with other ringleaders, and large quantities of arms were seized by the Government of the United States. Unfortunately a very short time elapsed before the Fenian leaders were unconditionally released from prison, and the arms which had been seized restored to them. A Fenian Congress was held in September, 1866, little more than three months after the raid in Canada, and on that occasion it was publicly announced that the Fenians would not be content until Canada was invaded again.

"From that time forth numerous meetings were held, as well as balls, picnics and other demonstrations, all avowedly with the object of raising funds for the invasion of Canada. At some of these meetings there were imposing military displays of masses of men in Fenian uniforms, officered, armed and equipped. Gentlemen in high positions in the United States attended these meetings, as will appear in the following instance:

"In Chicago, in August, 1866, a picnic was held and it was announced in placards and hand bills that General Logan, Governor Oglesby and Speaker Colfax would attend as speakers, and that the Fenian soldiers would parade the grounds. In the course of a speech, delivered on the occasion by Speaker Colfax, Speaker of the House of Representatives, he said, as reported: 'I confess I was humiliated when our army was sent to act as police officers on the Canadian line. I was humiliated when our army was sent to do the dirty work of spies and detectives against the Fenians.'

"On the 28th May, 1868, it was stated in the announcement of a 'Grand Civil and Military Picnic, to take place in New York, that the 4th Regiment Irish Revolutionary Army will parade, and be reviewed by General O'Neill.' Drilling was openly carried on in Buffalo, on the Terrace, and in Chicago, on Wabash Avenue.



LIEUT.-GOV. ARCHIBALD WELCOMING RIEL AND HIS TROOPS TO HELP REPEL AN EXPECTED FENIAN INVASION IN 1870.
This incident explains the action of the authorities in subsequently conniving at Riel's escape to the United States.

"In November, 1868, a Fenian Congress was held at Philadelphia, at which three regiments of the Irish Republican Army, numbering fully 2,000, were paraded in line, commanded by Colonel William Clingen. There were likewise present General O'Neill, President of the Fenian Brotherhood, and the following: Staff-General Smolenski, Chief of Staff; Colonel John W. Byron, Adjutant-General; Colonel J. J. Donnelly, Engineers; Major J. O'Leary, of Ordnance; and others.

"In 1867, General Barry, of the United States Army, commanding on the frontier, his headquarters being at Buffalo, had a number of his men tried and convicted of a breach of military discipline by leaving their quarters and joining a Fenian military display. In a very short time after their sentence, and when their term of imprisonment had scarcely begun, a pardon was granted to the soldiers from headquarters, at Washington, and soon after General Barry was removed from his command. It has been positively asserted by the Fenians themselves that they had received assurances from very high quarters that if a demand should be made on the State authorities for troops to aid the regular troops, they need not fear that this would be speedily given. In April, 1870, arrangements which were well known to the authorities of the United States, had been made for an invasion, but no steps whatever were taken to prevent it. Fortunately, the Canadian Government ascertained that a raid was in contemplation, and called out a large force at considerable expense, which deterred the leaders for a time. So soon as the Canadian volunteers had been disbanded, the preparations for invasion were renewed, and the raid of May, 1870, took place at a time when it was supposed that Canada was completely off her guard. Great stress is laid on the fact of General O'Neill's arrest by the United States' Marshal, but it must be borne in mind that no attempt was made by the Marshal to prevent the invasion, and that it was after the complete defeat and dispersion of the Fenians, by the Canadian volunteers, that General O'Neill was arrested, as he had been in 1866, to be again tried, convicted, and again pardoned unconditionally."

To meet the raiders expected in Manitoba in 1870 Lieutenant-Governor Archibald felt compelled to accept the services of Riel himself. Mr. Archibald reported to the Ottawa authorities that the French Halfbreeds loyally rallied to the support of the government irrespective of the troubles of 1869 and 1870, and that in the ranks of the raiders there was only one French Métis. The capture of O'Donoghue, the Fenian leader, was made by a number of French Halfbreeds. As in this episode the Lieutenant-Governor officially and publicly recognized the loyal services of the leaders of the late so-called rebellion, the central authorities very properly felt that the subsequent enforcement of capital sentences would be grossly improper. These facts accounted for the Government's attitude in connection with the

prosecution of Lepine for his share in the murder of Scott and for the official connivance, and indeed the official financial assistance, by which Riel's second escape to the United States was brought about.

In 1873 occurred the infamous Cypress Hills Massacre, which convinced even the most careless of our Canadian politicians of the pressing necessity of establishing a Mounted Police Force of adequate size in the North West. The white desperadoes engaged in this affair were a group of American whiskey traders of whom Philander Vogel was one of the ringleaders. Various pretexts for the outrage were subsequently offered, but it seems evident that the white renegades were simply bent upon acquiring the glory of having wiped out an Indian village. One evening at a time when the Indian encampment was devoted to hilarity, and the Indians were more or less under the influence of liquor, the traders advanced into a river bed, the banks of which gave them complete cover. From this position they had the village, which lay near Massacre or Battle Creek, entirely at their mercy, as the Indians were gathered round their camp fires in open view. The Americans murdered thirty-odd, wounded probably twice as many, and drove the others into the hills.

The whiskey traders after this horrid affair burned their fort and retreated into American territory. The outrage was brought to the attention of the President of the United States, as at that time it was supposed that the massacre had occurred south of the unmarked International Boundary. When the American authorities learned that this was not the case, the matter was referred to Ottawa. In 1875, Major Irvine succeeded in effecting the arrest of some of the outlaws concerned. This in itself produced a most salutary effect upon the lawless inclined, and especially upon the Canadian Indians, who began to see that the Dominion authorities were intent upon protecting them from the impositions and violence even of white men. No convictions were secured, but the energy shown by the authorities made this the last event of its kind to occur on Canadian soil.

At best, however, a government operating from Fort Garry could exercise but little influence in the far away settlements of the West, consequently in 1875 we find the Halfbreeds of Batoche and Carlton district establishing among themselves a provisional government, generally unmentioned in the histories and now all but forgotten except by a handful of our oldest inhabitants. The head of the movement was the famous hunter and warrior, Gabriel Dumont, who had come to the Saskatchewan from the Red River settlement in 1868. Under his presidency the Métis organized themselves upon the basis of the laws of the buffalo hunt. Now, however, these laws were no longer to depend upon mere voluntary acquiescence; Dumont and his associates arrested various hunters who declined to join the Halfbreed Confederacy, and issued orders forbidding all others to approach his terri-



BATOCHE IN 1885.



BATOCHE FERRY IN 1912.

Observe that the country is much more densely wooded now
than at the time of the Rebellion.

tory. One cannot but sympathize with the unlettered Métis in this sporadic attempt to establish something approaching an effective government, but of course the proceedings were illegal and Lieutenant-Governor Morris was obliged to interfere. To avoid arrest and prosecution, Dumont released his prisoners, gave them back their confiscated property and the fines which had been collected from them, and made his peace with the police.

Towards the end of the period to which this portion of our treatise is devoted the settlements in Saskatchewan and elsewhere through the West had so increased in population that it was manifestly impossible longer to entrust their government to a non-resident official whose hands were already more than full as Lieutenant-Governor for the Province of Manitoba. How the duties of government had been fulfilled, and how the new order of affairs was introduced we shall see in later chapters.

Apart from the events to which we have already alluded, the most noteworthy occurrences of the period of 1870 to 1876 are connected with the surrender of their lands by the Indians from the South. The stories of these events, however, are so interesting and important as to require treatment in separate chapters.

In 1875 the Earl of Southesk published a work entitled *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains*, in which he gave an excellent account of his journey and observations the preceding year through the North West. About this same period Milton and Cheadle's gossip narrative also appeared, and somewhat later, Doctor G. M. Grant published his work entitled *From Ocean to Ocean*. These and other similar books of travel and reports of exploration did much to make the far West better known, and to attract the attention of the Federal Government to the needs of the country.

CHAPTER XIII

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE TERRITORIES FROM 1870-1876

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF MANITOBA GIVEN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY—BUTLER'S REPORT—ARCHIBALD'S SUCCESSORS—SUPERINTENDENTS GENERAL OF INDIAN AFFAIRS—IGNORANCE OF CANADIAN STATESMEN REGARDING THE WEST—NORTH WEST COUNCIL, 1873—FIRST SPEECH FROM THE THRONE—FIRST LEGISLATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF NORTH WEST COUNCIL—REMONSTRANCES REGARDING INEFFICIENT ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE AND DELAY IN RATIFICATION OF INDIAN TREATIES—CYPRESS HILLS MASSACRE—LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR MORRIS' REVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE OLD NORTH WEST COUNCIL—NORTH WEST TERRITORIES ACT OF 1875—PROVISION RELATING TO SEPARATE SCHOOLS—FAILURE TO PROVIDE FOR REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT—PROCLAMATION OF OCTOBER 7, 1876.

On the 30th day of July, 1870, there was transmitted from the Governor-General to the Honorable Adams G. Archibald, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Manitoba, a commission appointing him also Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories. Five days later, detailed instructions were issued informing Mr. Archibald of the duties he was expected to perform. These were to include, among other things, the perfecting of plans for the establishment for the friendliest possible relations between the Dominion Government and the Indian tribes, and reports upon such lands in the Territories as it might be desirable to open up at once for settlement. The Lieutenant-Governor presently issued to Captain W. F. Butler, F.R.G.S., the well-known soldier, traveller, explorer and author to whom references were made in the preceding chapter, a commission instructing him to make an extended tour of the North West with a view to collecting information of value to the authorities. On returning from this journey of 2,700 miles, Captain Butler submitted a lengthy report which now constitutes an historical document of the very greatest value. To it the present writer is indebted for much of his information regarding conditions at this time.

Archibald's regime ended in 1872. For a few months the position of Lieutenant-Governor was held by Mr. Francis G. Johnson. On December 2nd of the same year, Lieutenant-Governor Morris assumed the reins, which

he held until the inauguration of the North West Council, with the Honorable David Laird as resident Lieutenant-Governor of the Territories, October, 1876.

In view of the importance of Indian affairs during this epoch, it may be well to mention the Superintendents General of this department. The Honorable Mr. Howe held the office from 1869 to 1873. Mr. Gibbs succeeded him in June of that year, but on the first of the following month he gave place to Mr. Campbell, and he, four months later, to Mr. Laird. The services performed by the last named gentleman were of the highest value to the people of Canada and to the Indians and western settlers in particular. The office of Indian Commissioner for the North West was for a time held by Mr. Wemyss Simpson, who was succeeded in 1872 by Mr. J. A. N. Provencher.

During the session of the Dominion House in 1871, the Government was interpolated by Donald A. Smith, member for Selkirk (now more familiarly known as Lord Strathcona), as to the steps it intended to take for the regulation of trade in the Territories and for the control of the traffic in intoxicating liquors. However, very few Canadian statesmen really knew anything about western conditions and it was not until the following year that any provision was made for the establishment of a real government in the far West.

A curious illustration of the extraordinary uncertainty regarding the West and how it was to be governed occurred a couple of months after the arrival of Mr. Archibald and upon his assumption of duties as Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories. The Act of June 22, 1869, entitled "An Act for the temporary Government of Rupert's Land, and the North Western Territory when united with Canada" authorized the Governor-General in Council to appoint a North West Council of seven to fifteen members. This arrangement, as regards the Territories proper, was left undisturbed by the Act defining the provincial constitution of Manitoba. When confronted by a smallpox epidemic in his distant territories, the new Lieutenant-Governor felt the necessity of the immediate creation of a North West Council to deal with Territorial interests. Astonishing to relate, he had no copy of the Rupert's Land Act of 1869 in his possession, and indeed there was none in the Colony! Now, Mr. Archibald's memory played him the scurvy trick of deluding him into the belief that the appointment of the Council lay in his own hands. Consequently, on October 21, 1870, he appointed the Honorable Francis G. Johnson, Ex-Governor of Assiniboia; Donald A. Smith, Chief resident Executive Officer of the Hudson's Bay Company; and Pascal Bréland, a leading French Halfbreed. They were sworn in the following day and promptly entered upon their supposed duties. The most urgent of these had to do with the passing of Ordinances for the suppression of smallpox and of illicit sale of intoxicants in the Terri-

ories. Whether valid or not from a legal standpoint this pseudo-legislation had all the force and effect of law in the Territories. Mr. Archibald promptly reported these transactions to the Secretary of State for the Provinces, who in reply called his attention to the provisions of the Act of 1869 bearing on the constitution of the Council. Mr. Archibald's explanation of the part he had played in this amusing political burlesque reads in part as follows :

"Unfortunately, though I had been in the province from September 3rd, nearly eight weeks, my books and paper despatched from Ottawa on August 6th had never reached this place, and in all Manitoba not a single copy of the Acts of 1869 was to be found.

"I had but a vague recollection of the terms of the Rupert's Land Act, but I assumed that substantially it would be the same as the Manitoba Act so far as my power of appointment was concerned. Judge Johnson, with whom I conferred, could not add to my information. Mr. Donald A. Smith, who was the Commissioner of the Government of Canada during the time the Act was applicable to the whole North West, could give no particulars. Accordingly, I did the best I could in the emergency."

A long time elapsed before any properly constituted Council was created. On December 9, 1870, Mr. Archibald submitted to the Federal Government the names of ten gentlemen suitable for appointment, and on November 23, 1871, he sent in additional names. On December 28th of the following year the *Canada Gazette* announced at last the appointment of the North West Council to which eleven members were named. In the meantime Lieutenant-Governor Archibald had retired from office, so the first legally constituted North West Council was organized under the presidency of Lieutenant-Governor Morris.

At the first meeting of this body, March 8, 1873, the Honorable Messrs. Girard, H. J. Clark, D. A. Smith, Pascal Bréland, Alfred Boyd, Jos. Dubuc, and A. G. B. Bannatyne assembled. Other members of the Council were Messrs. John Schultz, William Fraser, Robert Hamilton and William J. Christie. The last named gentleman was the Hudson Bay Company's chief factor from Fort Simpson. To attend the Council a journey of two thousand miles by dog train was necessary, requiring almost two months of actual travel.

The special feature of the first meeting was the following interesting address to the Council delivered by Lieutenant-Governor Morris :

"Honourable gentlemen of the Council of the North West, I have much pleasure in calling you around me to assist me in the administration of the affairs of the North West Territories. The duties which devolve upon you are of a highly important character. A country of vast extent which is in possession of abundant resources is entrusted to your keeping; a country, which though as yet but sparsely settled, is destined, I believe, to become the home of thousands of persons, by means of whose industry and energy

that which is now almost a wilderness will be quickly transformed into a fruitful land, where civilization and the arts of peace will flourish. It is for us to labour to the utmost of our power, in order to bring about, as speedily as possible, the settlement of the North West Territories and the development and maintenance of peace and order, and the welfare and happiness of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects resident in the Territories. The scope and nature of your authority are set forth in the Act of the Dominion Parliament where the formation of this Council is authorised, and in the Order of the Governor General in Council, copies of which will be laid before you.

"Among other matters which should claim your immediate attention will be the taking of means for ascertaining in what portions of the North West Territories settlements have been formed, and suggesting to the Dominion Government the propriety of surveying and dealing with the lands in those districts. It will also be advisable to ascertain the numbers of the various native tribes, with the localities in which they reside, and to suggest measures for concluding satisfactory treaties with them. Means must be devised for the proper administration of Justice, the prevention of trade in intoxicating liquors, and the vigorous assertion of the law in all cases of crime and disorder.

"I will also take your counsel as to the most appropriate locality in which the band of Sioux now resident in Manitoba should be placed for permanent residence.

"I now invite you to enter upon the duties of your office, well assured, as I am, of your sincere desire to assist me loyally and faithfully in the administration of the affairs of the North West and in the development of that mighty region whose future I believe to be so full of promise."

The powers of this Council were narrowly circumscribed, but it passed much important legislation and made many valuable recommendations to the Dominion authorities. An invitation was extended to the new Governor-General to visit the West. The appointment of Stipendary Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, and a resident Judge, was recommended. The use of poison by the settlers was prohibited, and attempts were made to prevent the traffic in intoxicating liquors, the ordinance of Lieutenant-Governor Archibald and his still-born Council of 1870 being re-enacted. A resolution looking to the establishment of the North West Mounted Police was also carried.

When the Council met again in September, the Dominion Government had passed acts dealing with the creation of a police force and administration of justice in the North West, but, to the chagrin of the Council it had not given effect to its act with reference to the appointment of Justices of the Peace. The Council again, therefore, directed the attention of the Government to this matter, and petitioned for a still larger military force. They commented upon gross outrages committed upon the native population and Her Majesty's subjects generally by American desperadoes in the Territories,

and upon murders committed by Indians and Halfbreeds, which had been allowed to go unpunished because there were no means at hand to enforce the law.¹

Much of the time of the Council was devoted to debates and resolutions upon the urgent necessity of the consummation of treaties with the Indians. Repeated representations in this connection were necessary before the wise advice of the Western officials was acted upon by the Dominion authorities. Indeed in this and other connections the Council found it necessary time and again to protest in the most vigorous language against the dilatory proceedings of the Ottawa authorities. A typical resolution in this regard closes as follows:

"Sensible as they are of the great importance of the duties which they are called upon to perform, and earnestly desirous as they are to discharge those duties loyally and efficiently, the Council feel that they will be unable to do so if matters which they believe to be of urgent importance, and which they have taken occasion to represent as such, be permitted to remain altogether unnoticed for a period of months. They therefore deem it their duty most respectfully to call the attention of His Excellency in Council to this important subject."

Such protests occur continually throughout the minutes of the Council. Still another may be quoted:

"That this Council deeply regret that the Privy Council has not been pleased to communicate their approval or disapproval of the legislation and many resolutions adopted by Council at their meetings held on the 4th, 8th, 11th and 13th September, 1873, March 11th, 12th, 14th, 16th, 1874, and June 1st and 2nd, 1874, and they respectfully represent that such long delay has paralyzed the action of the Council."

The Council was also seriously hampered by entire lack of funds, a circumstance which it is hard to recall without mingled amusement and indignation.

Among the important resolutions in 1873 was one calling attention to the fact that there was at present no public provision for postal communication in the North West Territories. In another interesting and suggestive resolution the thanks of the Council were voted to the Rev. Mr. McKay of Stanley Mission for translating, printing and publishing in the Cree language certain Manitoba Ordinances, the provisions of which had been extended to the North West Territories.

On May 3, 1873, provision was made for raising the maximum number

¹ In introducing the North West Territories Act of 1875 Premier Mackenzie stated that the Government had ascertained from the most authentic sources that within the preceding year and a half there had been nearly one hundred and fifty murders committed in the North West Territories, chiefly in fights between Indians and American traders—for which no person had been brought to trial.

of Councillors from fifteen to twenty-two and on October 22, 1873, the names of the Honorable Messrs. Joseph Royal, Pierre Delorme, Walter R. Brown, James McKay and William N. Kenney were added to the roll of the North West Council. Serious attention was given during this session to the Cypress Hills massacre and "the danger of an Indian war and of international complications which might embroil at any moment the British and American people."

It is of course impossible to report here in any detail the various proceedings of this industrious and intelligent group of Western Councillors. Perhaps the best way to review their work will be by reproducing an address delivered by the Lieutenant-Governor in the Council's last session, 1875.

The Lieutenant-Governor referred to his speech when Council first met after its formation (March 8, 1873), and continued as follows:

"I think this is a fitting occasion to review the work the Council has accomplished, and to place on record the result of its legislation and of its suggestions. The present Council are now only acting provisionally and a new Council is to be organized, partly nominated by the Crown, and partly elected by the people, with a view to exercising its functions under the presidency of a resident Governor within the Territories themselves. I am confident the Council will take up the work you began and have so zealously endeavoured to carry out, and I trust that they will prove successful in their efforts to develop the Territories and attract to them a large population.

"Though you had many difficulties to contend with, you surmounted most of them, and will have the gratification of knowing that you in a large measure contributed to shape the policy which will prevail in the Government of the Territories and the administration of its affairs.

"At your first meeting you passed an Act to prohibit, under certain restrictions, the importation of spirituous liquors into the Territories, and the Parliament of the Dominion has since adopted your views, and given effect to them by the passing of a law of similar import to that you framed. I am glad to say this measure has proved effective and will, I believe, contribute largely to the promotion of the well-being of the population of the Territories, and to the prevention of disorder and crime.

"You also made provision for the appointment of Justices of the Peace, and in connection therewith you represented to the Government of the Dominion that certain legislation, effective elsewhere, should be extended to the Territories, and that a Mounted Police force under military discipline should be established in the Territories for the maintenance of order therein, and the enforcement of the laws. You have had the satisfaction of seeing these suggestions adopted, and of knowing that the Police Force which you proposed has proved, and is proving, of the greatest service in the Territories.

"Such were some of the results of your first meeting, and your subse-



FORT WALSH.



FORT MACLEOD.



FORT SASKATCHEWAN.

quent sessions were not unproductive of good. I will only mention generally some of the more important subjects you dealt with.

"You were and are of opinion that the Militia battalion should be maintained and should be so increased that an effective force should be available in the Territories.

"You proposed that treaties should be made with the Indians of the plains, at Forts Carlton, Pitt and Qu'Appelle, and you suggested that schools should be provided for, that agricultural implements and cattle should be given to the Indians, and that teachers should be furnished to teach them the arts of agriculture.

"You have seen a treaty concluded at Qu'Appelle, and I am glad to inform you that treaties will be made next year at the other points indicated.

"You urged that Stipendiary Magistrates should be appointed, resident in various portions of the territory, clothed with powers to deal with certain classes of criminal offences, and also with a limited jurisdiction as regards civil cases, and that a resident Judge, with Queen's Bench powers, should be appointed to deal with graver matters, with an appeal to the Court of Queen's Bench in the Province of Manitoba, in certain cases.

"Your recommendation as to Magistrates has been adopted by the Dominion, and though power has been given to Judges of the Manitoba Courts in the Territories, this can only be regarded as a provisional measure, so that I doubt not your proposal will be eventually carried into effect.

"You called attention to the necessity of steps being taken to punish the actors in the Cypress Hills tragedy and your recommendation has been acted upon by the Privy Council with the best effect as regards the Indian population.

"You proposed that a monthly mail should be established between Fort Garry and Fort Edmonton for the convenience of the public, and it is to be hoped that the private mail now carried for the use of the police and the Pacific Railway service may prove the precursor of a much-needed boon to the people of the North West.

"You urged that measures should be adopted to collect duties in the region of the West known as the Belly and Bow River country, and your representations were complied with.

"You passed laws for the appointment of Coroners, for caring for orphan children, for regulating the relations of Masters and Servants, for the prohibition of the importation of poisons in the territories, and of their use in hunting game.

"You asked that the existing highways, portages and watering places in the Territories should be set apart for public use, and that as soon as treaties with the Indians were completed surveys should be taken, and some

of these subjects have been dealt with by the Privy Council, but others still remain for their action.

"Such then is a brief review of the work you have accomplished, and I need scarcely tell you that you have reason to be well satisfied with the results of your executive and legislative action, for during your regime, most important steps have been taken towards the establishment of law and order in the Territories, and towards the creation of respect among the people for the authority of the Crown.

"The foundation has now been laid for peace, security and the advancement of the settlement of the vast region you have ruled over, and for the securing of the good-will of the Indian tribes, and I can only express my confident trust that those who follow you will rear wisely and well a noble superstructure on the basis that you have established.

"I will now, in conclusion, ask you to enter upon the ordinary work of the session, and will suggest that you should, before you separate, lay down some mode of dealing with a subject which is of the utmost importance, as respects the relation of the Government of the Queen with the Indian tribes and as regards their means of livelihood, while they are passing through the transition process of being prepared to earn a living from the soil. I mean the regulation of the buffalo hunt in such a way as to prolong the subsistence afforded to the native tribes by the wild cattle of the North West, and thus to give time for their gradual civilization and accustomment to practise the arts of agriculture. I would also suggest that you should adopt measures to prevent the spread of prairie and forest fires.

"You will now proceed to the discharge of your duties, and I am confident that harmony will prevail amongst you, and that you will exhibit the same desire to advance the best interests of the Dominion which has hitherto actuated you."

The hopes and plans of the Governor with regard to this last session were amply fulfilled.

In 1875 the Honorable Alexander Mackenzie introduced in the Parliament of Canada, and passed, his North West Territories Act under which the affairs of the Territories were conducted for the next thirteen years. This Act separated the office of Lieutenant-Governor of the Territories from that of Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and provided for an appointed Council to consist at first of five members. The Governor-General in Council was given authority to authorize the Lieutenant-Governor by and with the consent of his own Council to make provisions for the administration of justice, and the framing of ordinances on many matters of local concern. When any portion of the Territories not exceeding one thousand square miles in area should contain at least a thousand adult white British subjects, the Lieutenant-Governor was by proclamation to erect such a district into

an electoral division, and should the population of the district increase to two thousand, it would be entitled to elect a second representative to the North West Council. At such time as the elective members would be twenty-one in number the then existing Council would cease and determine, and the elected members would constitute the first Legislative Assembly of the North West Territories. Elective members were to hold office for two years.

Clause 11 of the Act related to schools, and as its provisions subsequently proved the cause of much debate and agitation, the reader will be interested in examining it:

"When and so soon as any system of taxation shall be adopted in any district or portion of the North West Territories, the Lieutenant-Governor, by and with the consent of the Council or Assembly, as the case may be, shall pass all necessary ordinances in respect to education; but it shall therein be always provided that a majority of the rate-payers of any district or portion of the North West Territories, and any lesser portion or subdivision thereof, by whatever name the same may be known, may establish such schools therein as they may think fit, and make the necessary assessment and collection of rates therefor; and further, that the minority of the rate-payers herein, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, may establish separate schools therein, and that, in such latter case, the rate-payers establishing such Protestant or Roman Catholic separate schools shall be liable only to assessments of such rates as they may impose upon themselves in respect thereto."

An important omission from the new Territorial Constitution was that of any provision for representation in the Dominion Parliament.

On the 7th of October, 1876, the North West Territories Act was brought into force by proclamation. With this event the era to which Part II of our History is devoted came to an end. Before leaving it, however, it will be our duty to discuss in some detail the Indian situation and certain important events associated therewith.

CHAPTER XIV

UNREST OF CANADIAN INDIANS AND INCURSION OF THE SIOUX

DISCONTENT AND SUSPICION OF INDIANS IN LATER YEARS OF HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY REGIME—SIOUX REFUGEES AFTER MINNESOTA MASSACRES—INDIAN RESPECT FOR BRITISH FLAG—EFFECTS OF TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN INDIANS AND HALFBREEDS—ACUTE DANGER OF INDIAN WAR, 1873—SECOND INCURSION OF SIOUXAN REFUGEES, 1876—FAMOUS GATHERINGS OF THE TRIBES IN THE CYPRESS HILLS—SERVICES RENDERED BY THE POLICE—CONFERENCES BETWEEN REFUGEE INDIANS AND AMERICAN COMMISSIONERS—DEPLETION OF CANADIAN HUNTING GROUNDS—SURRENDER OF SITTING BULL.—UNREWARDED SERVICES OF LOUIS LeGARÉ.

Already during the latter part of the Hudson Bay Company's regime the Indians of the British West were developing a spirit of unrest which caused profound anxiety among all thoughtful men familiar with the facts. Even so long ago as 1837, petitions had been presented on behalf of the Indians, complaining of the non-fulfillment of the Selkirk treaty. As the prospect of settlement by the whites increased, and buffalo and other game decreased, the spirit of opposition to any further influx of white men became steadily more and more pronounced.

In 1860, Hind and his company were checked in one of their expeditions by the Indians, and he reports the following speech delivered by a chief:

"The reason why we stop you is because we think you do not tell us why you want to go that way, or what you want to do with these paths. You say that all the white men we have seen belong to one party, and yet they go by different routes; why is that? Do they want to see the Indian's land? You gather corn in our gardens, and put it away. Did you never see corn before? It is hard to deny your request, but we see how the Indians are treated far away. The white man comes; looks at their flowers, their trees and their rivers; others soon follow; the lands of the Indians pass from their hands, and they have nowhere a home."

At the close of the council the chief said to the interpreter:

"Let these men not think bad of us for taking away their guides. Let them send us no presents; we do not want them. We do not want the

white men; when the white man comes he brings disease and sickness, and our people perish; we do not wish to die. Many white men would bring death to us, and our people would pass away. We wish to live and to hold the land our fathers won and which the Great Spirit has given us. Tell these men this, and the talk is finished."

Hind also reported that the plain Crees had in council determined that, in consequence of promises often made and broken by the white men and halfbreeds, and of the rapid destruction by them of the buffalo, they would not permit the white men and halfbreeds to hunt in their country, or travel through it, except for the purpose of trading for their dried meats, pemmican, skins and robes. Hind speaks of war with the northern prairie tribes as "something to be expected at a day's notice."

The dangers of the whole situation were most seriously augmented by the great incursion of warlike American Indians which occurred during the period to which this section of the present book is devoted. The Sioux had been unfriendly with the French in old days for aiding their enemies, the Chippeways, and after the fall of the French power in America, they had allied themselves with the English. Indeed, in the troublous period of the seventies, it was not uncommon for refugees from American territory to claim that they were still British, and to produce, as naive evidence of the fact, old George III medals presented to their ancestors a century before.

In 1862 there occurred in Minnesota one of the most fearful outbursts of savagery of which modern history gives us a record. About eight hundred men, women and children among the whites died terrible deaths before this revolt was quelled. Many American Indians who had taken part in these outrages fled to Canada to escape the vengeance of the United States. In some cases the American authorities were allowed to pursue their Indian foes even upon British soil, but in general the refugees found themselves safe under the aegis of Victoria, "The Great White Mother." Consequently, even when peace was restored south of the border, many of those warlike miscreants persistently refused to return to their former homes. Some of them even obtained reserves, and the present representatives of these and other nomadic bands of Sioux still live under the British flag.

As a general rule, these refugee Indians have shown a grateful loyalty to the British Crown for harbor afforded them. The well-known missionary, Egerton Ryerson Young, in his work entitled "*By Canoe and Dog Train*," relates an incident interesting and illuminative in this connection. He and his party entered the country *via* Minnesota. That veteran missionary, the Reverend George McDougall, acted as guide. The missionaries were warned by the settlers that it would be impossible for them, with their valuable horses and other property, to make their way through the Indian country without falling victims to the treacherous and bloodthirsty Sioux. "Oh!

Yes, we will," said Mr. McDougall; "we have a little flag that will carry us safely through any Indian tribe in America." The prophecy proved true, for when, a few days later, the travellers met a band of Sioux, the sight of the Union Jack, fluttering from a whip-stock, caused them to throw down their arms and approach to shake hands with the Britishers. In passing through the Sioux country, on Mr. McDougall's orders, the white men stowed away their arms, and met the Indians as friends. At nights the camp-fires of these redoubtable warriors could be seen on the plain, but the missionary party travelled and slept in peace. Nothing was disturbed or stolen.

Nevertheless, it must never be forgotten that if an Indian war had really broken out in Canada, these stalwart savages would certainly not have been on the side of the white men. Their presence, therefore, was an important factor in hastening the consummation of the Indian treaties, the story of which will be related in the next chapter.

The Sioux were the hereditary enemies of the Canadian Indians and halfbreeds. In 1862, however, a great peace was consummated through the instrumentality of the redoubtable Gabriel Dumont. The remarkable treaty which brought to an end the regularly recurring war expeditions of the preceding century was signed at Lac du Diable. The Sioux declared that the country would belong to them, to the halfbreeds, and to their Canadian Indian friends in common; that all parties to the agreement should be permitted to hunt the buffalo in peace. This notable event reduced the danger of any immediate resort to hostilities on the part of the Indians. On the other hand, by the settlement of their own internecine feuds, the native races were really rendered in some respects more dangerous, from the point of view of the whites. Should trouble arise, the struggle would not be with isolated bands, but with a confederation extending far and wide over the plains for hundreds of miles.

In 1873 the danger of war with the Indians was the subject of important correspondence between Lieutenant-Governor Morris and the Ottawa authorities, and the records of the old North West Council contain various evidences of the gravity of the situation as viewed by the members of that body. The Honorable Mr. Norquay, a prominent English Halfbreed, who subsequently became Prime Minister of Manitoba, the Honorable James MacKay, another Métis, who was also a prominent member of early Manitoba cabinets and subsequently speaker of the Legislative Council of that Province, and the Honorable Mr. Bréland, a prominent French-Canadian, were appointed to investigate the situation and to extend promises of an early settlement of Indian grievances by satisfactory treaties. Mr. Bréland's services in this connection were of special importance, as is indicated in

the following extract from an official report written by the Lieutenant-Governor:

"I have the honor to inform you that I have arranged for Mr. Bréland's immediate departure to Fort Ellice. I have authorized him to tell the Indians in the neighborhood of Fort Ellice that the Commissioner will visit them in the summer. I am much pleased with the spirit displayed by Mr. Bréland when he accepted this important and somewhat difficult mission. He was on the point of starting on a visit to his old home in the Province of Quebec, after an absence of thirty years."

The Commissioner of the Government amply corroborated the reports of the general anxiety which was indeed all too justifiable. Indeed, Mr. Norquay organized the people of Palestine settlement for the purpose of self-defense, and in various localities the settlers prepared themselves for a life and death struggle with the red men. For the fact that no such calamity occurred, Canada owes undying gratitude to the North West Mounted Police and to Messrs. Archibald, Morris, Laird and others who will be mentioned in the following chapter.

Though the topic belongs specially to the period covered in a later portion of this history, it will be most convenient to refer here to a second wave of Siouan immigration, which occurred almost simultaneously with the transfer of the Government from the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and his North West Council to the resident Lieutenant-Governor and Council provided for in the Act which came into force on October 8, 1876.

Dakota was at this time the home of a large Siouan population. Into their midst suddenly came a throng of more or less lawless immigrants, greatly excited by the discovery of valuable gold deposits. The races clashed and the unpardonable brutality of the whites precipitated a serious Indian outbreak in 1876.

The Indians were under the leadership of a number of distinguished chiefs, of whom the most noteworthy was Sitting Bull. At the Battle of Little Big Horn of June 25, 1876, Sitting Bull outgeneraled his foes. He succeeded in cutting off a detachment of cavalry consisting of two hundred and sixty-four men, under the command of General John Armstrong Custer. This regiment was absolutely annihilated. To avoid further fighting, Sitting Bull and his warriors then withdrew to Canada, where he attempted to secure the support of the Canadian Indians, but the recent Indian treaties and the admirable conduct of the North West Mounted Police checkmated their plans. Indeed, Sitting Bull himself conceived the heartiest admiration for the Canadian police.

When Sitting Bull first came into the country there were with him only about one hundred and fifty lodges. He was presently followed, however,

by many other bands until they totalled some seven hundred lodges, or about five thousand six hundred souls.

During this dangerous crisis a great gathering of the Indian tribes was held in the Cypress Hills. It was estimated that three thousand warriors were present, representing the Peigans, Blackfeet, Bloods, Assiniboins, Crows, Gros Ventres, and American Sioux. The eastern newspapers called upon the Government to send troops into the West, but those familiar with the circumstances recognized that any show of force, to be of value, must be overwhelmingly strong. It was therefore thought more discreet to leave the Mounted Police to deal with the excited Indians, as these representatives of law and order already enjoyed their friendship, and so well knew their character and customs. Accordingly, Major Irvine, with a subaltern and ten men, was instructed to attend the great Indian conference. In the *Toronto Globe*, July, 1876, the following amusing dispatch appeared. Between the facetious lines may be read a story of courage, shrewdness and successful audacity such as have so often and so honourably found a place in the records of our famous police force:

"Fort McLeod, July 1, 1876. While the American papers are teeming with telegrams referring to the movements of General Terry's army of four thousand three hundred men, and of the advance of these troops in three divisions against the Sioux in the Yellowstone region, a similar movement of troops on this side of the line has been successfully made, of which no notice has yet been taken. On July 18th last, Assistant Commissioner Irvine, commanding the North West Mounted Police in this district, advanced on and completely demoralized a large encampment of Indians at Cypress Hills. The camp numbered over one thousand lodges, of which one hundred lodges were of Sitting Bull's band. Colonel Irvine advanced his troops in a mass of columns, the whole numbering ten men. Having successfully pierced the centre of the camp, he threw amongst the Indians, at close quarters, hand grenades of a new pattern, patented by an eminent firm in Canada. These missiles were composed of sea biscuits, tea, sugar and tobacco. The Indians never recovered from the first discharge. On the following day, the left wing of the right division, consisting of one man, was dispatched to a mixed camp of Indians, numbering one hundred and fifty lodges, with orders to seize a certain number of horses stolen by them from the South Peigans, peacefully, if possible, but in the case of resistance, to capture the entire band. The horses were recovered."

Nevertheless, though the expatriated Sioux refrained from lawless violence, their presence in such large numbers greatly disturbed the Canadian Indians and settlers. In the *Saskatchewan Herald* of February 10, 1879, the following comment upon the dangerous situation occurred:

"The principal event that brought about the existing state of things is undoubtedly the presence on the hunting grounds, formerly occupied by our own people, of the large bands of United States Indians who recently entered upon them. Their numbers are variously estimated at from six

to ten thousand souls, and the buffalo killed amount to hundreds daily. This wholesale slaughter, and the exclusion of our Indians from their hunting grounds, are undoubtedly the cause of much distress that prevailed last summer, and gave rise to the rumors of coming trouble. Providentially, great bands of fat buffalo came down from the mountains in the autumn, and furnished a good supply of food for the winter, thus removing all cause of apprehension for the present. The incursion of these foreign Indians could not be foreseen, nor could it have been averted, so that it was impossible to guard against it or provide a remedy for the hardships it brought in its train."

An American priest, Reverend Father Abbot Martin, and two companions visited Sitting Bull's camp in June, 1877, with a view to influencing him favourably to returning to American territory. Sitting Bull notified Irvine of their presence and the assistant commissioner visited their encampment, and presided at a conference. Speaking of Sitting Bull, Irvine reported as follows:

"His speech showed him to be a man of wonderful capability, and I was much impressed."

The following is a dialogue taken from the reports of the conference:

The Father: "I am not sent by the Government, but I am assured that what I promise will be carried out. Do you intend to return to the other side or remain?"

Sitting Bull (turning to Colonel Irvine): "If I remain here, will you protect me?"

Colonel Irvine: "I told you I would as long as you behave yourself."

Sitting Bull: "What would I return for? to have my horses and arms taken away? What have the Americans to give me? Once I was rich: plenty of money; but the Americans stole it all in the Black Hills. I have come to remain with the White Mother's children."

On the 24th of August, 1877, David Mills, Minister of the Interior, wrote Commissioner Macleod that the United States had appointed General McNeil and General Terry commissioners to negotiate with Sitting Bull. The ensuing conference took place on the 17th. Sitting Bull shook hands warmly with Commissioner Macleod, but passed by the American commissioners in the most disdainful manner. He and his companions said distinctly that they would believe nothing the American commissioners might say.

In his report of the conference, Colonel Macleod writes:

"It is a matter of common notoriety all over the western country that the Indians are systematically cheated by the agents and contractors. The former on a salary of fifteen hundred dollars a year have many of them been known to retire with fortunes after two or three years of incumbency with their offices. The Indians know of these scandals and as a consequence have lost all faith in the Government under which all such frauds are

perpetrated. I think the principal cause of the difficulties which are continually embroiling the American Government in trouble with the Indians is the manner in which they are treated by the swarms of adventurers who have scattered themselves all over the Indian country in search of minerals before any treaty is made giving title. These men always look upon the Indians as their natural enemies and it is their rule to shoot at them if they approach after being warned off. I was actually asked the other day by an American who has settled here, if we had the same law here as on the other side and if he was justified in shooting any Indian who approached his camp after being warned not to advance."

In the course of the conference Sitting Bull arose, and, after shaking hands with Commissioner Macleod and with Inspector Walsh, spoke as follows:

"My fathers, you know well how the Americans have treated us, and what they have done for us. They take me for their son, but they have come behind me with their guns. When first our nation learned to shoot with the gun to kill meat for our children and women it was by the English we were taught; but since that time I have been in misery; I tell you the truth! since I was raised I have done nothing bad. The Americans tried to get our country from us; our country, the Black Hills country, was filled with gold; they knew that the gold was there. I told them not to go into it. I did not wish to leave my golden country; I had not given them the land any more than you would have given it. The Great Almighty and the Queen know that there is no harm in me and that I did nothing wrong. At the present time in my own country my people suffer from the Americans. I want to live in this country and be strong and live well and happy. I knew that this was our Great Mother's house when I came here with my people. Now I see plainly that there are no more deer, elk or buffalo on the other side of the line! all is blood. I don't believe you will help the Americans to do me harm, as long as I behave. Today you heard the sweet talk of the Americans. They would give me flour and cattle and when they got me across the line they would fight me. I don't want to disturb the ground or the sky. I came to raise my children here. God Almighty always raised me buffalo meat to live on. We will pay for what we want here. We asked the Americans to give us traders, but instead of this we got fire balls. All of the Americans robbed, cheated and laughed at us. Now I tell you all that the Americans have done to us and I want you to tell our Great Mother all. I could never live over there again. They never tell the truth; they told me that they did not want to fight, but they commenced it."

Prolonged efforts were made by both the American and the Canadian authorities to induce Sitting Bull to return to the United States. Indeed, the American Government insisted in very emphatic terms that the Government of Canada should either compel the return of the refugees or oblige them to withdraw from the boundary so as no longer to be a menace. The Canadian authorities, however, refused to take either course so long as



Remnants of a vanishing race. Property of Dominion Government.



Pile of buffalo bones on the prairie; a suggestive relief!

DISAPPEARANCE OF THE BUFFALO.

Sitting Bull and his companions refrained from lawlessness. At the same time steady moral pressure was applied and every effort made to restore confidence in the good faith of the American Government. This argument was powerfully seconded by hunger. It was the policy of the Canadian authorities to prevent actual starvation on the part of the refugees, but to promise them nothing in advance and to make no permanent arrangement with them for their maintenance. In consequence, many of Sitting Bull's followers kept returning south of the line from time to time. The following extract from a dispatch published in the *Saskatchewan Herald* of March 24, 1879, purports to be a copy of a message sent by Sitting Bull to some of his relatives at Standing Rock Agency. If it is authentic, it indicates that at this time the great chief himself was anxious to go back home, if favourable terms could be obtained:

"Once I was strong and brave and my people had hearts of iron, but now I will fight no more forever. My people are cold and hungry. My women are sick and my children are freezing. I will do as the Great Father wishes. I will give my guns and ponies into his hands. My arrows are broken and my war paint thrown to the winds."

Nevertheless, the Sioux chief did not yet return to his reservation, and for some years to come the hands of the North West Mounted Police were kept full in the effort to look after him and his followers.

Superintendent Walsh, speaking of the conduct of the Sioux and of their relations with the police, wrote as follows in his report for 1880:

"The conduct of those starving and destitute people, their patient endurance, their sympathy, the extent to which they assisted each other, and their strict observance of all order would reflect credit upon the most civilized community. I am pleased to inform you, as no doubt it will give you pleasure to know, that the greatest good feeling and consideration was extended to these poor sufferers by the men at Wood Mountain Post. The little that was daily left from their table was carefully preserved and meted out as far as it would go to the women and children. During those five or six weeks of distress I do not think that one ounce of food was wasted at Wood Mountain Post; every man appeared to be interested in saving what little he could, and day after day they divided their rations with those starving people. I must further mention that the Indians received assistance from the halfbreeds."

Walsh also says that Sitting Bull promised not to place any obstacle in the way of those people of his camp who wished to return to their agencies, and that he kept his word.

"If the White Mother," said Sitting Bull, "is determined to drive me out of her country and to force me into the hands of people who I know are but waiting like hungry wolves to take my life, would the Superintend-

ent not see the President of the United States and ascertain the best conditions upon which I may be permitted to return?"

Walsh replied that if the Canadian Government would permit him to do so, he would comply with this request. This proposed mission to the American capital is said, in police circles, to have been prevented only by the personal veto of Sir John Macdonald. In the summer of 1881, Sitting Bull came to Qu'Appelle with those of his band yet at large in Canada. He expected to meet Colonel Walsh, who was absent on leave, presumably in connection with the business alluded to above. He found Colonel Steele in command, and when he presented his request for a reservation such as other Siouan bands had obtained in the preceding seven years, Steele told him that it was not to be expected that the Canadian Government would assume this burden, when he had a reservation in his own country, awaiting his return. Sitting Bull then requested provisions. Steele told him that it was quite impossible for him to make any standing arrangements, but that since Sitting Bull and his band had hitherto been law-abiding Indians in Canada, he would give them one good feed, and strongly urged them to return to their homes. Shortly after this Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney came to Qu'Appelle and arranged to feed the Sioux on their way back to Wood Mountain, with a view to encouraging their early return to the States. On their arrival at Dirt Hills, provisions presently gave out, and Sitting Bull's Indians were in desperate straits.

The well-known fur trader, Louis Le Garé, of Willow Bunch, informs the writer that at his own expense he supported the starving Indians with a large amount of food, and that he had numerous serious conferences with Sitting Bull and his subordinates. In his store at Willow Bunch he induced many of them to surrender and return home, and ultimately succeeded in convincing Sitting Bull himself of the wisdom of following the same course. Sitting Bull then visited the late superintendent, A. R. Macdonell, who was in charge of the Mounted Police at Wood Mountain. To him he renewed the requests previously pressed upon Colonel Steele and others, but with like unfavorable results. In his desperation he then even threatened to violently seize the food supplies of which his people stood in need. Macdonell told him that the police had been his friends and would continue to protect him and render him all the assistance that lay in their power so long as he and his followers refrained from violence. If they appealed to arms, however, or attempted intimidation, they would be treated as national enemies, blood would be shed, and Sitting Bull's position would be rendered very much worse than ever.

Sitting Bull made a gesture of despair and cried out in Sioux, "I am thrown away!" Macdonell told him, however, that he should not take any such view of the case, as he had been well treated in Canada, and would

escape his destitution by an immediate return to the United States. To this, then, Sitting Bull finally agreed. Macdonell immediately accompanied the Indian chief to Poplar River, where they arrived next day, and met Major Brotherton, representing the American authorities. To him Sitting Bull gave up his rifle. Meantime, Le Garé had been collecting the Sioux whom his bounty had saved from starvation. They were taken by him, in carts, across the border and fed at his expense for a considerable time. Mr. Le Garé states that his outlay in this connection amounted to eight thousand dollars. He, of course, looked to the American Government for reimbursement, but received from that source after long delay, only five thousand dollars. The important part played by Le Garé in this entire episode seems never to have been officially recognized, and indeed, as far as I am aware, this is the first time that it has ever been made public.¹

However, the matter has been brought to the attention of the federal authorities on various occasions. In his annual report, dated February, 1882, Commissioner Irvine wrote as follows:

"I also wish to bring to the favorable notice of the Dominion Government the good and loyal service rendered by Mr. Louis Le Garé, the trader, who at all times used his personal influence with the Sioux in a manner calculated to further the policy of the Government. His disinterested and honorable course being decidedly marked, particularly when compared with that of other traders and individuals. At the final surrender of the Sioux, Mr. Le Garé must have been put to considerable expense, judging from the amount of food and other aid supplied by him."²

Two years after his return to the United States, in 1881, Sitting Bull settled at Standing Rock Agency. Rumors of a coming Indian Messiah, who would sweep away the whites, disturbed the Indians of Dakota for some years subsequent to this event. The Indian unrest was so acute that it was ultimately determined by the American authorities to arrest Sitting Bull as a precaution. This was done in December, 1890. An attempt was made by his companions to rescue him, and in the mêlée the unfortunate old warrior met his death.

¹ At the time of writing it is not too late, though it soon may be, for Canada to show in a tangible way her appreciation of Mr. Le Garé's unrewarded services on this and other crucial occasions. *Vide* Chapter 21.—Canada's honor is involved.

² Faith has been broken by men presuming to speak on behalf of the Dominion, else some suitable mark of public gratitude would have been awarded years ago.

CHAPTER XV

LAIRD'S ADMINISTRATION AND COUNCILS, 1876-1881

DAVID LAIRD—THE DEBT OWED HIM BY THE WEST—MEMBERS OF HIS COUNCIL—LIVINGSTONE, SWAN RIVER, THE PROVISIONAL CAPITAL—HUMORS OF THE EARLY JOURNALS—PETITIONS FOR SCHOOLS—FIRST LEGISLATION OF THE COUNCIL—INDIAN TROUBLES, AND TREATY NUMBER SIX—TERRITORIAL BUDGET—TRANSFER OF GOVERNMENT TO BATTLEFORD, 1877—THE CIVIL MARRIAGE CONTROVERSY—THE COUNCIL ASKS THE SETTLEMENT OF ALL HALFBREED CLAIMS—DANGER OF AN INDIAN OUTBREAK—FIRST PROVISION IN AID OF SCHOOLS—DIFFICULTIES REGARDING ELECTORAL DISTRICTS—DILATORY CONDUCT OF THE FEDERAL AUTHORITIES—THIRD SESSION OF COUNCIL, 1879—LAIRD RESIGNS SUPERINTENDENCY OF INDIAN AFFAIRS—NEWSPAPER COMMENT—DISAPPEARANCE OF THE BUFFALO—APPEAL TO PRINCESS LOUISE—DISAFFECTION OF BEARDY'S BAND—DELAY IN FORWARDING TREATY MONEY—VOLUNTEER MILITIA COMPANY—PROTESTS AGAINST FEDERAL MALADMINISTRATION—DEWDNEY BECOMES INDIAN COMMISSIONER—FIRST ELECTORAL DISTRICTS PROCLAIMED—CONSTITUTIONAL DIFFICULTIES—HARD TIMES—MAIL SERVICE—VISITS OF LORD DUFFERIN AND THE MARQUIS OF LORNE—LAIRD'S SUBSEQUENT CAREER.

When, on October 7, 1876, the Honorable David Laird became Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories, a new era was opened alike in the government and the development of the West. Mr. Laird was already well known to the public as a journalist and statesman. He had been a member of the Haythorne administration in Prince Edward Island, and was a delegate to Ottawa from the island colony when negotiations were undertaken for its entry into the Dominion. In 1873 he was elected to the House of Commons, and in Mr. Mackenzie's administration he held the office of Minister of the Interior. In that capacity, as we have seen in a previous chapter, he had already played a very important part in relation to the negotiation of Indian treaties, especially the Treaty of Qu'Appelle. Mr. Laird was subject to his share of acrimonious party criticism, but now that the smoke of battle has cleared away it is agreed on all hands that there

are few men who have given to the West services more characterized by fairness, breadth of sympathy, integrity and public spirit. The following paragraph is quoted from a well-known publicist who, though a political opponent, was cognizant of the problems confronting our first resident Governor:

"Mr. Laird's position was far from being a sinecure. His time was taken up with receiving deputations of discontented and often defiant savages. His residence was the central figure of an Indian encampment, for his followers loved to observe and comment upon his every movement, and his kitchen was an Indian restaurant, where meals were served at all hours while the guests waited. To add to the pleasure of his environments, his actions and motives were misconstrued and misrepresented by some of the eastern newspapers, which were ready with their criticism despite the fact that they displayed a vast ignorance of everything pertaining to the North West in the very articles in which they censured the Lieutenant-Governor. The North West owes a great deal to Mr. Laird; more than can be realised by those who only know the country in the present conditions of established civilization and peace."¹

What may be termed an inside opinion of Mr. Laird's administration was expressed by Honorable Senator Forget, Lieutenant-Governor of Saskatchewan, when the corner-stone of the Legislative and Executive building of that province was laid on October 4, 1909, by His Excellency, Earl Grey, then Governor-General of Canada. Honourable Mr. Forget, who declared the stone well and truly laid, then remarked:

"Before resuming my seat I wish to say that it was the intention of the members of the Government of the Province to have the latter part of this ceremony, that is, the witnessing of the laying of this stone and the declaration of its being duly done, performed by the Honorable David Laird, first Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories, of which this Province was then a part. The connection of the Honorable Mr. Laird with the events of those early days and the very great services rendered by him to the whole West in those difficult times eminently entitled him to this privilege. We therefore deeply regret his inability to be present here on this interesting day. Personally, having had the advantage as his secretary during the whole of his term of office of living in his close intimacy, I was in consequence in a position to know and fully appreciate his worth to the country as an administrator. For these and other personal reasons I particularly deplore his not being with us."²

The original Council consisted of the Governor, with Amédée E. Forget,

¹ *Begg*, Vol. II, page 251.

² The above extract is taken from the Public Works Report of Saskatchewan, for the year 1909-10, page 166.

Clerk of the Council, Matthew Ryan and Lieutenant-Colonel Hugh Richardson as members *ex-officio* in their capacity as stipendiary magistrates, and Lieutenant-Colonel James F. McLeod, C. M. G., Commissioner of the North West Mounted Police, who held his seat at first by special appointment and later *ex-officio*. To these names that of Paschal Bréland, who had rendered such valuable assistance to Lieutenant-Governor Morris, was presently added. Before Governor Laird's regime ended, the Council also included the Honorable Lawrence Clarke, Hudson Bay Company's chief factor, who was chosen by the voters of Lorne in the first election held in the North West, 1881.³

The members of the Council were sworn in on November 27, 1876, at Livingstone, Swan River, where the first session of the Territorial Council was also held in March, 1877, pending the erection of Government buildings at Battleford. Livingstone was therefore the first provisional capital of the North West.

It is hard to restrain a smile as one reads the journals of this miniature legislative body. It was possessed of a thoroughly adequate conception of its own dignity, and duly observed time-honoured customs in accordance with which, for example, the Governor would make his speech from the throne to his three or four associates, and they in turn would present an address in reply. From time to time, however, the entries in the journals indicate some of the difficulties attendant upon the conduct of public affairs by so small a group of legislators, required to travel vast distances to attend their official meetings. Such entries as the following are not uncommon:

"At two o'clock p. m. His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor took the chair.

"Present . . . Mr. Ryan.

³ The following gentlemen were for the session indicated members of the North West Council: David Laird, Lieutenant Governor, 1877-1881; Edgar Dewdney, 1883-1887; Amedee E. Forget, Clerk, 1877-1887; Matthew Ryan, S. M. *ex-officio*, 1877-1881; Lieutenant Colonel Richardson, *ex-officio*, 1877-1887; Lieutenant Colonel MacLeod, appointed 1877-1879, *ex-officio*, 1881-1887; Pascal Bréland, appointed 1878-1887; Lawrence Clarke, representing Lorne, 1881; Lieutenant Colonel Irvine, appointed 1883-1887; Hayter Reed, appointed 1883-1887; F. Oliver, representing Edmonton, 1883-1884; D. H. Macdowall, representing Lorne, 1883-1884; J. C. C. Hamilton, representing Broadview, 1883-1884; T. W. Jackson, representing Qu'Appelle, 1883-1885; W. White, representing Regina, 1883-1884; J. H. Ross, representing Moose Jaw, 1883-1887; Chas. B. Rouleau, *ex-officio*, 1884-1887; T. G. Turriff, representing Moose Mountain, 1884-1887; J. D. Geddes, representing Calgary, 1884-1885; W. D. Perley, second member for Qu'Appelle, 1885-1886; S. A. Bedford, representing Moosomin, 1885-1887; D. F. Jelly and J. Secord, representing Regina, 1885-1887; R. Henry (Viscount Boyle), representing Macleod, 1885-1886; H. C. Wilson, representing Edmonton, 1885-1887; S. Cunningham, representing St. Albert, 1885-1887; C. Marshallsay, representing Broadview 1885-1886 and White-wood, 1887; O. E. Hughes, representing Lorne, 1885-1886, and Prince Albert, 1887; T. D. Lauder and H. S. Cayley, representing Calgary, 1886-1887; R. Crawford, representing Qu'Appelle, 1886-1887, and W. Sutherland, Qu'Appelle, 1887; F. W. G. Haultain, representing Macleod, 1887.



SASKATOON 1903.



S. L. McINTOSH, MERCHANT, SASKATOON.

"There not being a quorum of members present, His Honor adjourned the Council."

To attend the session at Swan River, Colonel MacLeod was obliged to travel from MacLeod to Franklin, thence by rail to St. Paul and Moorehead, by stage to Winnipeg, and from there by dog train 330 miles to the provisional capital.

It is interesting to note the nature of the first petitions laid on the table of the Council:

"No. 1. Petition of Alexander Stuart praying to be granted a ferry license on the South Saskatchewan.

"No. 2. Petition of John Tanner praying that he may be authorized to charge tolls on his bridge on the Little Saskatchewan.

"No. 3. Petition of Moise Quellette and Pierre Landry praying support for a school at St. Laurent."

Thus the question of education forced itself upon the Council from the very first, but that body found itself in a very unfortunate position in treating of the matter. The attitude of the Council is set forth in the following resolution on March 21, 1877, when the entire day's session was devoted to the question:

"Whereas, the petition of Moise Quellette and Pierre Landry praying for assistance towards the establishment of a school at St. Laurent and salary of a teacher, has by the Lieutenant-Governor been laid before the Council for consideration:

"Resolved, therefore, that the Council request His Honor to reply to the petitioners and inform them that there are no funds in the hands of the Council applicable to educational purposes, and that the Council do not think it expedient at present to consider the question of establishing a system of taxation; and also that His Honor be good enough to express to the petitioners the regret of the Council that it is unable to grant assistance for so laudable an object as the advancement of education in the North West.

"The Council do likewise desire to suggest that His Honor do forward the above petition to the Honorable the Minister of the Interior, in order that the Dominion Government be made acquainted with the desire of the people of St. Laurent, which is believed to extend to other settlements in the Territories."

However, restricted as the powers of the council were, it lost no time in framing important legislation respecting registration of deeds, the protection of the buffalo, the prevention of the spread of infectious disease, and other important matters. A number of these topics represented uncompleted business inherited from the old North West Council at Fort Garry. In all, thirteen bills were passed at the first session.

The protection of the buffalo presented a problem of the utmost seriousness and difficulty. The ordinance of 1877 forbade the use of buffalo pounds, the wanton destruction of buffalo at any season, the killing of animals under two years of age, or the slaughter of female buffalo during a stated close season—briefer for Indians than for others. This bill was framed in the best interests of the Indians and halfbreeds, but their very destitution made the protection of the waning herds a hardship, and it was found necessary to repeal the measure in the following year. Indeed, the discontent of both Indians and halfbreeds in connection with these wise game laws provided Sitting Bull with a dangerous card, which he was not slow to play in his efforts at this time to rally the Canadian Indians against the whites. A formidable outbreak was narrowly averted. However, Governor Laird and his colleagues pacified their troublesome wards, and in October of this year Laird's notable treaty with the Blackfeet was effected.

In these negotiations the powerful influence of that wise old warrior, Crowfoot, was on the side of the authorities. In accepting the treaty, Crowfoot expressed special gratitude to the police, who, he said, were protecting his people against bad men and whiskey "as the feathers of the bird protect it from the frost of winter." In our chapters on "The unrest of Canadian Indians and the Incursion of the Sioux" and "The Surrender of Saskatchewan by the Indians," we have already treated of some of the most important events of Governor Laird's regime.

It is rather interesting to compare with a provincial budget of the present day the following statement of receipts for the North West Territories from March, 1877, to July, 1878:

Licenses for billiard and other tables.....	\$130.00
Ferry licenses	8.00
Fines under Prairie Fire Ordinances.....	37.50
Fines under Masters and Servants Ordinances.....	16.00
Fines under the Ordinance for the Prevention of Gambling.....	302.00
Fines under the Buffalo Ordinance.....	12.50
Miscellaneous fines	20.00
	<hr/>
	\$526.00
Deposited in the Ontario Bank, Winnipeg.....	\$483.50
Balance in hand of Lieutenant-Governor.....	42.50
	<hr/>
	\$526.00

On August 1, 1877, the seat of the Government was transferred from Livingstone (Swan River) to Battleford, and there the North West Council assembled for its second session, July 10 to August 2, 1878. Mr. Bréland had received his appointment during the recess.

Apart from the repeal of the buffalo legislation, the consideration of ordinances regarding the fencing of property, the promiscuous use of poisons and provision for civil marriages occupied the major portion of the Council's time. The marriage ordinance authorized clergymen of every church, duly ordained and resident in the Territories, to solemnize marriage, and simply rendered optional the performance of the ceremony by a civil magistrate. This latter provision was intended to meet a manifest need in the many localities which were rarely visited by a clergyman. This provision, however, provoked the displeasure of the Archbishop of St. Boniface, and produced a somewhat lengthy correspondence, and at length, in June, 1881, the law was so amended as to cancel the powers of magistrates to perform the ceremony, but at the same time to provide that commissioners, appointed for that purpose by the Lieutenant-Governor, might solemnize marriage. The whole episode throws interesting light upon the great influence exercised in the Territories by the dignitaries of the Catholic Church.

Upon the 2d of August, 1878, we find upon the journals a lengthy resolution with regard to the issue of scrip to halfbreeds in the Territories, a matter that appears and reappears year by year thereafter. Apparently no lesson less emphatic than that involved in the rebellion seven years later could teach the Dominion Government that satisfaction among the halfbreeds of the North West was something not to be expected unless and until, in the matter of land grants, they should be allowed terms similar to those given their brethren in Manitoba under the Manitoba Act of 1870. The Council advised that non-transferable location tickets should be issued to each halfbreed head of a family, and each halfbreed child of parents resident in the Territories at the time of the transfer to Canada. These location tickets should be valid on any unoccupied Dominion lands. The title should remain vested in the Crown for ten years, and if within three years after entry no improvements had been made upon the land, the claim of the halfbreed locatee should be subject to forfeiture. Furthermore, to induce nomadic halfbreeds to settle and avoid the destitution which the approaching extinction of the buffalo rendered imminent, the Council recommended that some initial equipment of agricultural implements and grain be granted them. Had these wise proposals been received with favor, much misery might have been avoided.

The constant danger that petty strife between settlers and Indians might provoke a serious outbreak was ever in the minds of the authorities in these critical days. During the session of 1878 a petition was presented praying for an ordinance to compel Indians, camping near a settlement, to keep their dogs secured, on pain of the animals being lawfully subject to destruction by the settlers. The Council passed a suggestive resolution, declar-

ing it "inexpedient in the present state of the Indian question in this country to grant the prayer of the petitioners."

In the course of the session, the Lieutenant-Governor reported to his Council that the Honorable David Mills, Minister of the Interior, had suggested the legality and wisdom of action on the part of the Council to allow local school corporations to tax themselves for educational purposes. If government aid were required to supplement local contributions, the Lieutenant-Governor should place the amount of the required sum in his estimates. It was decided to act upon this suggestion, so far as practicable, and in the estimates for the financial year 1879-1880 we find an item of \$2,000.00 in aid of schools.

In these same estimates provision is made for \$1,000.00 for probable election expenses. This was the dawn of representative institutions. The Lieutenant-Governor was manifestly anxious to meet the wishes of the people by introducing an elective element into the Council at as early a date as possible. Mr. Laird called the attention of Sir John A. Macdonald, Premier and Minister of the Interior, to serious difficulties in connection with the establishment of representative institutions under the North West Territories Act of 1875. Under it the Lieutenant-Governor had power to erect into an electoral district any territory containing a thousand square miles with one thousand male non-Indian inhabitants of adult age. Mr. Laird pointed out that in British Columbia and Manitoba there were constituencies containing less than half this number. As yet no electoral district had been erected in the Territories on account of the lack of the requisite population, and there were some detached settlements that under the existing law it would be impossible to include in any electoral district for a long time to come. Further, some amendment to the North West Territories Act was necessary to enable the North West Council to pass an ordinance empowering the people of any settlement, with the sufficient number of children for a school, to assess themselves for its support.

More than six months after the Lieutenant-Governor had forwarded his estimates including grants for schools, roads and bridges, he was still in the dark as to the attitude of the central Government in this matter. In reply to a despatch of inquiry, the Deputy Minister of Education telegraphed him on August 4, 1879; "Please wire scheme you would recommend for aiding schools; also scheme expenditure for roads and bridges." The Lieutenant-Governor sent the following reply, which is an interesting document bearing upon the founding of school and local improvement systems for the West:

"Battleford, August 16, 1879. Propose aid schools supported by missions or voluntary subscriptions of settlers to extent of paying half teachers' salaries where minimum average of 15 scholars taught.

"Recommend Council be authorized employ competent surveyors to select

best trail from Manitoba west and report on muskegs and streams requiring brushing or bridging. These contracts let and carried out under inspection of ⁴ supervision and approval of Lieutenant-Governor at first on most needful places."

No reply was received, and when the Council reassembled on the 28th of August, 1879, the Government still had no definite information to give upon these extremely important topics.

Commenting on the situation the *Saskatchewan Herald*, a fortnightly newspaper at Battleford, published by P. J. Laurie & Co., in the preceding year had offered the following protest:—"The Council was unable to legislate respecting schools for want of sufficient powers and to deal with roads and bridges for want of funds. It is about time the people of the Territories, who contribute largely to the general revenue of the Dominion, should at least have the allowance of eighty cents per head of the population which is granted to the provinces for local purposes."

The third session of Laird's Council sat from August 28 to September 27, 1879. Another serious outbreak of smallpox was threatening, and owing to the urgency of the situation the Council put through all its stages, on the first day of their session, a bill for the more efficient prevention of the spread of infectious diseases. Fortunately no general epidemic actually occurred.

In this year the Lieutenant-Governor felt compelled to resign the position of superintendent of Indian affairs, which he had previously held in conjunction with the Governorship.

"His loss will be severely felt," said *The Herald*, "and much anxiety will prevail pending the appointment of his successor. Thoroughly acquainted with the details of the whole Indian business of the North West, most patient and painstaking in mastering the intricacies of every case brought under his notice, with his whole heart engaged in his work, and enjoying the confidence and respect of those who have had to do with him, it will be difficult to find one who can so efficiently fill the office. If at times in the past some of his suggestions and most urgent representations to the Department at Ottawa had been complied with, there is no doubt that many of the difficulties that have arisen might have been obviated, and, by the timely expenditure of a little money, a large saving effected in the end. It cannot be too strongly urged upon the Government at Ottawa that the more the details of the work of this superintendency are left in the hands of the officers here, the more efficient will be the service, the greater the true economy to the country, and the more beneficial and satisfactory the result to the Indians themselves."

The papers and correspondence of these times are full of references to the misery of the Indians and the dangers of an Indian rising. The buffalo were disappearing with fearful rapidity. From Fort MacLeod 30,000 buffalo robes were exported in 1877; in the following year the number fell to less than 13,000; and in 1879 only 5,764 were handled. Similarly, at Fort Walsh in 1878, 18,235 robes were exported, but in 1879 only 8,617. While

⁴ This dispatch is copied from the appendix to the journals of the North West Council for 1879. Probably an error in transcription occurred in the telegraph office; perhaps "of" should be omitted after "inspection."

some have thought that the practical extinction of the buffalo within so brief a period could be accounted for only by a general epidemic, the prevailing opinion is that the wholesale destruction of the herds, without distinction of age or sex, to supply the fur market provides an adequate explanation. Doctor MacRae, of Calgary, in his *History of Alberta* (p. 377), quotes Colonel Herchmer, formerly Commissioner of the Royal North West Mounted Police, as having expressed to him the belief that the extinction of the buffalo herds was consummated under the deliberate management of the American military authorities, with a view to reducing the Sioux to submission. Startling as this suggestion may be, it coincides with the opinions expressed to the present writer by well informed buffalo traders, such as Mr. Louis Le Garé, of Willow Bunch.

Through sub-inspector Denny, a number of Blackfeet chiefs at this time sent an appeal to the Princess Louise, the Governor-General's Consort. "Our people are starving; do help us, for some of us have nothing to eat, and many of us could find none anywhere. We have heard of the daughter of our Great Mother being now on this side of the Great Lake. She has her mother's heart. Let her know that women and little ones ask her to give them life, for our Great Mother's sake. She is good, and will hear us and save us. Too many other people eat our buffalo—Sioux and Halfbreeds—and we have nothing to eat ourselves."

It is a satisfaction to note that the Indians' confidence was not altogether misplaced, as sub-inspector Denny was provided with means for the relief of some of the most distressed of the Indians who applied to him. There is, however, evidence all too convincing, showing that the interests of the red wards of the Government were receiving scant notice at Ottawa. Starvation occurred in various camps, and resulted, some say, in a case or two of cannibalism.

From *The Herald*, of January 27, 1879, we learn of the restlessness of the Indians at Duck Lake. Chief Beardy demanded that his reserve should be enlarged, and that settlers in the added territory should be his tenants and pay him half their crops. If these and other demands were not granted, he and his warriors would take from Fort Carlton and from Stobart's stores at Duck Lake, such provisions as they might require. The Indians even went so far at this time as to warn their missionary, Father Oudre, that "much as they would regret having to strike their father, he would have to go with the rest."

Owing to the official delay in forwarding the treaty money, much distress and anxiety had been caused in 1878, and in 1879 matters were still worse. In *The Herald* of August 11, 1879, the following editorial comment occurs:

"By the last mail we see that the Ontario people had a little sensation in the rumored sacking of a number of dwellings, the Government House

amongst the number. Fortunately for the people of Battleford, the rumor was untrue; but as far as the Indian department at Ottawa is concerned, it might be true any day. Here we are, within two days of the payments, and no money yet, nor any word concerning it, and the treaty goods not within two hundred and fifty miles of the nearest point of delivery, while the Indians are all at the appointed places, and of course without the means of procuring food. How long they will be content to wait remains to be seen. But it is certain that if any trouble arises it will be wholly due to the criminal negligence of the Indian authorities at Ottawa, who are responsible for the present muddle. As usual on all occasions of importance, the telegraph line is not working."

On account of the prevailing anxiety, steps were taken to provide the Halfbreeds and other settlers with arms, and volunteer militia companies were organized. As these were utterly neglected, however, their supplies were soon lost as far as the Government was concerned. Some of the rifles, however, were said to have been recovered at Batoche and elsewhere some years later!

The same policy of neglect was evident in all directions. In February, 1879, a number of Indian agents were appointed in the East, but by August 9, *The Herald* informs us, not a single one of them had put in an appearance. The choice made in selecting farm instructors for the reserves also aroused much disapproval in the West. It is fairly reflected in the following passage from the editorial columns of *The Herald*:

MALADMINISTRATION OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

"It is currently reported in Ottawa that the Government has appointed three or four farmers to go to the North West to teach the Indians farming. Had they been selected from farmers in the North West who understand the language of the Indians, it would have saved both travelling expenses and the salaries of the interpreters.

"There is but one way out of the difficulty. The Indians must be provided with food; and there is no difference of opinion as to how that could best be done. It could only be satisfactorily done by getting them to settle on their reserves, and to do so without providing them with instructors in the simpler branches of agriculture would have been useless. This was urged upon the Ottawa authorities by the Superintendent two years ago, and it has also been strongly and continuously pressed on their attention by Mr. Morris, Colonel MacLeod, Mr. Dickinson and others; yet their warnings were almost unheeded. True, during the past winter the Superintendent received permission to hire men to help them to put in their crops on their reserves. The permission came rather late to be as useful as was desirable, but under the guidance of the Government instructors, aided by the missionaries of the several churches in the Saskatchewan district, a small acreage of land has been put under crop."

So unsatisfactory was the support given the local authorities by their superiors at Ottawa that considerable difficulty was experienced in securing the services of any qualified successor of Mr. Laird as Indian Superintendent for the Territories. Ultimately, however, the position was given to Edgar Dewdney, M. P. for Yale, British Columbia, and English Civil Engineer, at one time engaged on the Canadian Pacific Railway construction. As a sub-department under the Minister of the Interior, a Department of Indian Affairs was also organized at Ottawa at this time.

In 1880 no meeting of the North West Council was called, as proclamations had been issued creating three electoral districts,—Kimberly, Salisbury and Lorne. Owing to the fact that Lieutenant-Governor Laird received intimation from Ottawa that it was the intention of the Government to submit a bill to Parliament to extend the boundary of Manitoba westward (which took place on March 21, 1881), and that the contemplated extension would include the townships embraced in the proclaimed districts of Kimberly and Salisbury, no elections were held in these two constituencies. The election in Lorne did not occur until March, 1881, the date at which the territory included in the proposed constituencies of Kimberly and Salisbury was annexed to Manitoba. However, the fourth legislative session of Laird's Council was held from May 26 to June 11, 1881, and in it sat the new and only elected member, Honorable Lawrence Clarke, member for Lorne. All bills of this session were introduced either by the Lieutenant-Governor himself or by Mr. Clarke.

During this session an interesting legal or constitutional complication was pointed out by Lieutenant-Colonel Hugh Richardson, stipendiary magistrate. The North West Territories Act of 1875 and 1877 had been recently amended, and under Section 95 of the North West Territories Act of 1880, the legislative authority of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council was made subject to Order-in-Council of the Governor-General. As the Governor-General's instructions had not yet arrived at the time of the meeting of the North West Council, Mr. Richardson, in his capacity as official legal advisor of the Lieutenant-Governor, expressed in writing the view that the existing Council had no power to pass any ordinances; and thereupon the protesting magistrate withdrew from the sessions of the Council. However, the Council seems to have taken the will for the deed, as far as the authorisation of the Governor-General is concerned, and calmly proceeded to make such laws as it thought fit.

During a greater part of Laird's regime the settlement of the West proceeded very slowly. Of transportation facilities the country stood in urgent need, but it was not until the Winter of 1881 that the House of Commons at Ottawa passed the Canadian Pacific Railway Act. Prices for what the settler required were almost prohibitive, and there was almost no market

for what he might produce, except in the form of food-stuffs to supply the few little towns. At Battleford, in 1878, eggs were worth 75c a dozen and onions four dollars a bushel. On May 19, 1879, *The Herald* declared that "no bacon, no beef, no pemmican, no fish, no game, and until Monday, the 12th, no flour" was to be had in Battleford "for love or money." Ordinary building lots at Prince Albert at this time were quoted at \$25.00, while corner lots were offered at \$50.00, with a year in which to make the payment.

Till 1878 the winter mails for Victoria, Fort Saskatchewan and Edmonton were carried by dog trains. The primitive mail service continued for a long time to be exceedingly unsatisfactory. A telegraph line was established through the West, but it was continually breaking down, and its management by the Dominion Authorities presents some riddles to the student. For example, after being carried seven hundred miles out from Winnipeg, the line ended for a long time nowhere in particular, eighteen miles from Edmonton. The nearest telegraph office, moreover, was not at this point, but seventeen miles further back. A telegram of ten words from Winnipeg to the end of the line cost \$2.50, and its delivery at Edmonton cost an additional \$10.00.

As one reads the old records one cannot but be impressed with the patience, courage, and good temper displayed by the Governor, the Council and the people of the North West Territories throughout this depressing and precarious stage in western development. Why so few immigrants presented themselves requires less explanation than why anyone stayed in the country if he could get away.

In the Autumn of 1877, Governor-General Lord Dufferin, with a numerous and distinguished suite, visited the West, and in 1881, the Marquis of Lorne, who had succeeded him, made a more extensive tour, crossing the Territories to MacLeod, and remaining at Battleford two days, the guest of Lieutenant-Governor Laird. Both of these fitting representatives of Her Majesty did much by their speeches and writings to unify the Dominion, and to spread abroad information regarding the resources and possibilities of the Territories in particular. That their efforts to induce immigration were not more successful is due in large measure to the extreme commercial depression that at this period hung not only over Canada, but also over Great Britain and the United States, throttling the spirit of optimism and initiative necessary for great colonizing enterprises.

Lieutenant-Governor Laird's term of office expired December, 1881. During a great part of the time that has passed since then, Mr. Laird has continued to be actively and usefully associated with Indian affairs and with North Western interests in general.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SURRENDER OF SASKATCHEWAN BY THE INDIANS

IMPORTANCE OF INDIAN TREATIES—PRECEDENTS—TERRITORY INVOLVED, AND GENERAL PROVISIONS—NECESSITY FOR THE PROPOSED TREATIES—ATTITUDE OF THE INDIAN CHIEFS TOWARDS THEM—INDIAN DIPLOMACY—WORK OF ARCHIBALD AND HIS ASSOCIATES—SERVICES OF MORRIS—RESOLUTIONS OF NORTH WEST COUNCIL—LAIRD'S TREATIES—DETAILS REGARDING TREATY OF QU'APPELLE—MISUNDERSTANDINGS IN CONNECTION WITH TREATIES 1 AND 2—AGITATION FOR TREATIES IN NORTHERN SASKATCHEWAN—McDOUGALL'S MISSION—CEREMONIES AT FORT PITT—DETAILS OF CONFERENCE—BIG BEAR'S REQUEST.

Few episodes in the history of Western Canada are characterized by such interest and pathos as the surrender of the vast, fertile plains by their Indian occupants. This cession was consummated by a series of ten treaties. Of these the first seven were negotiated between 1871 and 1877. The eighth, covering the Athabasca and Peace River countries, was not signed until 1899. Treaty number 9, consummated in 1905, does not enter into western history, as the territory it involved lies in Northern Ontario. The tenth in the series covers that portion of the Province of Saskatchewan, till then unincorporated in any surrender. It is dated August, 1906. In the present chapter we will be concerned chiefly with the early treaties, with special reference to those involving territory included in the Province of Saskatchewan.

Other treaties had preceded this notable series, and constituted a kind of precedent. Indeed, in the older East, scores of such formal surrenders had taken place. They had been numerous in the United States, and, in Western British North America, Lord Selkirk had similarly obtained the extinction of the Indian claims over the lands of his settlement along the Red and Assiniboin Rivers, in return for the annual payment to the natives of one hundred pounds of tobacco. This treaty was extinguished in 1871. The Robinson treaties, made in 1850 with the Indians of the Lake Superior and Lake Huron district, also constituted valuable precedents; and in 1862 the Honorable William McDougall, then Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, and later appointed first Governor of Manitoba, had brought to a



SOME OF THE MEN WHO SAVED CANADA FROM AN INDIAN WAR.

Rev. George McDougall, famous missionary and peacemaker, who perished in a blizzard, 1877. Reproduced from a portrait found at Lac la Biche post after it was looted by Indians in 1885.

Hon. A. G. Archibald, Lieut. Gov. of Man. and N. W. T., 1870-1872.

Hon. Alex. Morris, Lieut.-Gov. of Man. and N. W. T., 1872-1876.

Crowfoot, the great Chief, Patriot and Statesman.

successful consummation similar negotiations with the Indians of Manitoulin Island, Ontario.

The seven treaties of 1871 to 1877 were, however, much more momentous in their significance in Canadian History. They involved the surrender of the great fertile belt extending from the height of land west of Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains.

The terms of the treaties were substantially uniform. Provision was made for reserves, and it was agreed that, except upon occupied lands, hunting privileges were not to be abridged, unless by regulations for the protection of game. Each chief was to receive an annuity of twenty-five dollars, each of his head men fifteen dollars, and each other member of his band five dollars. Provision was also made for the supply of agricultural implements and other necessary tools, and for the establishment of schools upon the reserves. By these and other means, it was hoped by the Indians themselves, and by the Dominion authorities, that the red wards of the government would be gradually introduced to the arts of peace and civilization, and enabled to take their place in the new order of things that was being established in the Great West.

The necessity for these treaties is obvious; and, in most instances, the Indians themselves were most anxious to bring them about. In the United States, the contact of the advance guard of white pioneers with the aborigines had been marked everywhere by bloody excesses. Through these terrible lessons Canada learned that she could guarantee security through the West only by treaties well understood and faithfully observed. Under the old regime, the Hudson's Bay Company had been, upon the whole, notably successful in its dealings with the Indian tribes, which, however, bitterly hostile among themselves, generally maintained friendly relations with the great trading corporation representative of white civilization. When, however, the sway of the Hudson's Bay Company was brought to a close, the minds of the aborigines were filled with perplexity as to how their relations with the whites were thenceforth to be guided. This natural perturbation was accentuated by the unfortunate rising of 1870 in the Red River settlement. Moreover, settlers were, for the first time, commencing to enter the West in relatively large numbers. Railways were being built or projected; mysterious telegraph lines, or "speaking wires," as the Indians called them, were extending into districts hitherto remote from civilization; surveyors were appearing with extraordinary instruments of magic, and, unfortunately, too often with manners of ostentatious contempt for the traditional rights and natural prejudices of the primitive occupants of the new land. Moreover, along the southern frontier, much trouble was being experienced on account of the lawless violence of American miners and other such representatives of the typical "Wild West" element of the United States.

As we have already seen, the trade in alcoholic liquors was at all times an unspeakable curse to the Indians. They themselves recognized this fact, and their chiefs made frequent applications to the authorities for the taking of such steps as would put an end to the traffic. It was rightly thought that the consummation of official treaties would assist in this most necessary reform. Moreover, the disappearance of the buffalo, together with the horrible ravages of smallpox, and other contagious and infectious diseases, had reduced most of the Indian tribes to the direst destitution. The wiser among their numbers saw that the only hope of their survival rested in the adaptation of their modes of life to the circumstances of the new era dawning before them.

One cannot but be impressed by the mingling of artlessness, shrewdness and dignity that characterized the Indian Chiefs throughout their negotiations with the Commissioners of the Canadian Government.

They stood firm upon their primary rights as the ancient occupants of the soil. "This is what we think," said Ma-we-do-pe-nais to Governor Morris during the negotiations of the third treaty. "When the Great Spirit planted us on this ground, we were as you were where you came from. We think where we are is our property." They recognized clearly enough, however regretfully, that they must acquiesce in the new order of things. Speaking at Fort Carlton, the following sentiments were uttered by Chief Wah-wee-kah-nihk-kah-wo-tah-mah-hote ("the Man you strike in the Back"): "Pity the voice of the Indian. If you grant what we request, song will go through the land upon the way. I speak for the children that they may be clad. The land is wide; there is plenty of room. My mouth is full of milk; I am only as a sucking child. Have compassion of the manner in which I was brought up. Let our children be clothed; let us stand in the light of day to see our way on this earth. Long ago it was good when we were first made, and I wish the same were back again. But now the law has come, and in that I wish to walk."

Of the value of the heritage they were surrendering, the Indians spoke frequently with much feeling and eloquence. "My terms I am now going to lay down before you: the decision of our chiefs. . . . The sound of the rustling of the gold is under my feet where I stand. We have a rich country; it is the Great Spirit who gave us this. Where we stand upon is the Indians' property, and belongs to them. If you grant us our requests, you will not go back without making the treaty." This spirited passage is from another speech by Ma-we-do-pe-nais, who has already been quoted above.

All things considered, the chiefs generally showed remarkable self-restraint, but occasionally their sarcasms were very telling. In one instance, the Commissioners having announced that they held in their hands the dele-

gated authority of Queen Victoria, and that she had filled their minds with her thoughts, they subsequently found themselves unable to acquiesce in certain requests without exceeding their powers. Thereupon one of the chiefs remarked, "We understood yesterday that the Queen had given you the power to act upon; that she had filled your head with her wisdom and your body with her power, and that you had only to throw them round about you: when it seems that it is is not so, but that you have only half the power she has, and that she has only half filled your heads."

The consummation of the treaties would have been entirely impossible had not the chiefs themselves exercised patient diplomacy in the management of their turbulent followers. Long and discouraging delays frequently occurred, for which the nominal heads of the tribes were in no way responsible. The whole current of recent events in Indian history had tended to weaken the authority exercised by the chiefs,—an authority always precarious enough, and depending chiefly upon the inherent force of character marking him who exercised it. The rejoicing of these hard pressed chieftains when the negotiations were successfully completed, was expressed by many of them in language of great dignity and high emotion. Let us quote a passage from Governor Morris's account of the signing of the North West Angle Treaty (No. 3):

"The business of the treaty having now been completed, Chief Ma-we-do-pe-nais, who, with Pow-hass-an, had with such wonderful dignity carried on the negotiations, stepped up to the Governor and said, 'Now you see me stand before you all. What has been done here to-day, has been done openly, before the Great Spirit and the Nation; and I hope that I may never hear anyone say that this treaty has been done secretly; and now in closing this council, I take off my glove, and in giving you my hand, I deliver over my birthright and lands; and taking your hand, I hold fast to the promises you have made, and I hope they will last as long as the sun goes round and the water flows, as you have said.' The Governor then took his hand, and said, 'I accept your hand, and with it the lands, and will keep all my promises in the firm belief that the treaty now to be signed will bind the red men and the white together as friends forever.'"

Everyone in the West recognized the necessity of negotiating Indian treaties at the earliest possible moment. Numerous disconcerting delays occurred before the entire series of surrenders was concluded, but they arose chiefly from procrastination at Ottawa and the apparent inability of eastern statesmen to recognize the gravity of the situation.

However, in the fall of 1870 Lieutenant-Governor Archibald promised certain Indians who made application to him that the initial treaty would be made the following year. Accordingly, the Secretary of State, the Honourable Joseph Howe appointed Mr. Wemyss Simpson to the office of Indian

Commissioner with instructions to arrange for the session of Indian lands. In July, 1871, he commenced his negotiations. In these he was assisted by the Lieutenant-Governor, Messrs. S. J. Dawson, Robert Pether, and the Honorable James Mackay, to whom special reference has been made in a preceding chapter. To Mr. Mackay's knowledge of Indian languages and mode of thought, and to the confidence which the Indians reposed in him was due a large measure of the success which attended the subsequent negotiations.

A Proclamation was issued by Mr. Simpson summoning the Indians to meet him, and after some delay more than one thousand chiefs and warriors assembled at Lower Fort Garry in July, 1871. The Commissioners were hampered by instructions from Ottawa unduly limiting their power to meet the just demands of the Indians. Moreover, the redmen stated that there was a cloud before them which made things dark and that they did not wish to commence the proceedings until the cloud was dispersed. The Government ultimately found that this meant that they would do no business until four Swampy Crees, who were in gaol for breaking contract with Hudson's Bay Company, should be released; and Mr. Archibald thought it discreet to exercise his power of executive clemency by the pardon of these offenders. This produced an excellent effect, and Treaty Number One was presently concluded.

It was followed very shortly by Treaty Number Two. These two surrenders covered a very large part of the Province of Manitoba and considerable adjacent territory. Efforts to conclude a treaty with the tribes between Lake Superior and the north west angle of the Lake of the Woods proved unsuccessful until 1873.

Meanwhile Mr. Simpson had been succeeded by Mr. J. A. N. Provencher as Commissioner of Indian affairs, and the Honorable Mr. Archibald had been followed by the Honorable Alexander Morris as Governor of Manitoba and the Territories. Messrs. Morris, Provencher, and Dawson in 1873 took up the task of negotiating a treaty with the Ojibways, whom they met at the north west angle of the Lake of the Woods, in September. The negotiations were attended by much difficulty and discouragement, and might have failed but for the good sense and moral courage displayed by Sak-katch-eway, the chief of the Lac Seul band. Sweeping aside the petty disagreements that threatened to render the efforts of the Commissioners nugatory, he stated that he and his four hundred people earnestly desired a treaty, and wished to learn the knowledge of the white man. His band in the far north country had already begun to till the soil and desired the assistance of the Government that they might become self-supporting. The speech of this chieftain turned the day, and a Great Council of the chiefs was held, attended also by Honorable James Mackay, Charles Nolin, Pierre

Lavaillier, Mr. Provencher, and Mr. St. John. In consequence the negotiations were renewed and ultimately proved successful. Fifty-five thousand square miles of territory, and four thousand Indians were involved in this surrender.

Meantime the situation in what is now Saskatchewan and Alberta was month by month becoming more dangerous. Strong representations were continually being made to Ottawa. Among these may be quoted the following resolutions passed by the North West Council on September 8, 1873:

"Resolved:

"That the Council of the North West Territories are of the opinion that, in view of the rapid increase of settlement in the North West Territories, and the present disturbed condition of the Indians and their anxiety as to the future, it is imperatively necessary that a treaty should be concluded with the bands of Indians living between the western boundary of that portion of the territory in which the Indian title has already been extinguished, and Fort Carlton or thereabouts.

"The Council are of opinion that to defer the negotiations of a treaty of this nature beyond the earliest time possible in the year 1874 would be attended with unfortunate results."

On March 11 of the following year the Council entered a respectful but vigorous protest regarding the inaction of the central authorities. Recalling their resolutions of the last session respecting Indian treaties and other matters, the Council placed their sentiments on record in the following terms:

"Council regret that they have not as yet been advised in relation to His Excellency's pleasure concerning these subjects, the urgent importance of which is, day by day, becoming more and more evident. They, therefore, beg most respectfully, but, at the same time, most earnestly, that His Excellency's views in reference to these subjects may be made known to them without delay.

"They feel that the affairs of the North West Territories are growing daily in importance and that any delay in dealing with them may be, and probably will be, attended with unfortunate results.

"The Council are aware that exceptional circumstances may, during the past few months, have prevented that prompt action which they trust will, in the future, characterize the dealings of the Privy Council with North West affairs."

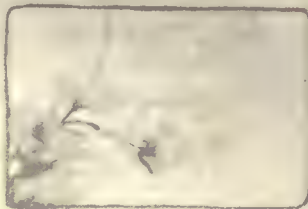
In pursuance of these urgent recommendations which in the interval had again been reiterated by the Council, a commission was issued to Lieutenant-Governor Morris, Honorable David Laird, Minister of the Interior, and Mr. W. J. Christie, ex-chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, authorising them to effect a treaty with the Indians of the Qu'Appelle plains. Successful negotiations here involving the surrender of 100,000 square miles of fertile territory were followed a year later by like conferences on the shores of Lake Winnipeg, when Treaty Number Five was concluded. This was

signed in September, 1875, but the adhesion of a considerable number of the Indians concerned was not secured till a twelve-month later. Meantime Treaty Number Six was signed at Forts Carlton and Pitt in August and the early part of September, 1876. The seventh treaty,—concluded with the Blackfeet and their neighbors by Mr. Laird, then Lieutenant-Governor, and Colonel McLeod, and dated September 22 and December 4, 1877,—completed the surrender of Indian territories at that date desired for settlement. In 1899, however, the tide of immigration was encroaching upon old Athabasca, and, as will be narrated in due course, Mr. Laird, Mr. James Ross and Mr. James McKenna negotiated the last great Indian surrender, involving the basin of the Athabasca and Peace Rivers. Treaties Seven and Eight belong, however, especially to the History of Alberta, and Treaty Number Nine to that of Ontario. The tenth treaty, as intimated above, completed the surrender of Saskatchewan, involving the region north of that covered by Treaty Number Six.

In its bearing on the History of Saskatchewan, the treaty of Qu'Appelle, number four in the famous series of which we have been speaking, is perhaps the most interesting of all. The tribes concerned were the Crees and Saulteaux, who, by this agreement, surrendered seventy-five thousand square miles of fertile territory, chiefly in south east Saskatchewan. Lieutenant-Governor Morris was assisted by the Honorable David Laird, then Minister of the Interior, and by the Honorable W. J. Christie, a former Hudson's Bay Company chief factor of wide experience with the Indians. The Commissioners left Fort Garry in August, 1874, under an escort of militia commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Osborne Smith, C. M. G., and journeyed to the vicinity of Lake Qu'Appelle. They arrived at the appointed rendezvous on September 8. A large number of Indians were there assembled, and, when the Commissioners summoned them to the marquee tent adjoining the militia encampment, the Crees duly appeared, led by their chief, Loud-Voice. Chief Cote, of the Saulteaux, absented himself, however, though a number of his followers were present. After the Lieutenant-Governor had explained the object of the gathering, Loud-Voice announced that his followers were not yet ready to proceed to business, and a day's delay was agreed to. On the morrow, however, several armed Indians came as ambassadors to ask for a further delay of two days, and after considerable parleying, the morning of the 11th was agreed upon as the time of the next conference. That the chiefs were by no means freely exercising their own volition was manifest. Their armed followers kept them under the strictest supervision, and in many ways hampered proceedings by their turbulent conduct. Indeed, on the 11th the Saulteaux kept away altogether, and did all they could to prevent attendance on the part of the Crees. On the 12th business really commenced. The formal Indian ceremony of elaborate hand-



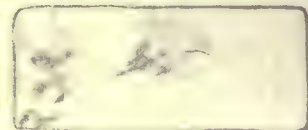
GLIMPSE OF BRIDGE



20TH STREET WEST - SASKATOON



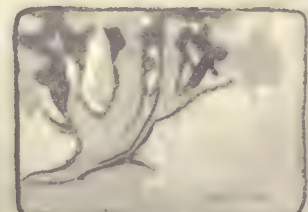
VIEW OF BRIDGE EAST
AND 2ND AVE.



1ST AVENUE - SASKATOON



2ND AVENUE LOOKING NORTH



shaking marked the opening of the interview, whereupon the Dominion Commissioner outlined the terms they had to offer.

Much difficulty was experienced by the Commissioners in finding out exactly what were the special causes of discontent on the part of the savages with whom they had come to treat. The original place chosen for the meeting had been upon a Hudson's Bay Company reserve, and to this reserve the Indians objected with a great vehemence, as it had been surveyed without consulting them. They considered that the Company was robbing them of their property. "When one Indian takes anything from another, we call it stealing," said a notable Indian chief, The Gambler. "What did the Company steal from you?" said Lieutenant-Governor Morris. "The earth, trees, grass, stones; all that which I see with my eyes," replied the Indian. The Commissioners told how the company had become entitled to this reserve, and explained the vested rights for the surrender of which Canada had paid the company the sum of three hundred thousand pounds.

The whole proceedings so far had been of a most unpromising nature, and still further delays occurred. The Crees were indeed ready to enter into a treaty, as were some of the Saulteaux; but those of the latter tribe who lived in the Qu'Appelle district systematically endeavored to coerce and intimidate their brethren. At one stage, with this end in view, they placed six fully armed warriors in the conference tent, a move which was checkmated by the summoning of an equal number of militia men. Ultimately the Crees and the Saulteaux, who were separated by hereditary feuds and jealousies, determined to treat with the Commissioners independently of each other; and soon thereafter, a treaty in substantially the same terms as that previously consummated at the north west angle of the Lake of the Woods was signed. Even at the last minute, however, difficulties arose. One of the chiefs refused to sign until he had received the promised financial gratuity. The Lieutenant-Governor held out his hand to him, saying, "Take my hand. It holds the money. If you can trust us forever, you can do so for half an hour. Sign the treaty." The chief thereupon took the Commissioner's hand, and touched the pen. The other chiefs then proceeded in like manner to ratify the treaty.

The seriousness of the occasion was apparently felt by all. Said Che-e-kuk, the "Worthy One," to the Lieutenant-Governor: "My ears are open to what you say. Just now the Great Spirit is watching over us. It is good. He who has strength and power is overlooking our doings. I want very much to be good in what we are going to talk about; and our chiefs will take you by the hand."

A few days later the adhesion of certain Saulteaux at Fort Ellice, who had not been present at Qu'Appelle, was secured. The chiefs of that group rejoiced in the picturesque names of Wa-wa-se-ca-po, "The Man Proud of

Standing Upright," and Ota-ma-koo-ewin, "The Man Who Stands on the Earth."

In part, the difficulties of the Commissioners in securing the treaty of Qu'Appelle arose from misunderstandings and heartburnings in connection with Treaties One and Two. When these treaties were signed, certain verbal promises made by the Commissioners were, unfortunately, not included in the text, and consequently were not carried out by the Dominion authorities, who, indeed, seem to have been entirely ignorant of them. Wide spread dissatisfaction resulted, and, upon examination of the original treaties, there was found, attached, a memorandum signed by Commissioners Simpson and St. John, by Governor Archibald and by the Honorable Mr. Mackay, containing their statement of the report of these additional claims, to which verbal approval had been given. The Privy Council promptly agreed to consider this memorandum as a part of the treaty, and also made certain other concessions with a view to the restoration of good feeling between the Indians and the Dominion authorities. The suspicions of the Indians had been aroused, however, and long and patient negotiation was necessary before the tribes and bands affected by Treaties One and Two declared themselves satisfied that good faith was being shown. Lieutenant-Governor Morris, Lieutenant-Colonel Provencher and the Honorable Mr. James Mackay visited several of the bands in 1875, and ultimately succeeded in fulfilling their mission as peacemakers in the case of most of them. Some, however, were still recalcitrant, owing to their misunderstanding of the extent of the reserves which had been allotted to them by their treaty. Their demands were most exorbitant, including nearly half of the Province of Manitoba, instead of the thirty-four thousand acres to which they were entitled. Numerous conferences were held before the vexed question of the verbal promises in connection with the Treaties One and Two was finally settled in 1876 to the apparent satisfaction of everybody.

Another treaty affecting the Province of Saskatchewan was the one signed at Forts Carlton and Pitt, which involved the surrender of about one hundred and twenty thousand square miles of fertile country (Number Six). Agitation for such a treaty had existed for several years and various Indian chiefs had, through Mr. W. J. Christie, the chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, at Edmonton House, sent messages to Lieutenant-Governor Archibald in 1871. The reader may be interested in seeing a verbatim copy of these rather curious communications.

"Messages from the Cree chiefs of the Plain, Saskatchewan, to His Excellency, Governor Archibald, our Great Mother's representative at Fort Garry, Red River Settlement.

"1. The Chief Sweet Grass, the chief of the country.

"Great Father: I shake hands with you, and bid you welcome. We

heard our lands were sold, and we did not like it; we don't want to sell our lands; it is our property, and no one has a right to sell them.

"Our country is getting ruined of fur-bearing animals hitherto our sole support, and now we are poor and want help—we want you to pity us. We want cattle, tools, agricultural implements, and assistance in everything when we come to settle—our country is no longer able to support us.

"Make provision for us against years of starvation. We have had great starvation the past winter, and the smallpox took away many of our people, the old, young and children.

"We want you to stop the Americans coming to trade on our lands, and giving fire water, ammunition and arms to our enemies, the Blackfeet.

"We made a peace this winter with the Blackfeet. Our young men are foolish; it may not last long.

"We invite you to come and see us and speak with us. If you can't come yourself, send someone in your place.

"We send these words by our master, Mr. Christie, in whom we have every confidence. That is all."

"2. Ki-he-win, The Eagle.

"Great Father: Let us be friendly. We have never shed any white man's blood, and have always been friendly with the whites, and want workmen, farmers and carpenters to assist us when we settle. I want all my brother Sweet Grass asks. That is all."

"3. The Little Hunter.

"You, my brother, the Great Chief in Red River, treat me as a brother, that is, as a Great Chief."

"4. Kos-ki-on, or Short Tail.

"My brother that is coming close, I look upon you, as if I saw you; I want you to pity me, and I want help to cultivate the ground for myself and my descendants. Come and see us."

The North West Council had also pressed upon the Dominion Authorities the necessity of entering into treaty relations with the Indians of these parts; and ultimately Lieutenant-Governor Morris, who, as we have seen, had succeeded the Honorable Mr. Archibald, obtained authority to send an official messenger to convey a personal promise that proper treaties would be negotiated in the nearest possible future. The well known missionary, the Rev. George McDougall, acted as the Governor's nuncio, and performed an invaluable service to his country by quieting the discontent of the turbulent tribes.

Mr. McDougall found the natives unanimously determined to prevent the opening up of their country to settlement until a treaty had been signed. The wiser chiefs were already finding it very hard to restrain less responsible leaders from actual violence, and dangerous suspicion was everywhere manifest. To illustrate the inflamed state of public opinion among the Indians, Mr. McDougall quotes the following remarks of Big Bear: "We want none of the Queen's presents; when we set a fox trap, we stick pieces of meat all around, but when the fox gets into the trap, we knock him on the

head. We want no bait. Let your chiefs come like men and talk to us." Mr. McDougall in his report also recounts a suggestive conversation between a land speculator and one of the Indian chiefs. When the former desired to stake a claim on Battle River, the latter sprang to his feet, and, pointing eastward, cried, "You see that great white man coming?" "No," said the speculator. "I do," said the Indian, "and I hear the tramp of multitudes behind him. When he comes you can drop in behind him, and take up all the land claims you want. But until then I caution you to put no stakes in our country."

At last the Canadian Commissioners made a journey of over six hundred miles from Winnipeg to Fort Carlton, where, on the 23d and 28th of August, 1876, the long desired treaty was effected. Certain of the Willow Crees and Sauteaux indeed conspired to prevent Lieutenant-Governor Morris and his company from crossing the Saskatchewan and entering their country, but this proposition was balked by the Plain Crees. One of the latter, pointing to the river, expressed the views of his nation in the laconic question, "Can you stop the flow of that river?" It was chiefly due to the influence of the Honorable Mr. Mackay and of the missionaries that the Willow Crees were prevailed upon to enter into the treaty. Representatives of the Church of England, the Methodist Church, the Presbyterian Church and the Catholic Church were present at the consummation of the treaty. The difficulties met were very great, and the satisfactory issue of this affair reflected great credit upon the Commissioners and their assistants.

The ceremonies attendant upon these important proceedings were frequently very picturesque and imposing. Let us endeavor to picture the scenes enacted at Fort Pitt, where the Commissioners arrived on the 5th of September. More than a hundred lodges of Indians were already assembled, but others were arriving constantly, so the formal opening of proceedings was postponed until the seventh. In the meantime, Chief Sweet Grass and about thirty of the principal men called upon the Governor to express their pleasure at his arrival. Upon entering his tent, they embraced him in their arms, kissing him on both cheeks.

On the seventh, the Commissioners went to the Council Tent, which was pitched upon a high plateau overlooking the beautiful plain. In the distance were tree clad hills, and in the foreground the beautiful meadow, dotted here and there with little copses.

When the Governor and his party had taken their places, the Indians assembled near the tents of their chiefs, amid singing and dancing, the beating of drums and the discharge of arms. Then they advanced in a great semicircle towards the Governor's tent. In the foreground a company of their most expert horsemen galloped about in circles, shouting and singing and performing many feats of horsemanship. When the semi-circle had

reached about fifty yards from the Governor's tent it halted and attendants came forward with blankets and robes, which were spread upon the ground for the use of the chiefs. When the latter had taken their places, the stem dance began. One of the chiefs advanced before his brethren, carrying a magnificently decorated Indian pipe, which he solemnly raised towards the heavens, turning it, with due ceremony, towards the four points of the compass. The pipe was then given to a singer, who, intoning a weird chant, performed a ceremonial dance to the accompaniment of drums and the singing of the concourse in the background. This was several times repeated by other picked braves, after which the horsemen began to gallop in smaller circles, and the whole body advanced with slow dignity to the tent of Her Majesty's representatives. The Commissioners then arose and met the chiefs, receiving from them the pipe, and repeating the ceremonies which had been performed with it by the Indians. Thus the tribes of the North formally offered their friendship to the Commissioners of Canada, and that offer was symbolically accepted. The chiefs and head men were then introduced to the Commissioners, and, with picturesque dignity, assumed their places immediately in front of the marquee tent to hear the Governor's opening speech.

The following day was Sunday, and no official business was transacted. On Monday the chiefs held a separate Council, and on Tuesday the first business session of the joint conference took place. "Poundmaker" was the orator chosen to open the proceedings. Addressing the Governor, he said, "We have heard the words that you had to say to us as the representative of the Queen. We were glad to hear what you had to say, and have gathered together in Council with the words over amongst us. We were glad to hear you tell us that we might live by our own work. When I commence to settle on the land to make my living for myself and my children I beg of you to assist me in every way possible. When I am at a loss to proceed I want the advice and assistance of the Government. The children yet unborn I want you to treat in like manner as they advance in civilization like the white man. This is all I have to say now. If I have not said anything in a right manner, I want to be excused. This is the voice of the people."

Some misapprehension of the Government's terms having come to light, Commissioner Mackay addressed the Indians in the Cree tongue, "My friends, I wish to make you a clear explanation of what it seems you do not understand. It has been said by your Governor that we do not come here to barter and trade with you for the land. You have made demands on the Governor, and from the way you have put them the white man would understand that you ask for daily provisions, also supplies for your hunts and pleasure excursions. My reasons for explaining to you are

based on my past experience of treaties. For no sooner will the Governor and the Commissioners turn their backs on you than some of you will say that this thing and that thing was promised and the promises not fulfilled; that you cannot rely on the Queen's representative; that even he will not tell you the truth—whilst you yourselves are the falsifiers. Now, before we rise from here, it must be understood, and it must be in writing, all that you are promised by the Governor and the Commissioners, and I hope you will not leave until you have thoroughly understood the meaning of every word that comes from us. We have not come here to pacify you; we have not come here to rob you; we have not come here to take away anything that belongs to you; and we are not here to make peace as to hostile Indians; for you are the children of the Great Queen, as we are, and there has never been anything but peace between us. What you do not understand clearly we will do our best to make perfectly clear to you."

In this spirit the whole conference was conducted, and the good-will of the Indians was secured in almost every case.

An incident, pathetic in view of subsequent events, occurred when Big Bear came to visit the Governor on the morning of the 13th. "My friends," said he, "I heard the Governor was come, and I said, 'I shall see him. When I see him I will make a request that he will save me from what I most dread—the rope put about my neck!'" The Governor assured him that while he could not promise immunity to the Indians from the enforcement of the laws of the land, no one need fear them who lived at peace with his brethren. Big Bear remained until the other chiefs had withdrawn, and then, taking the Governor's hand, he said, "I am glad to meet you. I am alone, but if I had known the time I would have been here with all my people. I am not an undutiful child, and I do not throw back your hand, but, as my people are not here, I cannot sign. I will tell them what I have heard, and next year I will come."¹ This unfortunate Indian subsequently suffered imprisonment and narrowly escaped capital punishment for his share in the mournful tragedies attendant upon the rising of 1885.

¹ Through the influence of Commissioner Irvine, Big Bear, after long negotiations, finally gave his adhesion to Treaty No. 6.

CHAPTER XVII

THE BUILDING OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY

SANDFORD FLEMING'S RECONNAISSANCE—SIR HUGH ALLAN ORGANIZES COMPANY—THE PACIFIC SCANDAL—MACKENZIE'S RAILWAY POLICY—RAILWAY RESERVES—TUPPER'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF NEW RAILWAY POLICY (1879)—FUTILE MISSION TO ENGLAND (1879)—SUCCESSFUL MISSION (1880)—BLAKE'S CRITICISM OF C. P. R. CHARTER—COUNTER-PROPOSITION OF CANADIAN CAPITALISTS—WHY REJECTED—SERVICES OF VAN HORN AND STEPHEN—BANKRUPTCY NARROWLY AVERTED—UNPRECEDENTED SPEED OF CONSTRUCTION.

The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway has exercised, and will for long continue to exercise, an extraordinary influence on the history of Saskatchewan. To this great enterprise we shall therefore devote the present chapter.

An exploratory reconnaissance was made for railway purposes in 1871 by Mr. Sandford Fleming, acting for the Dominion Government. The task set Mr. Fleming and his associates was stupendous. From Ottawa to the Red River the line passed through a country hitherto all but unpenetrated. The vast prairies presented relatively few engineering difficulties, but any previous accurate knowledge of the geographical details regarding the Territories was meagre in the extreme, and it was necessary to prospect the line to avoid the most formidable river crossings, to serve the best agricultural country, and to follow the shortest possible route to the mountain passes through the Rocky Mountains. The difficulties of the survey are beyond all description. The cost of these preliminary operations ran well over three million dollars up to December 31, 1879, and they were unavoidably marked by much hardship, and even by many tragedies. Fleming and his colleagues favored a route much to the north of that finally adopted in the North West, and in consequence much of the fruit of their labors was lost; but their investigations rendered available a wealth of information regarding the country and did much to facilitate its settlement.

It is to be remembered that by the terms upon which British Columbia entered Confederation in 1871, the Federal Government promised the immediate construction of a railway from the Pacific toward the Rocky Moun-

tains and thence eastward to connect with the railway systems of Canada, and that the Dominion agreed to complete this transcontinental railway by 1881. During the session of 1871 a bill was introduced to charter a Pacific Railway Company. However, most of the prominent members of the proposed company were American capitalists, and the terms they offered were unsatisfactory to the Government. Consequently this bill was dropped. Next year an act was passed to provide for the required railway. The Government was given power to arrange terms with any railway company and to subsidize it to the extent of thirty million dollars of money in addition to a vast land grant. Two companies presented themselves for incorporation in competition for the charter—The Canadian Pacific Company, organized and under the presidency of Sir Hugh Allan, and the Inter-Oceanic, under Senator D. S. McPherson. An attempt was made to amalgamate these concerns, and on its failure Sir Hugh organized a new company, composed exclusively of Canadians. Its board of directors included a group of men widely known and trusted.

In the session of 1872 the charter of this company was duly ratified, but in the following year matters came to a standstill as a result of the charge that Sir Hugh Allan had obtained the favor of the Government by corruptly furnishing money for election purposes. A committee of the House commenced an investigation which was ultimately transferred to a special royal commission. The evidence adduced proved that Allan had contributed largely to the political funds of the dominant party, and, though no personal appropriation of any of the money by any of the cabinet was proved, public indignation over this so-called "Pacific Scandal" obliged Sir John A. Macdonald to announce his resignation in November, 1873.

The new premier, the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, declared that, while the speedy construction of the transcontinental railway was essential, it should be consummated at the minimum expense; consequently use should be made of all possible natural links in the way of navigable waters and the building of the line through regions unsuited for settlement should be postponed and obviated for the time being by establishing communication with American lines. He considered that the original bargain with British Columbia was incapable of fulfillment, and proposed to treat with that province for some modification of its terms. The road, moreover, was to be built by the Canadian Government itself. Mackenzie's railway policy was unsatisfactory to the West, and to the people of British Columbia in particular; and, indeed, for a time it endangered the unity of the Dominion. In 1876 the Government published an advertisement calling for tenders for the building of sections of the Canadian Pacific Railway between Lake Superior and the Pacific Ocean. This proposed departure from the cabinet's policy of building the road as a Government work met with a discouraging recep-



GRADING ON THE C. P. R.



LORD STRATHCONA DRIVING THE LAST SPIKE.

tion, as capitalists could not be induced to undertake the contract. Accordingly the building of the road under the Government supervision continued.

The Pacific Railway Act, under which provision was made for its building, had provided for the reservation of large areas along the line, the sale of which would ultimately reimburse the Government. The Territories had no representatives in the House of Commons, but the members from Manitoba vigorously protested against the locking up of these reserves, and in 1877 the law was slightly changed, and the purchase of such land by actual settlers was rendered possible. Even yet, however, in the settlement belt, there was left a tract of about a hundred and fifty thousand acres of public lands, upon which numerous pioneers were already living, but which was officially declared to be withdrawn from sale or settlement. The Honorable Mr. Mills, however, after visiting the country, opened these lands also for purchase at \$5.00 in scrip per acre, which really meant \$2.50 per acre. The disputes over these land regulations of course delayed the building of the railway, and relatively little had been accomplished, when in October, 1878, the Mackenzie Government was defeated and Sir John Macdonald returned to power.

In May of the following year the Hon. Charles Tupper, Minister of Public Works, announced the new Pacific Railway policy. It provided for the appropriation of ten million acres of land for the purposes of constructing the road. This again filled the West with alarm, and the first land regulations were so objectionable that the Government was forced to amend them a few months later. Into these we cannot enter. Those ultimately adopted by the then Government were some improvement upon those introduced by Mr. Mackenzie, but they entailed upon the West the loss of many thousand of desirable immigrants, who turned to the western States, where the laws relating to the settlement and the acquirement of public lands were less onerous.

In this same year Messrs. Macdonald and Tupper visited England in an effort to raise capital for the railway, but the mission failed, and the Government was obliged to fall back on the policy of its predecessors, conducting the building of the road as a Government work. A resolution was now passed to increase the appropriation of land for construction purposes, in Manitoba and the Territories, to the stupendous area of a hundred million acres. In other words, the West was to pay for the railway.

By the end of 1879, 863 miles of the road had been completed. By June 30, the close of the fiscal year, the total expenditure on the work to date amounted to about twelve and a half million dollars.

In July, 1880, the Premier and Sir Charles Tupper, together with Lieutenant-Colonel Dennis and the Hon. J. C. Pope, again went to England to secure the aid of capitalists, and on their return Sir John announced the

successful formation of a great syndicate. On December 10, when Parliament assembled, the contract was laid before the House. The historic debate upon the terms of the charter commenced three days later and closed on January 28, 1881.

The terms of the new charter were bitterly resisted by the Hon. Edward Blake, now leader of the opposition. He pointed out that the Act of 1874 provided for the submission of tenders, and that the Government, while materially altering the conditions under which the work was to be performed, had departed from the Act by failing to invite tenders under the new terms. Under the Act the land grant to the company would have been taxable, while under the contract it was exempted from all taxation, Dominion, Provincial or Municipal, for a period of twenty years, unless previously sold. By the Act, Parliament had reserved to the Government unrestricted power in the regulation of tariffs; but by the contract this right was to be in abeyance unless and until the company should be making a net revenue exceeding ten *per centum* on the capital invested. The Government had also forfeited its control over the accommodation to be provided and its right to acquire the railway at any time that public interest might demand. In many other important respects the proposed charter violated the provisions previously laid down by Parliament, and in every instance to the company's immense advantage.

Mr. Blake pointed out that five weeks after the new conditions had been made public Canadian capitalists of high standing, including Sir William P. Howland, William Hendry, John Walker, George A. Cox and many other men of ample means, credit and business ability, had caused to be laid on the table of the House an offer in terms much more favorable to the country. While the proposed charter called for a cash subsidy of \$25,000,000 and a land grant of 25,000,000 acres, these gentlemen offered to undertake the work for three million dollars less in cash, and three million acres less in land. The new tenderers proposed to accept \$6,600,000 and 9,000,000 acres instead of \$9,000,000 and 11,250,000 acres for the prairie section of nine hundred miles. A similar reduction was offered upon the western section to Kamloops. While the contract exempted the company from customs duties on construction material, the new offer involved no such exemptions, and even surrendered the proposed immunity from ordinary taxation. The tenderers were furthermore willing to leave with the Governor-in-Council unrestricted powers for the regulation of their tolls, and had placed on deposit, as security for the fulfillment of the contract if their tender were accepted, the sum of \$1,400,000.

To present-day westerners familiar with the grievances resulting from the Canadian Pacific Railway Company's immunity from taxation and from

Government supervision regarding accommodation and rates, it is rather bewildering to find a Government rejecting the offer of the Howland Syndicate on the plea that it was not genuine, and confirming the contract as introduced by the Government. However, Sir John believed that the proposed agreement embodied the only chance of having the road built within a reasonable time, and on January 28, 1881, he introduced a bill for the incorporation of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. Resistance to his policy now entered on a new stage and the opposition fought the bill persistently; nevertheless, it became law on the 15th of February.

Mr. William C. Van Horne (who was subsequently knighted) was presently appointed general manager of the new company (upon the recommendation of Mr. James J. Hill), and Mr. George Stephen, better known by his later title of Lord Mount Stephen, was chiefly entrusted with the charge of financing the company in England. The difficulties surmounted by these two remarkable men were enormous. Incidentally, by persistently advertising Canada, and especially the North West to facilitate the sale of their lands, they unquestionably performed an indirect public service to the Dominion, the value of which can never be calculated.

By the fall of 1883 only \$65,000,000 of the \$100,000,000 capital stock had been sold, and the company's lands failed to provide as yet any considerable revenue. Nearly all their funds had already been expended, and for a time the company was face to face with bankruptcy. Even the action of the Dominion Government in now guaranteeing three *per cent* dividends on C. P. R. stock failed to reassure the investing public, and in 1884 it was necessary to apply to the Government for a loan which raised the indebtedness of the company to the Government to the sum of \$29,880,000. Furthermore, Mr. Stephen and Mr. Donald A. Smith (Lord Strathcona), in order to tide over the crisis, pledged their own personal means. But for the heroic faith of these two men and their immediate colleagues, the enterprise would have collapsed in general failure and ruin. Nor must we of today, who enjoy the results of western development that the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway rendered possible, fail to accord the gratitude justly due to the Government of the hour. When the public realized that the Dominion Authorities were determined to ensure the immediate and successful performance of the work, no matter what the odds against it, the company's position in the money market commenced to improve, and by 1887 it had freed itself from all indebtedness to the Government. Had the company failed, it would not only have brought about the defeat of the Government, but would have overwhelmed Canada in financial disaster.

While Messrs. Stephen, Smith, R. B. Angus and their co-directors were fighting the financial battles of the company, Mr. Van Horne was pressing

forward its construction with a speed unexpected, and, indeed, unprecedented. The contract had allowed ten years for the work, but on November 7, 1885, Mr. Donald A. Smith was called upon to drive the last spike. Two thousand four hundred miles of new railway had been built, equipped and put in operation in five years. More than three hundred miles of the road consisted of cuttings through the solid rock, and space would fail us to detail the engineering difficulties that had been overcome.

CHAPTER XVIII

DEWDNEY'S ADMINISTRATION AND COUNCILS (1881-1888)

NO MEETING OF COUNCIL IN 1882; REASONS—CREATION OF THE FOUR PROVISIONAL DISTRICTS—INADEQUATE MAIL AND TELEGRAPH SERVICE—BRIGHT PROSPECTS OF 1882; SURVEYS AND EXPLORATIONS—REGINA BECOMES TERRITORIAL CAPITAL—PRESS COMMENTS—DEWDNEY'S FIRST COUNCIL—ADDRESS IN REPLY TO SPEECH FROM THE THRONE—SERIOUS GRIEVANCES—LEGISLATION AND LEGISLATORS OF 1883—COLLAPSE OF THE BOOM—MCPIERSON'S NEW LAND REGULATIONS—DEWDNEY'S COUNCIL OF 1884—LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR'S COMMENTS OF CONTENTMENT OF INDIANS—IMPORT OF SPIRITUOUS LIQUORS—SCHOOL BILL; OTHER IMPORTANT LEGISLATION—VISIT OF BLACK-FEET CHIEF—FRICTION IN THE COUNCIL—EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS OF THE COUNCIL—NORTH WEST GRIEVANCES REITERATED BY COUNCIL; BROUGHT BEFORE PARLIAMENT BY MR. M. C. CAMERON—TERRITORIAL ELECTIONS OF 1885—SPEECH FROM THE THRONE AND DEBATE ON REPLY—MEMORIAL OF GRIEVANCES—IMPORTANT SCHOOL LEGISLATION—FUTILE DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT ON NORTH WEST TOPICS—COUNCIL OF 1886—TERRITORIES GIVEN REPRESENTATION AT OTTAWA—CREATION OF SUPREME COURT—TORRENS LAND TITLES SYSTEM—COUNCIL OF 1887—RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES—NORTH WEST COUNCIL ABOLISHED—CONSTITUTION OF NEW ASSEMBLY—DEWDNEY'S SUBSEQUENT CAREER.

The Honorable Edgar Dewdney, who for the two previous years had filled the office of Indian Commissioner, succeeded the Honorable David Laird as Lieutenant-Governor of the Territories in December, 1881. No meeting of the North West Council occurred, however, until August, 1883. The choice of the southern route for the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway rendered it undesirable to retain Battleford as the Territorial Capital, and doubtless the conflict of various interests to be affected in the choice of a permanent Capital were in part accountable for this long delay. Moreover, half a dozen districts in the Territories had by this time become sufficiently advanced in population to be entitled to erection into electoral constituencies. This involved additional delay. Furthermore, as we pointed

out when treating of the work of Mr. Laird's last Council, grave doubts had been raised as to the Council's powers, and the satisfactory settlement of this difficulty involved lengthy correspondence with the Ottawa Authorities. Still another explanation was at the time offered by the *Saskatchewan Herald*. That journal was probably not alone in its belief that the decision not to call the Council during 1882 arose from "the manifest expectation of the early creation of two provinces." This "expectation" was not fulfilled, however, until twenty-three years later.

In May, 1882, the Dominion Government, on the suggestion of Lord Lorne, by Order in Council created in the North West Territories four provisional districts, chiefly for the convenience of the Post Office Department. Certainly the postal conditions of the West required attention, a fact clear by the following newspaper clipping, dated June 10, 1882:

"The Government has abolished two light but vexatious taxes—the stamps on promissory notes and bills, and the postage on newspapers. The wording of the latter Act defines a newspaper to be a publication issued at intervals of not more than seven days; and this just lets the *Herald* in as about the only newspaper that has to pay postage. We will try and stand it for the present. But when the promised 'more frequent mail service' is given us we will get even, for then the *Herald* will be issued every week, which will bring it within the operations of the law. Under existing arrangements there is no use in publishing a paper every week when there is a mail but once in three."

The people of Battleford district were at this time promised a weekly mail, and in the autumn an announcement was made that the contract had been let. Many months elapsed, however, before it came into effect.

The four provisional districts were called Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Athabasca. These districts have since then disappeared from the map of Canada, so it may be worth while to recall their extent and positions. Assiniboia included an area approximately 95,000 square miles, bounded on the east by Manitoba, on the west by the line dividing tenth and eleventh ranges of townships, on the north by the townships of series nine, and on the south by the forty-ninth parallel of latitude. Saskatchewan lay north of Assiniboia, and included about 114,000 square miles. It was bounded on the west by the continuation of the boundary line of Assiniboia, and on the north by the eighteenth correction line. Alberta included about 100,000 square miles, between Assiniboia and British Columbia. It was bounded on the north by the eighteenth correction line, near the fifty-fifth parallel of latitude. Athabasca, the largest of the provisional districts, covered approximately 122,000 square miles. It lay north of Alberta and west of Saskatchewan.

The Dominion Government also intimated to the people of Prince Albert

that it would establish a line of telegraph from the crossing on the south branch to their settlement, and maintain stations at The Crossing, St. Laurent and Prince Albert, on condition that the people should lay the necessary poles on the ground. They were also to have a special telegraphic service with the East during the remainder of the winter, and, until the missing link was constructed, despatches would be received at Touchwood Hills from the East, and from the West at Humboldt, and exchanged between those points once a week.

During the summer of 1882 more than one hundred parties of surveyors were busy resurveying base lines and surveying townships in the North West, chiefly along the route of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Hope and confidence were returning. Mr. Clarke, the member for Lorne, had devoted himself with apparent success to the task of securing satisfactory terms for the Halfbreeds and squatters in the unsurveyed districts, the Dominion Government promising through him its early and favorable consideration to the settlers' demands. This year we find recorded 2,753 homestead entries in the North West. Even the Far North was becoming better and more favorably known, through the explorations of Dr. R. Bell, who was conducting careful investigation in districts never previously visited by scientists.

The original Battleford reserve of 1876 covered an area of sixteen square miles, and in the summer of 1882 a portion of this was surveyed as a town plot by the Dominion Government. Sad havoc was played with the streets as laid out by the old settlers. Scarcely a house was left standing squarely on the lot it was supposed to occupy. However, the people of Battleford were so pleased at obtaining any official survey, and over the fact that Battleford was the first town plot in the North West to be laid out by the Dominion Government, that they accepted pretty philosophically the apparently arbitrary decisions of the Government surveyors.

Meantime Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney was endeavoring to locate a capital. Troy or South Qu'Appelle and Fort Qu'Appelle were vigorous claimants. However, for reasons which long remained the subject of acrimonious dispute and disagreeable insinuation, Governor Dewdney ultimately selected as the site for the new headquarters of the Indian Department of the Mounted Police "the point where the railway crosses the Pile of Bones Creek, about fifty miles southwest of Fort Qu'Appelle and twelve miles south of that river, in or near township eighteen, range twenty-one, west of the Second Meridian."¹

The name proposed first for the new capital was Leopold. The Governor-General, however, was appealed to, and his consort chose the name "Regina," in honor of Queen Victoria.

¹ *Saskatchewan Herald*, June 24, 1882.

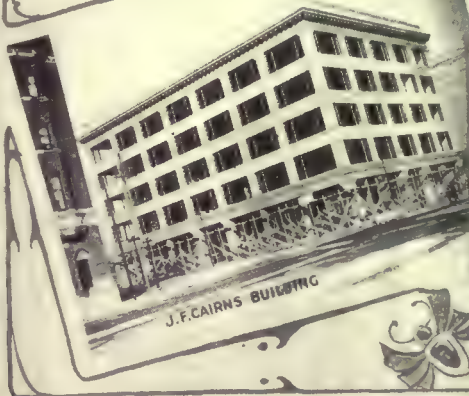
MODERN BUILDINGS SASKATOON



KING GEORGE HOTEL



ONE OF SASKATOON'S MODERN BUILDINGS



J.F. CAIRNS BUILDING



DRINKLE BLOCK



CORNER OF WHOLESALE SECTION



CITY BUILDING, N. S. ROAD, SASKATOON

The Honorable Mr. Dewdney's choice of this site aroused a storm of protest in the contemporary press, but on the 27th of the following March the Governor-General passed an Order in Council removing the Capital from Battleford to Regina.

"One thing is certain," said the *Winnipeg Free Press*, "Regina will never amount to anything more than a country village or town, for the simple reason that in neither its position nor its surroundings is there anything to give it the slightest commercial importance. Situated in the midst of a vast plain of inferior soil, with hardly a tree to be seen as far as the eye can range, and with about enough water in the miserable little creek known as Pile of Bones to wash a sheep, it would scarcely make a respectable farm, to say nothing of being fixed upon as a site for the capital of a great province. The place has not a single natural advantage to commend it."

Nevertheless, a thriving settlement was established at Regina within a few months. Of its subsequent history we will have something to say elsewhere.

Governor Dewdney's First Council met at Regina on August 20, 1883, the session lasting until October 4. It included Messrs. Richardson, Macleod and Bréland (members of the former Council), Lieutenant-Colonel Acheson, Gosford Irvine, N. W. M. P., and Hayter Reed, Esq., Indian Agent at Battleford, in addition to six elected members. Honorable Lawrence Clarke had been succeeded by Captain D. H. Macdowall as member for Lorne. Francis Oliver appeared as member for Edmonton. James Hamilton Ross had been elected by the Moose Jaw district. T. E. W. Jackson represented Qu'Appelle constituency. John Claude Campbell Hamilton had been the choice of the electors of Broadview and William White was the first member for Regina. Mr. Forget still retained his office as clerk of the Council.

The address adopted in reply to the Lieutenant-Governor's opening speech reflects in an interesting manner the hopes and opinions of representative Westerners at this time. It is therefore here reproduced:

"The members of the Council of the North West Territories desire to congratulate Your Honor on being able to speak so hopefully and so truthfully of the prosperity of the country. We believe with you that the rapid growth and development of the North West Territories is without a parallel in the history of the world. Within a short space of a year and a half a country containing more arable land than the whole of continental Europe, then without any settled population comparatively, now with its broad and fertile acres, the homes of thousands, happy in their choice of a home in the New Land, and sanguine of a peaceful and prosperous future.

"We believe that a very great measure of the success which has attended the opening up of the country is due to the wise railway policy adopted by the Dominion Government. We wish also to speak in terms of praise of the manner and rapidity of construction of the line of railway now about

completed from the Great Lakes in the East to the Rocky Mountains in the West. And notwithstanding the vast labor involved and the large number of men employed, all has been done we believe without interference or inconvenience to the requirements of the public, and without breach of the law or hindrance from the Indian or white man. This happy state of affairs must be, and we believe is, a matter of congratulation to Your Honour as well as to the country at large. We desire also in this connection to acknowledge the services which the North West Mounted Police Force have rendered the country, and feel that no small share of credit for peace and good order preserved is due to them.

"As the federal authorities have selected Regina as the new capital of the North West, we venture to express the hope that the future will but the clearer demonstrate the wisdom of the choice. We believe it to be the duty, as it is we think the desire, of every one interested in the prosperity of the country, to witness the prosperity of the country's capital.

"We wish to thank Your Honor for the representation given to the people in the Council of the country, and, as foreshadowed by Your Honor in your address to the Council, trust that by revision of the boundaries of the present electoral districts and the erection of new ones, a fuller and broader representation may be given at no distant day.

"We assure Your Honor that the assistance you expect from the recently elected members, and to which you refer in such gratifying terms, will be given you. We feel actuated as we are by a desire to legislate for and in the interests of the people at large, that with an honest endeavor to promote the general good, without regard to section or people, the result will be satisfactory to ourselves and to those who are looking anxiously forward to the course legislation may take in this Council, as well as to the action which may be taken by us toward assisting to remove laws and regulations over which we as a Council have no direct power. To this end the Council will ask Your Honor to consider with us the best means that can be adopted to convince the Dominion Government of the necessity that exists of some definite action being taken with regard to those matters on which repeated memorials have been presented by the people, as well as matters and complaints which have arisen as the results of more recent legislation by the federal authorities.

"We share with Your Honor in the regret expressed by you at the approaching departure of the Governor-General and his Royal Consort. We are aware that in a very large measure the attention of the outside world has been directed with favourable results to these territories through the exertions of His Excellency, who has lost no opportunity of making known the resources of the country, with which he was greatly impressed on the occasion of his visit to the North West, and we assure Your Honor that we will heartily join you in an address expressive of our regret that His Excellency and Her Royal Highness are about to leave us.

"We further wish to assure Your Honor that the several important measures spoken of by Your Honor will have our most careful consideration.

"We would feel remiss in our duties were we, before concluding, not to give that expression of loyalty and attachment towards Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen, who has so long and prosperously reigned over

this great empire of which this Dominion of Canada is a component part, who, by her ruling as a Sovereign as well as in domestic affairs, has made herself a model to the world at large."

Before the end of the session a lengthy memorial to His Excellency the Governor-General in Council was adopted, calling attention to sixteen important grievances or requests. The newspapers, particularly *The Regina Leader*, which had recently been established by Nicholas Flood Davin, were full of protests against the Regina reserve, and the North West Council added their remonstrances against any such large blocks of land, otherwise available, being deliberately withheld from settlement. The Council vigorously championed the rights of Halfbreeds, and other squatters; prayed for more extended surveys, especially in settled localities; protested against the leasing of arable land for grazing purposes; asked that cancelled homesteads should be reopened for entry, not held for sale; petitioned for proper vaults for the land and registry offices; called for additional Stipendiary Magistrates; asked for increased powers with regard to the incorporation of territorial companies; desired that all trails and highways should be vested in the Council; protested against the existing duties on agricultural implements and lumber; requested a largely increased sum for the improvement of navigation of the Saskatchewan River; prayed that the mining laws should be assimilated to those of British Columbia and Montana; protested against the proposed abolition of pre-emption rights; urged that the territorial grant should be based on a definite sum *per capita*; declared the system of granting immense tracts of land to colonization companies to be vicious; and asked for the representation of the Territories in the Dominion Parliament.

The influence of the elective members was now powerful, and may be seen in many clauses of this notable memorial. However, even yet the Ottawa Authorities seemed to care very little about the Territories, and many manifest grievances remained for long years unredressed.

Legislation regarding municipalities, the relief of indigent children, the prevention of the profanation of the Lord's Day, the disposal of found or stolen horses, the herding of animals, and other important Ordinances occupied the attention of the Council. The following editorial on the Council of 1883 is quoted from the *Regina Leader*:

"Mr. Macdowall of Prince Albert has a clear, business-like head, and whenever he spoke he showed a grasp of the question in hand and the fruits of careful observation.

"From Moose Jaw we have Mr. Jas. H. Ross, a man of whom we in the North West may feel proud—a young man, full of truth and courage, with a single eye to the good of the country. He has been diligent in his attendance and given careful attention to the work brought before the Council.

"Mr. T. W. Jackson, of Qu'Appelle, has proved a most useful member. He has worked hard at the Municipal Bill. Many persons thought he would make the work of the Council difficult, and would display a hostility to Mr. Dewdney and Regina which would be inconvenient in discussion. So far from this, he allowed an address to pass which afforded him an opportunity of attacking both. Mr. Jackson may therefore be credited with a desire to pave the way for the good feeling which has prevailed. Reginians, after the way the city has been assailed, may well feel proud that the North West Council has endorsed 'the wisdom of the choice,' and Mr. Jackson cannot be too highly praised for his patriotism. He was able to boast last week that though a course opposing the Lieutenant-Governor would have been popular with his constituents, he rose above the instincts of the demagogue and dictates of anger, and indeed there has been no more decorous or assiduous member of the Council.

"Mr. Claude Hamilton, of Broadview, has, when present, shown both intelligence and spirit.

"Mr. Wm. White, of Regina, has been attentive. He has wrestled with the noxious weed, and the Canada thistle has felt him at its throat. He has been most desirous of doing all he could to please the people of Regina. Indeed, this desire has been so strong as almost to denude him of self-reliance and make it seem that he almost shrank from responsibility. All that was in his power we may be sure he has done.

"Among the appointees, Mr. Hayter Reed has been most diligent, and Colonel Richardson's experience, legal knowledge and familiarity with the North West cannot fail—even though he necessarily takes an ultra-conservative view of every question—to have been most useful. Colonel Macleod is intelligent, knows the western ranch country well, but he seems to feel—for there is a good deal of soldier in him—that galloping across the country would be more in his line than legislating. Colonel Irvine's duties called him away nearly the whole period the Council was in session.

"The Governor has been very zealous as regards legislation, and when he had occasion to speak, spoke with force and clearness—more force and clearness than we should have expected from one so reticent in his habitual demeanor. Even persons disposed to regard him with hostile feelings acknowledge that throughout he has displayed breadth and grasp, readiness and statesmanlike instincts. Altogether, the Council has shown itself a businesslike assembly, and has done good work.

"One member we have not yet mentioned, perhaps the most remarkable man, in some respects, in the Council, Mr. Oliver, of Edmonton. If this gentleman is a type of the people of Edmonton, we take the people of Edmonton to our heart, for Mr. Oliver is a man not only of independent thought and great natural ability, but a man of transparent honesty. Such men the free air of our North West breeds. Mr. Oliver's name will be always connected with the foundation of the school system in the North West.

"In the article in which we commented on the opening of the Council, we expressed our confidence in the appointed members, that they would show 'an intelligent appreciation of the situation.' If they did nothing but vote the memorial they voted on Tuesday, they would have justified this confidence."

The year 1883 marked the end of two years of wild speculation. The number of persons who came up to the North West not to farm but to make fortunes were out of all proportion to the number of real wealth producers. Paper towns sprang up everywhere, and the aftermath of the ill-starred boom caused widespread disappointment and considerable suffering.

During this year the Marquis of Lorne's term of office was brought to a close, and he was succeeded by Lord Lansdown. Toward the close of the year the Honorable D. L. McPherson became Minister of the Interior, and immediately promulgated new regulations opening up "the mile belt" for settlement and foreshadowing a liberal policy as regards the railway reserves. The even sections of the railway belt within a mile of the railway were thrown open on condition that the settlers should prepare ten acres the first year; should crop ten acres and prepare fifteen the second year; and, in the third and final year, crop twenty-five acres and prepare fifteen. The even numbered sections in the Regina Reserve were placed on sale to *bona fide* settlers at five dollars an acre. Purchases were limited to one hundred and sixty acres by any one individual, and settlers cultivating a quarter of their land within the three-year period were to be granted a rebate of half the purchase price. On the other hand, if the settler failed to cultivate the minimum of a quarter of his land within the three-year period the sale might be cancelled. The object of these and other analogous regulations was, of course, to prevent valuable lands adjacent to the railway from being monopolized by speculators.

In Governor Dewdney's Council of 1884 Charles Borromee Rouleau, an additional Stipendiary Magistrate, was added to the list of *ex-officio* and appointed members. Two new elected members also presented themselves now for the first time, John Gillanders Turriff, for the electoral district of Moose Mountain, and James Davidson Geddes for that of Calgary. The elected members were now eight in number and the appointed and *ex-officio* members six.

In his opening speech Honorable Mr. Dewdney outlined the development of the electoral system and proposed various important subjects for legislation. During the recess copies of a school bill, submitted but later withdrawn by Mr. Oliver during the preceding session, had been distributed and Governor Dewdney expressed the hope that during the present session it would be possible to pass a School Ordinance acceptable to the people.

In view of the startling event occurring eight months later, the following quotation from the Governor's comments on the Indian situation is especially interesting:

"The exaggerated reports of Indian difficulties which have lately appeared in some of the newspapers and which must do the country harm, induce me to say a few words to you on that subject. From what I have



BISHOP McLEAN'S FIRST PALACE.



N. W. COUNCIL, 1886.

Key: 1—Lieut.-Gov. Dewdney, 2—Judge Richardson, 3—Judge Rouleau, 4—J. G. Turriff, 5—Hayter Reed, 6—H. S. Cayley, 7—R. Crawford, 8—Jas. Ross, 9—D. F. Jelly, 10—Major Irvine, 11—J. C. Secord, 12—J. D. Lauder, 13—Senator Perley, 14—Chas. Marshallsay, 15—O. E. Hughes, 16—S. Cunningham, 17—A. E. Forget, 18—Little Jimmie McAra, page, x—Lord Boyle.

seen myself during my travels in the spring, and from what I gather from the correspondence which reaches me as Indian Commissioner, I can confidently say that our Indians are generally more contented than they have been since the treaty was made, and the progress they are making in agriculture is most gratifying.

"It cannot be expected that with a population of some twenty thousand Indians, scattered on reserves in bands all over the territory, we can escape without a little trouble and at times excitement. This is inevitable where Indians fresh from the plains are first brought on their reserves and come in contact with white settlers. It has been so with those who are now comparatively well off, and will be so until the new arrivals recognize the fact that they must settle down, and work to make a living; but that there is any cause for alarm I deny. I am sure the general feeling is one of security, and the exaggerated reports that have been circulated are to be regretted."

In the preceding year, with the advice of his Council, Governor Dewdney had imposed a fee of fifty cents per gallon upon spirituous liquors brought into the country under Government permits. The Governor called attention to the fact that a large amount of liquor was being smuggled into the country without permits and that many illicit stills were in operation. However, he was "glad to be able to inform" the Council "that very little abuse" of the permit system had occurred. Against this dictum Messrs. Oliver and Turriff protested. They considered the enforcement of the law at present to be most unsatisfactory and disagreed with the Governor and the majority of the Council, who thought that the establishment of local breweries would improve conditions by discouraging smuggling and illicit distilling. From this time on for many years the control of the liquor traffic provided themes for ever recurring debates. It is, of course, to be understood that as yet the North West was theoretically under a prohibitory system, so far as the legal sale of intoxicants was concerned.

A very large proportion of the session under review was devoted to Mr. Oliver's School Bill. Already under the Governor-General's Orders in Council the Lieutenant-Governor was paying out of the appropriation for the North West Government half the salaries of the teachers engaged in ten Protestant and one Roman Catholic Schools. The regulations, however, required that a school must have an attendance of fifteen before it was eligible for assistance, and the Council were unanimously of the opinion that this number should be reduced to ten. Mr. Oliver's School Bill was read a first time and referred to a special committee. As a result of its deliberations a second School Bill was introduced by Mr. Rouleau and ultimately passed, August 6, 1884.

The other chief topics of debate in this session was the Lieutenant-Governor's Municipal Ordinance, which, after vigorous scrutiny in committee and numerous amendments, duly became a law. Mr. Jackson was a

special champion of the Bill. The measure, however, did not prove very popular in practice. It was an attempt practically to transplant Ontario Institutions into a sparsely settled territory, where local conditions differed widely from those of Older Canada.

The Council of 1884 devoted attention to many other topics. In all forty-three Bills were introduced, and thirty-six were passed. Recommendations were made in accordance with which the elective members were to be paid \$400 and travelling expenses.

On July 9 the Council was visited by Crowfoot, Red Crow, Eagle Tail, and Three Bulls—distinguished Blackfeet chiefs. They were duly welcomed by a formal resolution, to which Crowfoot returned thanks.

Evidence of friction between the elective and appointive elements in the Council sometimes manifested itself. Messrs. Oliver and Ross were particularly emphatic in maintaining that no person not directly responsible to the people in the North West should be allowed a voice in local legislation, or a seat in the Council. The majority of the Council were, however, peaceably inclined, and when Messrs. Oliver and Ross introduced this and other grievances in a fiery resolution we find Messrs. Jackson and Turriff presenting a substitute, which all the other members supported. In it they expressed the belief that the feeling of the country was strongly against "any action of the Council being taken in such a way that either political party in the Dominion Parliament could use it for political purposes." One seems to see the hand of the party politician even in this rebuke to Messrs. Oliver and Ross, though it manifestly was not seen by some who supported the amendment.

The Council reaffirmed the statements contained in the Memorial of the preceding session, but protests against the continuance of many of the grievances complained of were referred from the Committee of the Whole to the Council in Executive Session. Consequently we have no further record of the matter in the Journals of the House.

However, the North West grievances had already been brought prominently before the attention of Parliament by Mr. M. C. Cameron, member for Huron, Ontario. He introduced a Bill for the representation of the Territories in Parliament, but it did not reach the later stages. Again on November 27 Mr. Cameron moved in amendment to a motion that the House go into Committee on Supply, "that the House should resolve itself into Committee to consider the conditions, complaints and demands of Manitoba, and the North West Territory, with a view to devise some means of remedying any well founded grievances and complying with any reasonable demands." Mr. Cameron referred to the Memorial of the North West Council, and, while admitting that some of the grievances complained of had been remedied, declared that still others were deserving of serious

consideration. He also called attention to the Bill of Rights which had been adopted by the Farmers' Union of Manitoba and the North West complaining chiefly of the land laws and tariff. However, he found only fifty-seven supporters, and the Government's policy was endorsed by a majority of fifty-nine.

During the year Mr. W. Pearce visited Prince Albert, Battleford and other points on behalf of the Dominion Authorities to investigate the claims advanced by old settlers on the grounds of long occupation. A considerable number of these claims were satisfactorily disposed of, but Mr. Pearce could not speak French, and as the employment of an interpreter would have entailed expense, no enquiry was made into the special grievances of the French Halfbreeds. Comment is unnecessary.

Mr. A. M. Burgess, Deputy Minister of the Interior, also made an official tour along the lines of the Canadian Pacific Railway. He met with a serious accident, however, and was obliged to cut his visit short. But for this untoward incident other grievances which ultimately helped to bring about the North West Rebellion of the following year might have been remedied in time. As it was, the breaking of an official's arm seemed to involve that of the Government in inevitable and incurable paralysis. The events leading up to the rising and consequent thereupon will be discussed at length in other chapters. The rebellion was over when the Council again met on November 5, 1885.

In that year the electoral districts of the Territories were rearranged, and on the 17th of September elections were held. Mr. Oliver, of Edmonton, was defeated by Dr. Herbert C. Wilson by a narrow majority. Captain Macdowall, of Lorne, did not contest his seat, and Owen T. Hughes was elected to represent it. Mr. Hamilton also retired in Broadview and was succeeded by Mr. Charles Marchallsay. Regina district was given two members, and in the new Council it was represented by Messrs. David F. Jelly and John Second in place of Mr. W. White. Thus apart from the appointed and *ex officio* members, the only gentlemen who had sat in the Council of 1884 and retained their seats in that of 1885 were Messrs. J. H. Ross, F. W. Jackson, J. G. Turriff, and J. D. Geddes. Mr. W. D. Perley was elected a second member for Qu'Appelle district. Spencer A. Bedford was elected by acclamation in Mossomin district, and Samuel Cunningham in South Alberta. Richard Henry (Viscount Boyle) was elected as member for Macleod.

The Council met November 5 and remained in session until December 18. In the Speech from the Throne the Governor announced that since the last session sixty-five applications—including only one for the establishment of a Separate School—had been received for the creation of school districts. Certain provisions of the School Act of the preceding session had

in practice proved unworkable and would require amendment. As an evidence of the opening up of the Territories it was pointed out that local receipts had more than doubled during the last year, and that numerous flourishing agricultural societies had been established. The Governor also hinted at the necessity of some means being devised by which he could be assisted by and kept in touch with his Council during recess. This was a tentative suggestion pointing toward the creation of a permanent Executive Committee. The recent rebellion was but very slightly touched upon in the Governor's speech.

The reply to the speech from the throne involved the Council in a prolonged and exciting discussion, and when finally adopted it constituted something very like a vote of non-confidence in the Dominion Government's policy in the Territories.

It reads in part as follows:

"While congratulating ourselves and the country on the increased representation afforded, we cannot omit to point out to your Honor the still greater rights of representation which we feel we are entitled to, but have not yet received. Settled as these territories in a large measure are, by men who have been accustomed to the constitutional rights and privileges of the British Empire, and its colonies, it is inevitable that a feeling of distress and uneasiness should be prevalent owing to our not enjoying the same. . . . We confidently look forward to the next session of the Federal Parliament granting our requests and calling to their councils representatives of these territories. . . .

"The position of several townsites in which the Government and the Canadian Pacific Railway are interested is very unsatisfactory. It was never intended, we believe, that the exemption from taxation for twenty years granted to the Canadian Pacific Railway should apply to sections of lands subdivided into town lots, and it is highly unsatisfactory to have the Crown claim exemption from taxation in towns allowed to be incorporated by it. The effect is to retard the growth of these centres of trade, and to create distrust, and besides, the resident owners are compelled to pay the municipal taxes which are expended in improving the property of the Crown, which in this instance reaps the benefits of speculation without bearing the burdens. . . .

"Knowing as we do the great influence always had over the Indians by the Halfbreeds, we have to regret that the repeated representations made to the Government of Canada by the North West Council on behalf of the Halfbreeds and their claims did not receive more immediate attention. We trust Your Honor will give this Council your help in bringing the matter of the many existing unsettled claims to the notice of the Dominion Government by a memorial or resolution."

Much time was spent by the Council in the discussion of rebellion claims and in the registration of formal protests against unjust, inadequate or unnecessarily delayed settlements. However, the Council expressed the belief

that the Government's policy faithfully carried out would prevent future Indian outbreaks and endorsed the action of the Dominion Authorities in allowing the law to take its course in the case of Riel, the rebel leader. The Halfbreed political prisoners, however, were recommended to executive clemency.

A very lengthy memorial was presented to the Dominion Government by the North West Council involving twenty-seven distinct grievances and requests. This course was rendered necessary by the fact that the Territories had no official representatives at Ottawa to present their views before Parliament. Messrs. Perley, Wilson and Ross were chosen as delegates to present the memorial at the capital, which they did in February of the following year. While many of their requests were not fully complied with at the time, the delegates expressed the view that much good would accrue from the Council's action.

During this session the North West School System was formally established with provisions for separate schools as required by Section 14 of the North West Territories Act. As school legislation will be given a separate chapter, we need not here further discuss this most important reform.

Territorial affairs were very prominent in the Dominion Parliament of 1885, though the debates resulted in but little good. Partisan feeling ran so high that the opposition was frequently unreasonable and the Government Party blindly subservient to its leaders. "Altogether," as Alexander Begg very truly says (Volume III, page 166), "the record of the session of 1885 might profitably be expunged from the pages of Canadian history. It contains nothing that can redound to the credit or prestige of the Dominion, and much that is deplorable."

In the Council of 1886, Calgary had two representatives, Messrs. John D. Lauder and Hugh S. Cayley, Mr. Geddes thus disappearing from the House. Mr. Jackson had resigned his seat for Qu'Appelle and been succeeded by Mr. Robert Crawford. Otherwise the membership was the same as in the preceding year. The Governor commented upon the drought of the summer, but reported that, upon the whole, marked progress had been made by the Territories, especially as regards the cattle industry. The Canadian Pacific Railway had been completed and the Long Lake Railway was running as far as the Qu'Appelle Valley. Other railway developments, actual or prospective, were also mentioned with approval, including a "not improbable Hudson Bay Railway" with its "initial point at Regina."

Out of the twenty-seven subjects upon which the Council of 1885 had memorialized the Dominion Government, seventeen were reported as agreed to, and others as having been dealt with in a manner which the Lieutenant-Governor believed would prove satisfactory. The Governor congratulated the Council upon the present condition of Indian affairs, offering his as-

surance that there never was a time when the Indians were more contented, more cheerful or better disposed toward their white brethren. A few of the leading Indian chiefs of the North West had been sent to attend the unveiling of the Brant Memorial in the City of Brantford, Ontario, a step that would doubtless have a beneficial effect. Indeed, the general outlook of the North West was hopeful, and a large increase in immigration was in evidence.

This year the reply to the Speech from the Throne was much more pacific than it had been in the preceding session. The members of the Council, however, united in believing that the time had come when it should assume the character of a legislative assembly. A Committee of the Council reported at length upon the matter of pensions to numerous rebellion sufferers or their heirs who had not yet received proper recognition, and the details were transmitted in due course to Ottawa. The annual Memorial to the Federal Government this year included twelve items. Twenty-one bills were passed by the Council and three others fell by the way. It is perhaps not without significance that much of the Council's time was devoted to legalizing defective Municipal By-Laws.

The Council sat from October 13 to November 17, and evidently worked very steadily. On Wednesday, the 18th, however, a quorum was not present and the Governor adjourned the Council until the following Friday. On that occasion only two members presented themselves. His Honor expressed special regret at the somewhat cavalier desertion of their posts by the other weary legislators, as important matters were still pending. However, as the great majority of the members had already left for their homes, he bowed to the inevitable and prorogued the Council.

The time had at last arrived when representation of the Territories in the Parliament of the Dominion could no longer be delayed. The Territories were given two representatives in the Senate, and four electoral districts for Dominion purposes were also created in the North West. In the Alberta constituency D. W. Davis was elected; in Saskatchewan the candidates were D. H. Macdowall and the Honorable David Laird, of whom the former was successful. The first member for East Assiniboia was W. D. Perley, and the first member for West Assiniboia was Nicholas Flood Davin, who defeated James H. Ross. The latter gentleman, however, retained his place in the local Council as member for Moose Jaw.

The treatment of the Territories in the framing of the Dominion estimates was distinctly more favorable this year than hitherto.

In this same year the Territories were sub-divided into five judicial districts. A Supreme Court was constituted, consisting of the Honorable Hugh Richardson, the Honorable James F. Macleod, the Honorable Charles B. Rouleau, and the Honorable Edward W. Wetmore, who was

brought from Fredericton, New Brunswick to fill his post. The old judicial system administered by Stipendiary Magistrates subject to the appellate jurisdiction of the Manitoba Court of the Queen's Bench was accordingly abolished.

A reform of great importance to the West was that establishing the so-called Torrens System in connection with the registration of titles to real property. In 1883 a delegation from the Landlaw Amendment Association had urged this reform on the Minister of the Interior and the matter had been successfully introduced in the House of Commons.

Mr. Perley, as we have seen, this year left the Territorial for Dominion politics, and Viscount Boyle also resigned his seat. In their places were elected Messrs. F. W. G. Haultain, of Macleod, and William Sutherland, of Fort Qu'Appelle. Charles Marchallsay, the member for Whitewood, died on November 5, while the Council was in session. Governor Dewdney referred to this gentleman in his report as a "most able and valuable member of the Council," and that body spoke of him as "one whose aid in the administration of public affairs has been so sensibly felt." Upon motion of Messrs. Cayley and Turriff the funeral of the late member was conducted under the direction of the North West Council.

The Council sat from October 14 to November 19. Most of the Ordinances passed this year aimed at the amendment or consolidation of previous legislation. An Act was passed providing for the formation of Statute Labor Districts outside the existing municipalities, with machinery for the enforcement of a simple system of taxation, the proceeds of which were to be employed for public improvements on the roads. The most important reforms were perhaps those which we will discuss in our chapters on educational legislation. It may be remarked that the total number of schools increased in 1887 from ninety-three to one hundred and thirty-three. The provision which had been made for the creation of rural municipalities had not proved popular, and the Governor reported that no new municipalities had been organized. Only six were in existence in Assiniboia, one in Saskatchewan, and one in Alberta.

In his speech from the Throne, the Honorable Mr. Dewdney officially informed the Council that he had been requested by the Dominion Government to confer with his colleagues regarding changes in the constitution of the North West Government. These should "give the people a greater control over the management of their affairs and enable every settler to have a voice in the government of the country."

This important matter was given much serious consideration and a Memorial was adopted recommending that henceforth the Council be purely elective, and that the members hold office for the term of four years instead of two; that the Council be presided over by one of its own members; that

the Lieutenant-Governor carry on his executive functions by and with the advice of an Executive Council of three persons who should be summoned to office by the Lieutenant-Governor and must hold seats in the North West Council; that the Council should have power to amend its own constitution from time to time and should be subject as regards money bills, disallowance, and similar matters, to the provisions of the British North America Act applicable in the case of Provinces. This Memorial was presented in the Council by Mr. Ross, but all the elected members of the Council, and Mr. Hayter Reed as well, had places in the Special Committee appointed to draft it.

Every year had seen the old Liquor Permit Law failing more conspicuously than hitherto. Between January 1, 1882, and October 20, 1887, the fines for the violations of the Territorial Liquor Laws amounted to \$15,631.50, and it was notorious that but a small fraction of the total number of instances in which the law was infringed were ever punished. The Council placed on record its disapproval of the system as unsatisfactory and ineffective either as a temperance or prohibitory measure. After much debate on the subject, it was unanimously resolved that the Council should be given the same powers in dealing with the liquor question as those exercised by the Provinces, and that the provisions of the Scott Act should be extended to the Territories.

This ninth and final session of the North West Council closed on Saturday, November 19, 1887. When the Dominion Parliament met early in 1888 the North West Territories Act was passed abolishing the Council, and creating a Legislative Assembly. Of the twenty-five members, twenty-two were to be elected and three others were to be chosen from the Territorial judiciary as legal experts. These latter, however, were to have no vote. The Assembly was given, by the statute, powers analogous to those of Provincial Legislatures, but substantially the same as those latterly exercised by the North West Council under Orders in Council issued by the Governor-General. Members were to be elected for three years, but the Assembly was to be subject to dissolution at the discretion of the Lieutenant-Governor. Provision was also made for an Advisory Council of four members, who, with the Lieutenant-Governor, would constitute an Executive Committee in all matters of finance. The Assembly would henceforth conduct the proceedings under the presidency of the Speaker, elected from among its members.

In his report for 1888 the Commissioner of the Royal North West Mounted Police commented on an almost entire absence of crime in the Territory during the preceding year. In all quarters of the Territories, except the southwest, the Indians were making rapid strides toward self-support and some of their chiefs rendered very valuable assistance to the

police in the enforcement of the law and the capture of criminals. This year considerable treaty money had been paid to the rebel Indian tribes upon the recommendation of the Indian agents. In speaking of the numerous Indians in the Prince Albert district, the Superintendent was able for the third time to comment in his annual report upon the excellent conduct of the Indian population. Not a single crime had been committed among them.

For several years after the Rebellion it was necessary to issue relief to large numbers of the Halfbreeds who had been ruined in the rising.

The Honorable Mr. Dewdney's term of office as Lieutenant-Governor of the Territories expired in July, 1888. The seven years during which he held this important appointment were a period of unrest and transition and the difficulties of his office had been very great. In those days a Governor really governed. It was his duty to preside over and direct the proceedings of his Advisory Council, and personally to superintend the administration of public affairs in all parts of his enormous domain. In this, moreover, he was far from exercising a free hand. He was subject, in important regards, to the control of ill-informed officials two thousand miles away. True, it was his duty to render them well informed, and in this he can scarcely be said to have succeeded. Indeed, the opinion has been very prevalent that the responsibility lies at his door for the notorious ignorance prevailing in official circles at Ottawa regarding the actual needs and wishes of the West. An impartial study of available records, however, leads one to the conclusion that he habitually and earnestly labored in the interests of the Territories, where he has always had warm supporters in the best informed circles. The Councils in whose deliberations he took so prominent a part left behind them a very creditable legislative record. Their recommendations to the Federal Authorities were, upon the whole, surprisingly free from political animus and in almost all instances characterized by shrewd insight into and familiarity with conditions throughout the Territories. Had the Memorials of the Council, transmitted to the Dominion Government by Mr. Dewdney, been given the prompt and decisive attention they merited, Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney's regime would have been marked by still greater development of the Territories, and by such an increase in prosperity and contentment as would have rendered impossible the deplorable rebellion of 1885.

Mr. Dewdney presently entered the Dominion Cabinet as Minister of the Interior, being elected for the constituency of East Assiniboia. The seat was vacated by Mr. Perley, who was shortly afterwards created a Senator. Four years later Mr. Dewdney became Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, holding that distinguished post from 1892 to 1897.

CHAPTER XIX

DISCONTENT IN THE WEST AND PREMONITIONS OF REBELLION

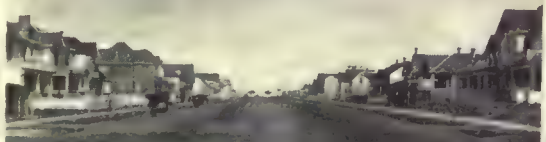
SIMILARITY OF CAUSES OF TROUBLE IN 1870 AND 1885—SASKATCHEWAN HALFBREEDS OMITTED IN DISTRIBUTION OF SCRIP—NUMEROUS PETITIONS OF REDRESS (1872, 1873)—PATHETIC PETITIONS FROM ST. LAURENT—REPLY OF HON. DAVID MILLS—PETITIONS FROM PRINCE ALBERT AND CYPRESS HILLS—NORTH WEST COUNCIL URGES REDRESS OF HALFBREED GRIEVANCES—MR. DENNIS' MEMORANDUM—CORRESPONDENCE OF GOVERNMENT WITH TACHÉ, MCLEAN AND LAIRD—OPINIONS EXPRESSED BY JUDGE RICHARDSON—NUMEROUS PETITIONS OF 1880—PETITIONS OF 1881—PROPOSALS SHELVED—DANGER OF INDIAN SITUATION—PETITION OF 1882—1883—1884—HERALD'S COMMENT ON THE ARRIVAL OF RIEL—RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE HALFBREEDS RESULTING IN THE COMING OF RIEL—ANDRÉ'S LETTER TO RIEL—RIEL'S REPLY TO THE DELEGATION—RIEL'S POLICY OF 1884—THE BILL OF RIGHT—AGITATION CONDUCTED BY THE FARMERS' UNION—GENERAL DISCONTENT DESCRIBED AND EXPLAINED BY CANON NEWTON—EXPECTATION OF A RISING—EXTRAORDINARY STATEMENT OF SECRETARY OF STATE—THE MAIL'S CRITICISM OF THE GOVERNMENT—OFFICIAL TELEGRAMS DESPATCHED IMMEDIATELY BEFORE THE OUTBREAK.

The rebellion of 1885 arose chiefly from causes the same as or similar to those that brought about the rising of 1869 and 1870: delay in recognizing the rights of Halfbreeds in connection of the extinguishment of the Indian title to the soil; uneasiness consequent upon the unexplained policy of the authorities entrusted with the surveying of the lands; and the total neglect of formal protests entered by the aggrieved parties.

Under the Manitoba Act of 1870 a large area in the new Province was set apart to be divided among the Halfbreeds and by subsequent legislation it was provided that Halfbreed heads of families should receive scrip for 160 acres apiece. At the time the census was taken to form a basis for the issue of this scrip many Red River Halfbreeds were absent or resident in the Territories, and were therefore not included: manifestly, however, their rights were as valid and binding as were those of their brethren in Manitoba.



CHARMING
RESIDENTIAL
SECTION



5TH AVENUE LOOKING NORTH



SECTION OF SPADINA COLLEGE STREET



IDYLWYLD
SASKATOON



RIVER VIEW — SASKATOON

The question did not become urgent in the North West at a very early date. However, in May, 1873, we find John Fisher and a number of other Halfbreeds in the Territories petitioning through Lieutenant-Governor Morris for equitable land grants in extinguishment of their Indian rights. In 1874 Mr. John McKay, of Prince Albert (brother of the Honorable James McKay, of Fort Garry,) informed the North West Council that at Prince Albert there were already between 300 and 400 English Halfbreeds, who, like the French Halfbreeds of St. Laurent on the south branch of the Saskatchewan, were exceedingly anxious to have the land question settled. In the same year the Reverend Father Decorby, missionary at Lake Qu'Appelle, wrote Mr. Laird, then Minister of the Interior, regarding the anxiety of the Halfbreeds in that locality lest they should be disturbed in their holdings, and about the same time thirty-one of the latter petitioned Lieutenant-Governor Morris in the same regard. In 1876 Inspector James Walker, N.W.M.P., wrote Mr. Laird regarding the disputes and dissatisfaction arising from the unsettled condition of the land question among the settlers at Prince Albert Mission, which then had about 150 families. In 1877, forty-three Halfbreeds at Blackfoot Crossing presented an address to Lieutenant-Governor Laird imploring assistance with a view to maintaining themselves by agriculture. So far, however, the agitation was somewhat sporadic. There was but little interference with the Métis of the Territories in early days, but with the gradual influx of white settlers and the disappearance of the buffalo, the necessity of pressing their claims became evident. Accordingly, as long ago as 1878 a more formal agitation took shape.

On February 1, 1878, the Halfbreeds of St. Laurent had a public meeting, at which Gabriel Dumont was president and Alexander Fisher secretary. It was declared in the memorial signed on this occasion:

"That the sudden transition from prairie to agricultural life, necessitated by the rapid disappearance of the buffalo, and the ordinance respecting hunting, of the North West Council, have brought your petitioners to their last resources and forced them to apply to the Federal Government for assistance in agricultural implements and seed grain, like assistance having been granted to certain foreign immigrants in the Province of Manitoba. Those instruments, besides being extremely scarce, are only sold here at prices so exorbitant that it is impossible for your petitioners to secure them; if, therefore, the Government were unable to grant this help many of your petitioners, however willing they might be to devote themselves to farming, would be compelled to betake themselves to the prairie at the risk of infringing the ordinance providing for the protection of the buffalo, however good it may be, since the time during which hunting is permitted is too short and the buffalo too scarce to enable them to lay in a sufficient supply and provide for their own needs and those of their families during the rest of the year."

They further petitioned:

"That there be granted to all halfbreeds who have not participated in the distribution of scrip and lands in the Province of Manitoba, like scrip and lands as in that province."

In the preceding month a petition to the same effect had been signed by the French Canadians and Halfbreeds of St. Albert.

In reply to Mr. Laird's letter forwarding these pathetic appeals, the Honorable David Mills wrote a curt refusal as regards aid in commencing agriculture, but promised that a fair survey and allotment of lands would be made in due time.

In June a petition signed by 151 persons was forwarded from Prince Albert asking for a census of Halfbreeds and old settlers "with a view to apportioning to those not already included in the census of Manitoba their just allotment of land and scrip."

A petition analogous in character to those referred to above, and bearing 269 signatures was presented from the Halfbreeds of the Cypress Hills in the same year.

A resolution in the same connection was passed by the North West Council on August 2, and on September 30, Lieutenant-Governor Laird wrote the Ottawa Authorities to "urge upon the Dominion Government the necessity of taking early action with respect to the claims set forth." About the same time a deputation of Halfbreeds waited upon the Lieutenant-Governor at Duck Lake to enquire what reply had been received to their petitions.

In December Mr. Dennis, Deputy Minister of the Interior, presented to his Minister a very long memorandum urging "that it is expedient with as little delay as possible to deal with the claims to consideration preferred by the Halfbreeds of the North West Territories." He proposed to offer the Halfbreeds certain inducements to settle on land, and to teach them to farm, especially to raise cattle, and of this plan he says:

"The immediate effect would be, assuming that the Halfbreeds themselves are willing to give it a trial, that we should have the whole of this element in sympathy with the Government in dealing with the plain tribes of Indians. In this way we should attract to our side a moral power which in the present critical relations of the various tribes of Indians towards each other and towards the Government, would prove of the greatest value to the Dominion. . . . The undersigned regards the state of affairs in the Territories in relation to the Indians and Halfbreeds as calling for the serious consideration of the Government in view of additional complications which are not unlikely to arise, owing to the presence on our soil of large numbers of armed Indians, refugees for the time being from the seat of war in the adjoining territory. He is of opinion that further means should be adopted to cultivate and maintain relations with the Indian and Halfbreed populations calculated to attach them to us, and to convince them that

the Government is desirous of fulfilling its obligations to them in the utmost good faith."

Mr. Dennis then suggests a scheme of industrial schools, and closes thus:

"The undersigned respectfully requests for the whole question discussed in this memorandum the early consideration of the Minister of the Interior, in order, if thought desirable, that a measure should be prepared, embodying such policy as may be decided upon in good time for the ensuing session of Parliament."

In consequence of these representations Mr. N. F. Davin was appointed a Commissioner and Colonel Dennis' memorandum was forwarded for the consideration of Archbishop Taché, Bishop McLean and Governor Laird.

On January 29, 1879, Archbishop Taché replied in a very long letter:

"A liberal policy on the part of the Government would attract to its side a moral and physical power which in the present critical relations of the various tribes of Indians towards each other and towards the Government would prove of the greatest value to the Dominion. On the other hand, the Halfbreed element in dissatisfaction would form a standing menace to the peace and prosperity of the Territories. There is no doubt that the state of affairs in the Territories in relation to the Indians and Halfbreeds is calling for the serious consideration of the Government, and measures should be adopted to cultivate and maintain relations with the Halfbreed populations calculated to attract them to us.

"The formidable Indian question has not yet arisen in our midst, owing largely to the influence of the Halfbreed element. The disappearance of the buffalo and especially the extension of the settlers into the Indian country, are preparing difficulties which may be avoided, I hope, but which would otherwise involve such terrible and expensive results that it is the duty of all the friends of the Government and of the country to do all in their power to prevent such misfortune.

"The result depends in a great measure on the way the Halfbreeds would be treated. Friendly disposed, they will mightily contribute to the maintenance of peace; dissatisfied, they would not only add to the difficulty, but render the settlement of the country the next thing to an impossibility.

"The Halfbreeds are a highly sensitive race; they keenly resent injury or insult, and daily complain on that point. In fact, they are daily humiliated with regard to their origin by the way they are spoken of, not only in newspapers, but also in official and semi-official documents. . . .

"It is desirable that the Halfbreed question should be decided upon without any further delay. The requisite legislation ought to be passed in the coming session of the Legislature. Immediately afterwards inspectors ought to be appointed, and I would particularly recommend Mr. Angus McKay as one of the inspectors. . . .

"There is no doubt the difficulties increase with delay. . . ."

The replies of Bishop McLean and the Honorable Mr. Laird were much to the same effect, though as to details of policy there were naturally dif-

ferences of opinion among the various gentlemen engaged in evolving a solution to the problem.

In the *Saskatchewan Herald* of March 24, 1879, reference is made to a rumor that Louis Riel was to come in the summer with a large number of French Halfbreeds from the Red and Pembina Rivers to make settlements along the Saskatchewan.

In May, 1879, a resolution was passed empowering the authorities of the Department of the Interior "To satisfy any claims existing in connection with the extinguishment of the Indian title preferred by Halfbreeds, resident in the North West Territories outside the limits of Manitoba, on the 13th day of July, 1870, by granting land to such persons to such extent, and on such terms and considerations as may be deemed expedient."

In December of the same year Judge Richardson was in Ottawa and approved of the scheme suggested by Colonel Dennis in his memorandum. Six weeks later he again wrote Colonel Dennis, in part, in the following terms:

"I may be permitted to express the opinion that opportunities present themselves for removing the dissatisfaction existing among these people, and securing their good-will towards the Government, because: (1) Their former occupation as hunters is gone; (2) they are as a class destitute. A further reason for urging, as I respectfully do, early action, is that they are scattered among the Indians and lately subjected to the evil influences of leading spirits of the Manitoba troubles of 1870, who, during the past season have been traversing the country doing, at least, no good."

On February 23, 1880, a meeting was held at Duck Lake at which Father André, in a speech widely reported in the press, admitted that the Halfbreeds had grievances requiring redress. In the spring of the same year the Halfbreeds of Manitoba Village, North West Territories, signed a petition setting forth the general demands.

On April 3 Mr. W. L. Orde, Indian Agent, Battleford, wrote that a credible report was prevalent that Riel was then agitating among the Halfbreeds, Sioux and Crow Indians.

On the 19th of May, 1880, Mr. Thomas MacKay, of Prince Albert, transmitted to the Minister of the Interior a petition enclosed in the following letter:

"I herewith forward you a petition from the halfbreeds of Edmonton and Prince Albert, North West Territories. As we have no representative for the North West Territories through whom we could make out wants known, the petition is forwarded direct to you. Trusting it shall receive your early and special attention——"

The petition was signed by one hundred and two names. On July 10, 1880, Mr. MacKay's letter was acknowledged.

In the summer of 1881 a like petition to the Governor-General with one

hundred and twelve signatures was presented by the Halfbreeds of Qu'Appelle. In June, Mr. Lawrence Clarke, Member for Lorne, presented to the North West Council a memorial couched in the following words:

"The undersigned has the honor to represent: That a feeling of dissatisfaction and discontent exists among the Halfbreed element of the North West Territories.

"That such a feeling has arisen from what these Halfbreeds consider a disregard of their rights, and in the opinion of many whose standing in the country gives such an opinion weight, has, to some extent at least, increased the difficulties encountered by the Dominion Government in their dealings with the Indians, between whom and the whites the Halfbreeds form a distinct class, possessing, as a rule, great influence over the Indians.

"That the Halfbreeds have always been recognized as possessing rights in the same soil, subject to which the Government accepted the transfer of the Territories, and while ample provision has been made for those resident in Manitoba on the 15th of July, 1870, nothing has been done towards extinguishing that portion of the Indian title to lands and territories outside the Province of Manitoba, as originally formed by the Act of 1870.

"The undersigned further draws attention to the fact that, by law, the Halfbreeds are excluded from the benefits conferred upon the Indians.

"That the undersigned has been given to understand several petitions from various quarters have been presented to the Dominion Government on the subject of the Halfbreeds particularly referred to, but no notice taken thereof.

"That the undersigned knows that a considerable portion of these Halfbreeds were and are still residents of the electoral district of Lorne, and feels it, as the electoral representative of that district, his duty to bring under notice their grievances in the hope that some action may be taken at an early date towards removing what seems to be just cause for complaint.

"The undersigned recommends that, through your Honor in the Council, the attention of His Excellency be respectfully drawn to the subject, and he be memorialised to direct the attention of his ministers to the position of the Halfbreeds, who at the transfer to Canada were, and still are, residents of the North West Territories, and have not become parties to Indian treaties, and the taking of such steps as may lead to a speedy adjustment of the grievances they labor under."

On June 14, 1881, the Lieutenant-Governor transmitted a copy of this memorial to the Government, adding:

"I was requested by a resolution in Council, passed on the 10th inst., to transmit copies thereof to be laid before His Excellency the Governor-General, and to express the hope that His Excellency may be pleased to draw the attention of His Ministers to the grievances complained of.

"I trust you will have the goodness at an early day to bring these subjects to which these memorials refer under the consideration of His Excellency, the Governor-General. . . . Apart from the representations in the memorial in question, I am aware that serious disputes are arising in the Prince Albert, St. Laurent and Duck Lake settlements regarding claims for

lands, and I would therefore respectfully urge that, in so far as it may be consistent with the policy of the Dominion Government, the prayer of the memorials may receive early consideration."

On receipt of these papers the Deputy Minister made up a file which contained his memorandum of December, 1878, the letter of Archbishop Taché, the letter of Bishop McRae, the letter of Bishop McLean, the letter of Mr. Laird, the letter of Colonel Richardson, the memorial of Mr. Clarke, and the letter of Governor Laird, and he laid it before Sir David MacPherson, then Acting Minister of the Interior, but nothing came of it. Though his responsible ministers and advisors could not be stirred to consider the grievances of the Métis, the Marquis of Lorne, Governor-General, who visited the North West Territories in September of this year, clearly recognized the importance of contentment among the Halfbreeds, and expressed himself as follows:

"In cementing the friendship which, thank God, has reigned between the whites and the red men, the Métis has been the valued confidant, as he is the brother of both. He has aided in the perfect understanding which exists."

While the *Saskatchewan Herald* and other newspapers from time to time denied that any real danger of an Indian rising at this time existed, serious trouble with the Indians was, as a matter of fact, narrowly averted in June, 1878. The *Herald* reports that an Indian violently assaulted Instructor Craig, engaged in issuing rations on Lucky Man's reserve, and that Superintendent Crozier, upon visiting the reserve with about thirty police, found the Indians holding their annual Thirst Dance and in a high state of excitement. He considered it advisable to remove the cattle and provisions belonging to the Government from Lucky Man's reserve to that of Poundmaker, where he fortified himself, sending to Battleford for additional men and ammunition. Next day Crozier despatched a messenger to the Indians,—who had sent their women and children away and hung out their medicine bag—asking them if they intended to give up the men he had come to arrest. Some reply was received, whereupon Major Crozier, unarmed and unaccompanied by anyone save an interpreter, visited the Indian camp and held a council with the chiefs. Next morning he left the camp again, having received a promise from the Indians that they would come down at nine o'clock with the prisoner. As they did not do so he again visited the camp, where he found that the advice of their responsible leaders was having little effect upon the excited braves. Poundmaker addressed the Indians, and said, in effect, that as he found his men unwilling to yield up the prisoner, he would deliver himself up to the police. He accordingly left for the barracks in company with Big Bear and two or three other Indians. The original culprit presently arose and told his version of the fracas, and four men

were ordered by Crozier to arrest him. "Then ensued," says the *Herald*, "a scene of almost indescribable confusion and uproar, many of the Indians crying out, 'Now is the time to shoot,' while others implored them to wait until the police fired the first shot. In the *melée* two policemen were overpowered and disarmed. Had a revolver or rifle accidentally gone off in the scuffle there is no telling what might have been the result."

The prisoner was ultimately lodged safely in the Police guard room, but the whole episode showed how easily a serious Indian outbreak might be precipitated. When Crozier's messenger had come to Battleford, rifles were issued to volunteers. An offer of the assistance of fifty armed men was also telegraphed from Saskatoon.

After this affair it was thought that the authorities should organize effective volunteer companies in every settlement. Some such companies had been established a few years earlier, but the Government refused them uniforms. The settlers considered a uniform essential, believing that it was as impressive to the savages as were the rifles themselves. However, nothing was done, and the companies were practically disbanded and their rifles lost to the authorities.

All through these years frequent letters regarding Halfbreed claims were being transmitted to Ottawa by private citizens and public officials, such as Mr. John Mackay, of Prince Albert, Bishop Grandin, Hon. Mr. Ryan, Stipendiary Magistrate, Inspector James Walker of the Mounted Police, and others, without effect. Mr. George Duck, Dominion Lands Agent at Prince Albert, wrote on March 11, regarding the possibility of resurveying the land in the vicinity of St. Laurent in accordance with the way it had actually been taken up by the settlers resident upon it. In accordance with well recognized precedent, this letter was left unanswered for a little over six months. Then Mr. A. Burgess, on behalf of the Minister of the Interior, replied in the negative (September 21, 1882). Meantime, the following petition had been forwarded to Ottawa. While it does not differ materially from many others of which we have been speaking, it deserves the reader's careful consideration:

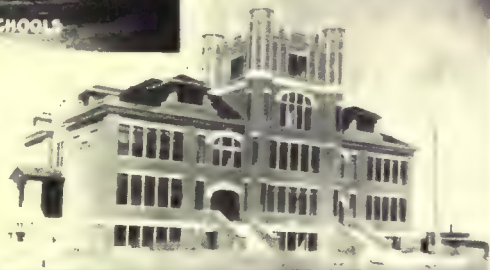
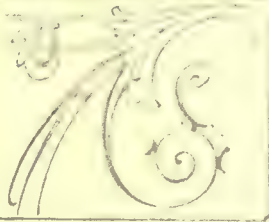
"St. Antoine de Padou, South Saskatchewan, September 4, 1882.
"To the Right Honorable Sir John A. MacDonald,
"Minister of the Interior,
"Ottawa, Ont.

"Sir:

"We, the undersigned French Halfbreeds, for the most part settled on the west bank of the Saskatchewan in the district of Prince Albert, North West Territories, hereby approach you, in order to set forth with confidence the painful position in which we are placed, with reference to the lands occupied by us in this portion of the Territory, and in order to call the



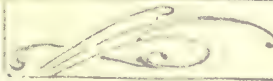
ONE OF THE SEVEN HIGHLY MODERN SCHOOLS



KING EDWARD SCHOOL



STUDENTS HALL - PROVINCIAL UNIVERSITY



PRINCESS SCHOOL



UNIVERSITY COLLEGE BUILDING

EDUCATIONAL BUILDINGS SASKATOON

attention of the Government to the question which causes us so much anxiety.

"Compelled, most of us, to abandon the prairie, which can no longer furnish us the means of subsistence, we came in large numbers, during the course of the summer, and settled on the south branch of the Saskatchewan. Pleased with the land and country, we set ourselves actively to work clearing the land both in the hope of sowing next spring and also to prepare our houses for the winter now rapidly approaching. The surveyed lands being already occupied or sold, we were compelled to occupy lands not yet surveyed, being ignorant, for the most part, also, of the regulations of the Government respecting Dominion lands. Great was our astonishment and perplexity when we were notified that when the lands are surveyed we shall be obliged to pay \$2.00 an acre to the Government if our lands are included in the odd-numbered sections. We desire, moreover, to keep close together, in order more easily to secure a school and a church. We are poor people, and cannot pay for our land without utter ruin and losing the fruits of our labor and seeing our lands pass into the hands of strangers, who will go to the land office at Prince Albert and pay the amount fixed by the Government. In our anxiety we appeal to your sense of justice as Minister of the Interior and head of the Government, and beg you to reassure us speedily, by directing that we shall not be disturbed on our lands, and that the Government grant us the privilege of considering us as occupants of even-numbered sections, since we have occupied these lands in good faith. Having so long held this country as its masters, and so often defended it against the Indians at the price of our blood, we consider it not asking too much to request that the Government allow us to occupy our lands in peace and that exception be made to its regulations by making to the Halfbreeds of the North West free grants of land. We also pray that you would direct that the lots be surveyed along the river, ten chains in width by two miles in depth, this mode of division being the long-established usage of the country. This would render it more easy for us to know the limits of our several lots."

On October 13, 1882, Lindsay Russell answered briefly on Sir John's behalf:

"In reply I am directed to request you to inform the petitioners that when the proper time arises the case of each *bona fide* settler will be dealt with on its merits; but as regards the surveying of the lands in question, that all lands in the North West Territories will be surveyed according to the system now in force."

In the preceding August, Mr. Dewdney had addressed a letter to Sir John Macdonald in which he spoke as follows regarding the Métis claims:

"I would respectfully suggest that either Mr. Commissioner Walsh or Mr. Inspector Pearce be instructed to examine into and adjust them on an equitable basis, and that without delay, as the Halfbreeds interested are very uneasy about their holdings, and may be looked upon as the pioneers of the districts."

On January 16, 1883, Father André, of St. Laurent, again laid the case clearly before the Minister of the Interior in the following letter:

"Sir:

"I write you for the purpose of calling your attention to the painfully embarrassing position in which the French Halfbreeds settled on the southern banks of the Saskatchewan are placed.

"According to an old custom in Manitoba, they took up their lots ten chains wide in front by two miles in depth, trusting that the Government, acting on the rule already established, would survey these lands into lots ten chains in width by two miles in depth.

"Their surprise may be imagined when they say the land along the Saskatchewan measured off into squares of forty chains without any heed being given to their just claims and protests.

"What is the result of this abnormal division? Our Halfbreeds are overwhelmed with difficulties on account of their lands and this proceeding will now sow division and discord among them, and will render the Government odious in their eyes, they considering it as guilty of a gross injustice towards them.

"This survey lamentably mixes things; some lose their land, which is being grabbed by their neighbors; others see the fruits of their industry and their improvements dissipated.

"This unhappy state of things would easily be made to cease by giving ear to their just claims. And how can this be refused them when you granted a similar favor to Prince Albert? All the lands along the branches of the Saskatchewan have been surveyed in this manner; everybody was satisfied, and not the least complaint was heard about the survey.

"I cannot understand, sir, why your surveyors should have two different methods of parcelling the public domain; one for Prince Albert ten chains in width by two miles in depth, which we approve, and which we claim as a right, seeing you have granted it to Prince Albert; the other, of blocking out the land in squares of forty chains without taking the river nor location of the settlers into consideration. The latter method we protest solemnly against, all of us, and humbly pray, sir, that you order a new survey, and thus validate our requests.

"Already the people of this colony have addressed to you a petition on this subject, but the answer given under your directions is not one calculated to inspire them with the hope that you would right the wrong of which they complain.

"Knowing the difficult situation in which our people are placed, I have resolved to make another effort, which I trust will bring happy results, and I dare hope that you will accede to their just requests, and no later than next summer order a new survey of the land on the south branch of the Saskatchewan.

"By your kindly concurrence in this matter you will do an act of justice to our people and render them a service for which they will ever be thankful."

Lieutenant Dewdney wrote to Honorable Mr. MacPherson, March 19, 1883:

"The sooner the claims of these Halfbreeds are determined, the better, as a number of them are *bona fide* settlers and deserve consideration."

On January 19, 1880, Father Végreville, of St. Louis de Langevin, wrote Mr. A. M. Burgess as follows:

"I myself have several times got Mr. Duck, D. L. S., of St. Albert, to write to Ottawa, and in every case without success; so that I myself lost all hope, and several parties went away, some of them selling their lands for a nominal price, and others abandoning them without any indemnity. In February, 1883, Reverend Father Leduc and Mr. Maloney were deputed to set forth our grievances and present our claim to the Government. They were promised, in writing, that the lands we occupied should be surveyed as river lots ten chains in front by two miles in depth, and that the survey should be made in the following autumn (1883).

"The autumn has passed, winter is advancing. What has become of those promises? Has some surveyor been entrusted with the work and failed to perform his duty? To you, sir, we put these questions, and this is also, sir, what I ask you today.

"I do not put these questions merely in my own name or merely in the name of the two missions I have founded on the right bank of the South Saskatchewan. I repeat what Father Leduc and Mr. Maloney said to the members of the Government in the winter of 1883; I repeat to you what our settlers say to the land agent at Prince Albert; I am the faithful interpreter of the whole population.

"Be good enough, sir, to consider the consequences of a painful delay. The settlers have made settlements and are working them day by day, without knowing where the lines of their future properties are to pass. These inflexible limits, right lines, and parallels, will traverse fields, pass through houses, cut off farm houses from the fields connected with them. This must inevitably occur where parties have already put up buildings, and wherever buildings are erected until the survey is made. What serious hardships, what deplorable results must flow from all this! Three-fourths of these miseries might have been avoided had the survey been made when asked for and promised. . . . If I were on the spot I could get this letter signed by heads of families representing a population of two thousand souls."

St. Louis de Langevin was settled in the years 1873, 1874 and 1875. The settlers had petitioned the Minister of the Interior at Ottawa in 1880. On November 19, 1883, they sent another petition in part as follows:

"Finally Father Leduc, who had been sent as a delegate to Ottawa by the people of Edmonton and St. Albert, showed us the answer of the Government promising a special survey for all the located lands on the Saskatchewan. Since then we have waited in vain for the new survey."

In the following year, 1884, Father André laid before the Lieutenant-Governor in Council the following specific example of the kind of wrongs he and his people were subject to, through the neglect of the Ottawa authorities:

"I beg your indulgence in being obliged to make you acquainted with a grievance of mine, which, however, will give you an idea of the state of things calling for a prompt remedy. I hold at Duck Lake a tract of land of about 200 acres, of which I have been in peaceful possession for over seven years. The land was fenced in and cost me a good deal of money and was always respected as the Catholic Mission's property at Duck Lake. I was one of the first settlers at that place, and through my exertions the settlement increased rapidly and nobody ever troubled me in my lawful possession of that land until last March, when a man of the name of J. Kelly jumped my claim, and, notwithstanding my protestations, claimed the land as his own, and put the frame of a house upon it, depriving me, in that manner, of half my property. This is not the only occurrence of the kind at Duck Lake."

In the *Herald* of July 12, 1884, a further warning of impending trouble was to be found in the form of an editorial regarding Louis Riel, who by this time had acted on a formal invitation to return to Canada. Said the *Herald*: "It is a suspicious circumstance that immediately following his arrival in the country, threats of armed rebellion should be indulged in, and that stories of the coöperation of the Indians should be put in circulation as they now are."

The circumstances attending the return of the Métis leader in 1870 must now be considered in some detail. At a meeting of Halfbreeds in the summer of 1884 the following among other resolutions were passed:

"That the French and English natives of the North West (those that have not participated in the Manitoba Lands Grant) want free patent for the land they possess and occupy at the present date, without any prejudice to any more grants to which they are entitled for the extinction of their Indian title to the lands of the North West.

"That the natives, French and English, protest against the dues and charges on timber and forest until their rights within mentioned be recognised and granted by the Dominion Government.

"That the management of the Indians such as Indian agencies, instructorships or other offices for the benefit of the Indians in the North West Territories be entrusted to natives, as they are more familiar with the habits, character and wants of those Indians, and to prevent any regrettable occurrences such as have happened in the past.

"That the French and English natives of the North West, knowing that Louis Riel has made a bargain with the Government of Canada, in 1870, which said bargain is contained mostly in what is known as the 'Manitoba Act,' and this meeting not knowing the contents of said 'Manitoba Act,' we have thought it advisable that a delegation be sent to Louis Riel, and have his assistance to bring all the matters referred to in the above resolutions in a proper shape and form before the Government of Canada, so that our just demands be granted."

Accordingly a delegation consisting of Gabriel Dumont, James Isbister,

an educated English Halfbreed, Moise Onelette, and M. Dumas visited Riel in Montana.

Moreover, Father André, an influential missionary among the Half-breeds, had sent Riel the following letter :

"My dear Mr. Riel: The opinion here is so prominent in your favor, and longs for you so ardently, that it would be a great disappointment to the people of Prince Albert if you did not come. So you see you absolutely must come. You are the most popular man in the country, and, with the exception of four or five persons, all the world impatiently expects you. I have only this to say—Come; come quickly. With kind remembrances, I am,
A. ANDRÉ."

Riel's acceptance of the Halfbreeds' invitation was published in the Canadian newspapers, and the Government was urged to prevent his return. However, he arrived in Saskatchewan about July 1, 1884. Throughout the summer and fall he addressed many meetings, one of these being held in Prince Albert and very largely attended by citizens of all classes. Riel himself was advising patience and moderate measure, and the cause he had championed was approved by practically every one in the country. No unconstitutional measures were advocated or expected, except possibly in the case of a few fire brands. One of these is stated to have said at the Prince Albert meeting, "The best day for Manitoba was when Louis Riel took up arms there, and the best day for the North West will be when Louis Riel takes up arms here."

In September, under Riel's guidance, a "Bill of Rights" was adopted and forwarded to the Federal Government. Its seven provisions or demands were as follows:

"First: The subdivision into Provinces of the North West Territories.

"Second: The Halfbreeds to receive the same grants and other advantages as the Manitoba Halfbreeds.

"Third: Patents to be issued at once to the colonists in possession.

"Fourth: The sale of half a million acres of Dominion lands, the proceeds to be applied to the establishment, in the Halfbreed settlement, of schools, hospitals, and such like institutions, and to the equipment of the poorer Halfbreeds with seed, grain and implements.

"Fifth: The reservation of a hundred townships of swamp land for distribution among the children of Halfbreeds during 120 years.

"Sixth: A grant of at least \$1,000 for the maintenance of an institution to be conducted by the nuns in each Halfbreed settlement.

"Seventh: Better provision for the support of the Indians."

These demands the Government received with absolute silence.

It must not be thought that serious grievances were confined to the Halfbreed party. For two years back the Farmers' Unions had been conducting a serious agitation for the redress of offensive land laws and other alleged

grievances. As indicating the dangerous form this agitation assumed, the following letter to the Secretary of the Union will be read with interest.

"June 18, 1884.

"George Purvis, Esq.,
"Sec. Farmers' Union,
"Brandon.

"Dear Sir:

"I think there has not been, since the commencement of the agitation, a better time to strike than the present; everything seems ripe for it. I am certain that seven-eighths of the people of Winnipeg are in our favor, and I am certain four or five hundred good men will accomplish our object without any difficulty whatever. The fact of the matter is this: We have nothing to resist us. The military here is nothing more than a pack of boys, and we have easy access to the store rooms. We had a small meeting tonight, and the parties present were unanimous in making a strike at once. Now I think that if we delay we will only be losing ground, and the thing will never be accomplished. Would like to know the possible number of men who can be got from the country to assist in the scheme. I hope you will come to some definite conclusion at your council meeting.

"Believe me; I am in perfect sympathy with you, and I am ready at any time to take part in the more active part of the business and see if we can't get the people their rights. Kindly let me hear from you at your earliest convenience, and oblige. Yours fraternally,

"MACK HOWE, J. G."

The Reverend Canon Newton, a well-known and highly respected missionary, in his book entitled *Twenty Years on the Saskatchewan*, makes it clear that deep and well founded resentment was prevalent in the most loyal circles.

Some of the causes of the discontent almost universal among the inhabitants of the North West may be learned from such a note as the following, in which Canon Newton records a personal experience:

"On my land I had a beautiful grove of spruce firs, and being fond of trees, I spent time and money in clearing the grove. Once, on returning home, I found persons had, in my absence, taken down the fence, cut down some of the trees, scattered the waste around and carried the timber away. Presently I found the man who had done this wrong, and told him not to come on such business again. Instead of being ashamed, he told me he should do as he pleased with the grove and that he would not hesitate to take it all away. When I complained to the only civil authorities we had, they replied that they had no instructions about crown lands and timber limits, and so refused to give me protection. . . . Just then there was a small band of American outlaws and others who stole horses and cattle from whom I suffered and could get no protection.

"In the years following the relinquishment of Hudson Bay rights, the question of the ownership of any kind was exceedingly difficult and uncertain. The Canadian Government was far off and did not seem to know

that it had any responsibilities, or that people situated as we were could possibly suffer any inconvenience.

"Surveys were not made for several years, and no one knew where his homestead was or what land would be allowed him when the surveys were made.

"There seemed to be no recognised law except the decision of a Magistrate, and no one could tell what this would be or the code that might rule him. There was, in fact, no law, although there was supposed to be a Government. We were not in Ontario, or Quebec, or Manitoba. We were in an undefined territory, subject to the man who happened to be in office, and he was a great distance from his superiors and found no difficulty in shielding himself behind his own reports. If a man took a pair of stockings from the Hudson's Bay Company's store he was quickly arrested and punished, but if he trespassed on land, and cut down timber of great worth to the settler who had fenced it and protected it from prairie fires, the settler was informed that he had no property in the soil or in the trees. Outside the circle of Government men a Committee of Public Safety was instituted (Edmonton), and it seemed necessary, if the commonest order was to be observed. The lawless saw that there was very little to restrain them and they acted accordingly. England was a long way off and Canada lay between and effectually hindered the cry for justice reaching the Motherland. If an able Commissioner had been sent from England to the Indians, Halfbreeds and settlers of the North West during the three years preceding the events of 1885 there would in all probability have been no outbreak. Unrest seemed to be in the air, as when a storm is brewing, and the clouds are preparing for a furious tempest, yet no one knew where the centre of the storm would be or when it would burst."

Very many warnings were offered to the Government in addition to those that have been enumerated in the foregoing pages, but in vain. To be sure, as will subsequently be pointed out, those best fitted to judge of the trend of events did not till the very last believe that an armed rising would occur. Nevertheless, the possibility and probability were freely discussed on all hands. In his book entitled *Trooper and Red Skin* (page 103), Mr. John C. Donkin, formerly of the Royal North West Mounted Police, speaks of the situation of affairs in the early spring of 1885 in the following terms:

"Everything now was approaching a crisis. Indeed, we of the rank and file used to talk in quite a familiar way, in the barrack-room, of the coming rebellion, as a matter of course. We even had the date fixed. I remember our corporal singing out from his bed, 'Well, boys, old Riel will be starting in on the 18th.' (The speaker had his thigh broke by a shot at Duck Lake on the 26th.) A civilian—an Englishman—who had been a guest for some little time of our commanding officer, came over to take his leave of me in the early part of March. 'Good-bye, old man,' he said, 'I want to get through before this rebellion begins.'"

Apparently, however, the authorities at Ottawa had neither ears nor eyes, nor any knowledge of the long period of agitation, petition and ex-



LANDS TITLE OFFICE — BATTLEFORD



POST OFFICE — BATTLEFORD



COURT HOUSE — BATTLEFORD



1st AVENUE — BATTLEFORD



MAIN STREET — BATTLEFORD

postulation that had passed since any steps had been taken by the Government to inquire into western complaint and to remove their causes. On the 6th of June, 1885, the Secretary of State was bold enough to say in a public letter:

"If the Halfbreeds had serious complaints against the Canadian Government, the ordinary methods of petition was open to them as to every free citizen. They have not availed themselves of it."

In view of the facts set forth in the preceding pages of this chapter, this ministerial utterance involved a most damaging confession.

When the cloud broke the Government had practically no defenders. In the *Toronto Mail* of July 8, 1885, the following editorials appeared:

"It has never been denied by the *Mail* that the Métis had good ground for grievances.

"By the passage of the Manitoba Act of 1870 old Canada had formally and frankly recognised the rights of the Halfbreeds of that province to share in the Indian title, and it follows as a matter of course that if they had rights in the soil of Manitoba, those of them dwelling in the region beyond had rights in the soil there.

"This admits of no dispute.

"It must have been well understood by Parliament in 1870; at all events the records show that the Government of the day recognised the point, though a settlement was not then asked for.

"In spite of this recognition, however, and of the manifest and unanswerable logic of the Halfbreed case, the department for years had steadily refused to move in the matter.

"It was a tangled question; it would involve the appointment of a commission and no end of trouble. St. Albert and St. Laurent were far distant dependencies without political influence; it was a claim that 'would be none the worse for bluemoulding in the pigeon-holes.'

"This was the way in which the officials treated the just demand of the Métis, and we agree with Mr. Blake that their negligence was gross and inexcusable, and contributed to bring about the insurrection.

"Had they had votes, like white men, or if, like the Indians, they had been numerous enough to command respect and overawe red tape, without doubt the wheels of the office would have revolved for them; but, being only Halfbreeds, they were put off with an eternal promise, until patience ceased to be a virtue.

"We repeat again that the departmental system under which such callous and cruel neglect of the rights of this portion of the community was possible was wrong, and should be censured."

Our study of the premonitions of the rebellion may very well close with an examination of the following telegrams received at or sent from the office of the Comptroller of the North West Mounted Police during the three weeks immediately prior to the outbreak.

FROM THE COMMISSIONER: "Regina, March 12, 1885. Just received the following telegram from Gagnon, dated today, from Carlton. Have shown it to Lieutenant-Governor. Halfbreeds excited; move about more than usual, preparing arms. Do not know cause or object of these preparations."

FROM SUPERINTENDENT CROZIER: "Carlton, March 11, 1885. Halfbreeds greatly excited. Reported they threaten attack on Carlton before 16th. Halfbreeds refuse to take freight or employment for Government; will stop all freight coming into country after 16th of this month. Getting arms ready. Leader will not allow people to leave home, as they may be required. Origin of trouble I think because letter received stating Riel not recognised British subject; they expect arms from States. Have ordered twenty-five men from Battleford and one gun to come here at once."

FROM SUPERINTENDENT IRVINE: "Regina, March 14, 1885. Lieutenant-Governor received telegram dated Carlton today from Crozier, saying Halfbreed rebellion may break out any moment and joined by Indians and asking that his division be largely increased. Would recommend that at least one hundred men be sent at once before roads break up. Please instruct."

TO SUPERINTENDENT IRVINE: "Ottawa, March 15, 1885. Start for the north as quickly as possible with all available men up to one hundred. Telegraph marching out state, and report when passing telegraph station."

FROM SUPERINTENDENT CROZIER: "Duck Lake, March 17, 1885. Our movements and preparation have quieted matters; no cause for alarm. Prince Albert people did splendidly."

FROM SUPERINTENDENT DEAN: "Regina, March 19, 1885. The following received from Superintendent Crozier. Rumor tonight Indians being tampered with. Large force should be sent without delay that arrest may be made if necessary to prevent further and continuous trouble from Riel and followers. Militia arms from Battleford will be here in a day or two."

SUPERINTENDENT CROZIER: "Carlton, March 21, 1885. Rebels seized storehouse south branch, Lash, Indian agent, and other prisoners. Threatened attack on Carlton tonight or tomorrow. Rebels by last report assembled at Batoche's crossing."

In treating of the discontent in the Territories and of the attitude of the Federal authorities in relation to the grievances of the white and Halfbreed settlers, I have endeavored to present merely a fair, plain and unvarnished statement of the evidence available to any serious student of Canadian History. Even at the risk of tediousness, I have iterated and reiterated the ever recurring attempts unsuccessfully made through a long term of years to obtain the attention of the Government. It would have been easy to present the matter in more alluring literary form, but it was thought wiser with the minimum of personal comment dispassionately to present the outstanding facts of an affair regarding which judgment has frequently been blinded by party prejudice, and to leave each reader to draw his own conclusions.

CHAPTER XX

THE OUTBREAK OF THE REBELLION: BATTLE OF DUCK LAKE

THE THEATRE OF THE REBELLION—RIEL ALIENATES THE CLERGY AND ALL MODERATE MEN—NEVERTHELESS NO REBELLION EXPECTED—LAWRENCE CLARKE'S DISASTROUS INTERVIEW WITH HALFBREEDS—RIEL ORGANIZES PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT—REBELS VERY FEW IN NUMBER. PRINCE ALBERT VOLUNTEERS REINFORCE FORT CARLTON—PART PLAYED BY HILLIARD MITCHELL AND THOMAS MACKAY—SERGEANT STEWART WITH TRAIN OF SLEIGHS TURNED BACK FROM DUCK LAKE BY DUMONT—CROZIER'S INJUDICIOUS SORTIE FROM CARLTON—DESCRIPTION OF DUCK LAKE BATTLE GROUND—JOSEPH MACKAY FIRES FIRST SHOT—CANNON DISABLED—CASUALTIES—CROZIER'S RETREAT—BRAVERY OF VOLUNTEERS—DUMONT'S DESCRIPTION OF THE FIGHT—EVACUATION OF FORT CARLTON—EVENTS IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING—WHY CROZIER MARCHED AGAINST DUMONT—WHY MR. CLARKE'S RESPONSIBILITY HAS BEEN CONCEALED.

If it should so happen that the reader is not entirely familiar with the geography of our prairie Province, it will be worth his while, before proceeding to the story of the rebellion, to turn to the map, and impress upon his memory the relative position of a few important points.

Some forty-two miles east from Regina is the flourishing town of South Qu'Appelle Station, which in rebellion days was known as Troy, or Qu'Appelle Station. Eighteen miles north is Fort Qu'Appelle, nestling in the beautiful valley of the Qu'Appelle River, and the Fishing Lakes, into which the stream here expands.

About two hundred miles due north from Moose Jaw he will find the chief theatre of the rebellion. The city of Prince Albert, then a town of about 700 inhabitants, lies chiefly on the south bank of the North Saskatchewan, about thirty miles west of the Grand Forks. Further up the river, and about forty-two miles away, is Fort Carlton, then the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Mounted Police of this district. Just about opposite Fort Carlton, but on the South Saskatchewan, is Batoche, eighteen miles distant by trail, and between these points lies Duck Lake. Adjacent to Duck Lake and Batoche, and here and there in various parts

of the surrounding districts, he will notice Indian reserves. The next important centre of population to the west will be Battleford, situated where the Battle River flows into the North Saskatchewan. This is about one hundred and seventy-five miles north of the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, upon which, and a little to the east, is Swift Current. Several Indian reserves will be noted about fifteen miles south of Battleford, and others a little west. Some of the latter lie between the Battle River and the Saskatchewan. Following the latter river still further to the west and north, we reach Fort Pitt, near the western boundary of Saskatchewan. Approximately twenty-five miles farther to the northwest, a little stream flows into the Saskatchewan from Frog Lake, a dozen miles distant, adjacent to which are the important reserves, still on the Saskatchewan; and a third of the way across Alberta, is the capital of that Province, Edmonton, and on the main line, almost due south from it, is Calgary.

After this preliminary geographical review, let us now return to Riel, and trace the story of the outbreak of the Rebellion.

During the first months of 1885 a great and deplorable change had taken place in Riel's attitude and policy. Many loyal sympathizers had refused their support to the Halfbreed agitation as soon as the former rebel chief had appeared upon the scene. By the beginning of March, 1885, his increasing violence, fanaticism and egotism had alienated all but a few score French Halfbreeds. While at first representatives of the Catholic clergy had supported Riel and otherwise vigorously championed the undeniable rights of the Halfbreeds, they by this time had entirely withdrawn from the movement. Indeed, the impending insurrection was a protest against their leadership and influence, almost as much as it was against the policy and conduct of the Government. Riel and his friends had practically established a new church and throughout the unhappy events that followed, a naive but genuine religious fanaticism is writ large in the records of their doings.

Most people can be wise after the event, and almost everyone who was not in a position to be acquainted with the facts, afterwards claimed to have known that an armed outbreak was impending. The writer has conversed, however, with many persons who were living in the disturbed regions and who intimately knew practically every man connected with the subsequent rising. These persons are almost unanimous in confessing that right up until the twenty-sixth of March, they fully expected that the trouble would be settled without firing a shot. This also was the impression in the East. On March 16th, the following paragraph appeared in the *Toronto Mail*:

"The report that Riel is inciting rebellion among the Halfbreeds in the Saskatchewan district is started from time to time, emphatic denials from Ottawa producing no effect upon the energetic liar at the other end of the

wire. As a matter of fact, Riel could not create trouble there if he were ever so much inclined, the Halfbreeds being in a hopeless minority, and having too much good sense to attempt violent measures."

On the following day, Acting Indian Agent Lash reported from Carlton:

"I have the honour to state that I visited Duck Lake yesterday, and remained over night in that neighbourhood, and am pleased to report the Indians are all quiet, and not interfering with the Halfbreed movement. The latter are still a little uneasy, but I trust the precautions taken by the police have cooled their ardor, as they are starting on freighting trips, and I am inclined to think their excitement will blow over."

How did it happen that even those in daily and familiar intercourse with the French Halfbreeds did not foresee armed rebellion? There is a reason and, as a generation has elapsed since those troublous days, the truth may now be plainly told.

As a matter of fact, the actual resort to arms was caused by an indiscreet remark of the Honorable Lawrence Clarke. He had long and justly sympathized with the Halfbreeds, and labored earnestly to secure redress for their grievances. Since the arrival of Riel, however, his ardent spirit of loyalty had caused him to withdraw his support. Nevertheless, he still enjoyed high prestige among the Halfbreeds, and even those of their number who distrusted him had a very exalted notion of his influence and familiarity with the counsels of those in high authority. Early in the Spring, Mr. Clarke visited Ottawa. On his return, while driving north from Qu'Appelle to Fort Carlton, he met a group of Halfbreeds who inquired of him what answer the Government was going to make to their petitions. His reply was that the only answer they would get would be bullets, and that, indeed, on his way northward he had passed a camp of 500 policemen who were coming up to capture the Halfbreed agitators. While this incident has not figured prominently in former English accounts of the rebellion, the facts are common property to this day all through the Batoche, Duck Lake and Prince Albert country.

On the seventeenth of March, Riel, addressing a meeting of his excited Halfbreeds, referred to them as his police, and spoke in terms threatening and contemptuous of the Government police who wished to effect his capture. On the following day he and a considerable party of his body guard were riding to St. Laurent, where they intended celebrating a Métis religious festival in honor of St. Joseph, their patron saint. Ostensibly to fire a *fe de joie* on this occasion, many of them had brought their guns. As the cavalcade passed St. Antoine, half a mile from Batoche, they were met by the party of their startled kinsfolk that had just interviewed Mr. Clarke.

Their announcement of an immediately impending attack by the police was like a burning match cast amid tinder. A hasty council was held in which they determined to defend themselves and their leaders to the death.

Those who were not already armed hastened to get weapons, and the excited Halfbreeds turned into a fortress the house of Norbert Dolorme and seized all supplies available in the stores of Messrs. Walters, Baker and Kerr Bros., of St. Laurent. At this juncture Indian Agent Lash, who on the preceding day had written the reassuring report quoted above, unfortunately appeared upon the scene, in consequence of hearing a rumor that the Halfbreed agitators were tampering with the Indians. He was promptly surrounded by an armed mob of about forty Halfbreeds, commanded by Riel and Dumont, who gave orders to take him and his interpreter prisoners, which they remained till released by Middleton's force on May 12th. Mr. Clarke's ill-judged practical joke had suddenly transformed a passing gust of excitement into an *émeute*, which further folly at Fort Carlton was to turn into genuine civil war.

Riel now undertook the organization of a Provisional Government, making Batoche his headquarters. His council he called The Exovitate (a word he himself had coined), and in his subsequent correspondence he assumed the style of "Louis David Riel, Exovede."

Well-informed loyalists, such as J. E. Sinclair, of Prince Albert; the well-known legislator, scout and interpreter, Honorable Thomas MacKay; the Honorable Hilliard Mitchell, and Mr. Louis Marion, a loyal French Halfbreed, who was for some time detained by Riel a prisoner at Batoche, affirm that neither at this time nor later did Riel have more than sixty or seventy Halfbreed supporters really intent upon rebellion. Many others, however, were gradually drawn into the movement against their wishes, by the exercise of intimidation and by shrewd appeals to their racial feelings and religious fanaticism. Others were in arms simply in an instinctive though hopeless effort to defend their homes.

Father Morice and other careful writers have placed the maximum fighting strength of Riel's forces at three hundred and fifty. The affidavits of Messrs. Harold E. Ross, J. B. Lash and John W. Astley, however, declare that by actual count there were well over thirty Halfbreeds and Indians engaged in the Battle of Duck Lake, and it is notorious that many of those subsequently associated with the rebels joined Riel after that event. Rev. Father Moulin, parish priest at Batoche during the rebellion, informs me that on the basis of his personal observations and those of well-informed members of his parish who were present from the start to the end of the insurrection, that at one time Riel had under arms Halfbreeds and Indians to the number of four hundred and sixty. Many of these soon abandoned him, however, so that at the capture of Batoche there remained at the last only ninety. Moreover, it is well known that Riel had occasion to complain bitterly that many of his followers were so half-hearted in their support as to be of little real assistance.

In Commissioner Irvine's report dealing with the operations of the police in connection with the rebellion of 1885, he calls attention to the fact that the first official warning of impending trouble was given by Superintendent Crozier on July 13, 1884. In October a police was formed at Carlton, and the strength of the Northern division was increased to two hundred of all ranks, their number being distributed between Battleford, Carlton, Prince Albert and Fort Pitt.

On March 13th, Superintendent Gagnon telegraphed the Commissioner that a Halfbreed rebellion was liable to break out at any moment, and that large reinforcements were necessary. On the 18th of March the Commissioner accordingly marched from Regina with ninety men. Shortly before reaching the great salt plain, Irvine received a dispatch from Crozier dated the 19th, advising him of the arrest of Indian Agent Lash and others, and of the seizure of various stores by the rebels. He also warned the Commissioner that it was the intention of the rebels to seize any troops coming into the country and to march them to Carlton and from there to Prince Albert.

Major Crozier was at this time in command of the Mounted Police detachment at Fort Carlton. On March 19th, he sent Mr. Joseph MacKay, Jr., to Prince Albert with a dispatch to Captain Moffat, desiring him to enroll eighty volunteers to come to Carlton. At eight o'clock in the morning, a few hours after MacKay's arrival, a mass meeting of the citizens of Prince Albert was held and Captain Moffat read the dispatch. Loyal speeches were delivered by some of the citizens and eighty men were promptly sworn in to go to Fort Carlton. Much excitement and enthusiasm prevailed, though the universal impression was that nothing more than a show of force would prove necessary. At half past two in the afternoon, the Prince Albert volunteers left in sleighs to reinforce Major Crozier. Upon their departure, the remaining men of the town were sworn in as a home guard, and at night sentries were placed on all sides, and scouts sent out to report any approaching danger.

Meantime, Mr. Hilliard Mitchell, whose trading establishment really constituted the hamlet of Duck Lake and who was on friendly terms with the disaffected Halfbreeds, was acting with vigor and courage, in his efforts to effect a peaceable settlement. He kept in close touch with Major Crozier, and also with Riel, whose headquarters he visited no fewer than three times. Indeed, his activity nearly cost him his liberty, and both Riel and Crozier were all but convinced that he was acting as a spy for the other side, and he narrowly escaped arrest in both camps. Riel tried to induce Mr. Mitchell together with a priest bearing the cross to head a procession of the Halfbreeds to Fort Carlton. Upon reaching that place, Mr. Mitchell and the priest were to step aside, and Riel would seize the

Fort. On the Nineteenth, Mr. Mitchell reported to Crozier his interview with Riel, and on the twentieth, he received the following letter from Major Crozier, which clearly shows that, as yet, that officer did not expect that any fighting would really take place.

Carlton, March 20, 1885.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am much obliged to you for the information. It is a great pity that there is so much unnecessary talk and so many absurd rumors about. I will be greatly obliged if you will keep me informed.

I saw Mr. Arkand this morning. I told him of the absurdity of the rumors he mentioned.

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) CROZIER.

Hilliard Mitchell, Esq., Duck Lake.

On the same day, Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Thomas MacKay were sent by Crozier to Batoche in an endeavor to reach some understanding. On this occasion Mr. MacKay was for some time in imminent danger of losing his liberty if not his life. He escaped only by virtue of Mr. Mitchell's influence. Indeed, he was actually tried and sentenced to death by the rebel Council, at the instigation of Riel, who was beside himself with insane rage and excitement. Fortunately, however, some members of the Council were adverse as yet to the shedding of blood, and when Riel withdrew from the Council room, it was agreed to allow the envoys to leave in peace. It was proposed that Riel and Crozier should have a personal interview at an appointed rendezvous, halfway between Batoche and Carlton. Both the Major and Riel preferred, however, to send representatives, and Messrs. Thomas MacKay and Mitchell met two Halfbreed delegates, Charles Nolin and Maxime Lepine. The two latter were armed with the following letters from Riel:

St. Antoine, N. W. Ter., March 21, 1885.

To Major Crozier,

Commander of the Police at Forts Carlton and Battleford.

Major:

The Councillors of the Provisional Government of Saskatchewan have the honour to communicate to you the following conditions of surrender: You will be required to give up completely the situation which the Canadian Government placed you in at Carlton and Battleford, together with all Government properties.

In case of acceptance, you and your men will be set free on your parole of honour to keep the peace. And those who choose to leave the country will be furnished with teams and provisions to reach Qu'Appelle.

In case of non-acceptance, we intend to attack you, when, tomorrow, the Lord's Day is over, and to commence, without delay, a war of extermination upon those who have shown themselves hostile to our rights.

Messrs. Charles Nolin and Maxime Lepine are the gentlemen with whom you will have to treat.



RIEL'S COUNSELLORS IN 1885

- | | | |
|---|--|------------------------|
| 1. Johnny Sansregret. | 3. Pierre Gariépy. | 9. Maxime Dubois. |
| 2. Pieriche Parrantau
(a famous buffalo hunter). | 4. Philip Garnot, Secretary | 10. Jimus Short. |
| | 5. Albert Monkman. | 11. — Tourond. |
| | 6. Pierre Vandal. | 12. Emanuel Champagne. |
| | | |
| | 7. Baptiste Vandal. | |
| | 8. Toussaint Lucier (reputed
to be the strongest man
in the North-West). | |

Major, we respect you. Let the cause of humanity be a consolation to you, for the reverses which the Governmental misconduct has brought upon you.

(Signed) LOUIS "DAVID" RIEL, "Exovede."

On the other side of this document was written :

To Messrs. Charles Nolin and Maxime Lepine:

Gentlemen—If Major Crozier accedes to the conditions of surrender, let him use the following formula, and no other:

"Because I love my neighbour as myself, for the sake of God, and to prevent bloodshed, and principally the war of extermination which threatens the country, I agree to the above conditions of surrender." If the Major writes this formula and signs it, inform him that we will receive him and his men Monday.

Yours,

LOUIS "DAVID" RIEL, Exovede."

On the other hand, Major Crozier's representatives demanded the names of the leaders of the movement, whom, they declared, would have to answer to the law, although those who had been drawn into the insurrection unwillingly were promised lenience. The proposal to surrender Fort Carlton was, of course, rejected without discussion.

After his third and last visit to Batoche as a peacemaker, Mr. Mitchell received warning from a friendly Halfbreed that Riel intended seizing him forthwith as a hostage. Accordingly, Mr. Mitchell determined to leave Duck Lake, and join Major Crozier at Fort Carlton. The place was already practically in the hands of the insurgents, but before evacuating his stores, Mr. Mitchell succeeded in having a considerable quantity of powder and ammunition removed. This was effected by John Paul, by a remarkable exercise of pluck and audacity. The ammunition was placed in a "jumper" and over it was thrown a few arm loads of hay, upon which the plucky driver sat as he drove away from the village in broad daylight.

Most of Mr. Mitchell's effects, however, were of course left behind him, and immediately fell into the hands of the insurgents, who took possession of the deserted village within a few hours of his departure. However, this was not known to Major Crozier, and he accordingly sent Sergeant Stewart with teams and a number of volunteers and policemen to get Mitchell's personal effects, and especially to bring a supply of oats from his store.

About seven miles out of Carlton, this convoy met Dumont with a party of Halfbreeds and Indians. They surrounded the head teams. The foremost sleigh was driven by Mr. Neilson, later Sheriff of Prince Albert, with whom was Mr. Thomas MacKay. The volunteers and police came forward from the rear and the situation was very tense during the excited interview between MacKay and Dumont. A conflict was almost precipitated by the



Supt. Crozier (afterwards Asst. Commr.), the heroic officer who met disaster at Duck Lake, March 26, 1885.



Lieut.-Col. Steele, C. B., M. V. O., famous member of the N. W. M. P. force, 1873-1900; Commandant of Strathcona Horse.



Typical pioneer dwelling—Mr. Hillyard Mitchell's house at Duck Lake, 1886.

accidental discharge of Dumont's rifle, the bullet passing through Mac-Kay's hat. However, it was agreed between the leaders of the two parties that they should not fight, for the present, at all events, but Dumont insisted that the train of sleighs should at once return to Fort Carlton unless prepared to surrender.

When Dumont and his men had come upon the convoy, they were in pursuit of two Mounted Police scouts. These latter escaped and hurried back to the Fort to inform Crozier of the plight of his teamsters and Sergeant Stewart. Of course, the Major had no choice now but to move out to the support of his men. However, his force had just left the Fort when it was met by Sergeant Stewart with the returning convoy.

In his notable march from Regina to the relief of Prince Albert and Fort Carlton, Commissioner Irvine had eluded the rebels by crossing the Saskatchewan at an unexpected point (Agnew's Crossing). He had reached Prince Albert on the twenty-fourth, after a week's march of nearly three hundred miles in severe weather and over heavy trails. It had been Irvine's intention to proceed at once from Prince Albert to Carlton, but the best informed people in the district believed that the situation had already ceased to be immediately dangerous. Moreover, his men were almost exhausted and several of them were snowblind. Accordingly a delay was made to have the men and arms inspected and the horses shod. On the morning of the 26th, Irvine left Prince Albert at 2:30 A. M., taking with him twenty-five volunteers in addition to eighty-three non-commissioned officers and men from Regina. It was his hope to quash the rebellion before it could assume formidable proportions. When but a short distance from Fort Carlton, he received a dispatch from Superintendent Gagnon of that post informing him of Crozier's advance on Duck Lake, and shortly afterwards he received a second message announcing that unfortunate officer's retreat. In his subsequent report Commissioner Irvine wrote as follows:

"I cannot but consider it a matter of regret that, with the knowledge that both myself and command were within a few miles and *en route* to Carlton, Superintendent Crozier should have marched out as he did."

If Crozier had obeyed what must have been the dictates of his own judgment, the Battle of Duck Lake would never have been fought, and it is extremely probable that the whole insurrection would have subsided at once, without bloodshed. Under whose influence Major Crozier made his fatal blunder we will see a little later.

All told, the force Crozier led out of Carlton to chastise Dumont, consisted of fifty-six members of the Mounted Police force and forty-three volunteers. They advanced in sleighs. The snow lay deep and it was necessary to move in a long narrow line along the trail that wound in and out among the innumerable copses and extensive woods that cover the



DUCK LAKE BATTLE FIELD.

From a photograph taken in 1885. The rebel sharpshooters that did such execution among the Prince Albert Volunteers, who were extended between the rail fence and the adjacent bluffs, occupied the unfinished log house.



Louis Riel.



Gabriel Dumont, who commanded the rebels.

whole of that district, which for the next few weeks was to become the theatre of war. It would be hard to imagine, outside of a region of mountains, any locality better adapted for guerilla warfare, and for purposes of defence. Fort Carlton, itself, however, lay on the bank of the North Saskatchewan in a hollow commanded on three sides by adjacent hills, and from these points of vantage a few determined men, well armed and skillfully using their rifles, could have bottled up a force of fifteen or twenty times their number. The snow was deep, and the country thickly wooded and broken by numerous sloughs, a large irregular lake, and numerous water courses, so that it was practically impossible to move, in any force, except along the trails, and at every turn these provided the choicest facilities for ambush. This truth was presently enforced upon the minds of the loyalist party with compelling emphasis.

Scouts Alexander Stewart and James MacDonald rode some 300 yards ahead of the advanced guard of police. They visited the house of Chief Beardy, about thirty yards off the road, followed immediately after by Major Crozier and his body guard. Beardy protested his loyalty, though, as a matter of fact, most of his braves had already joined Riel, and he himself did so afterwards. About three miles out from Duck Lake, the scouts came upon a considerable force of the insurgents, and when the caravan of sleighs swung around a wooded bend in the trail, they saw the scouts retreating before pursuing Indians, and probably commenced to realize that Dumont had succeeded in entrapping them in a place where they would be at the utmost disadvantage. The front sleighs moved out, slightly, to the side from the trail. The six rear sleighs advanced through this alley to the foreground and were quickly drawn up across the road forming an impromptu barricade. The horses were detached and taken to a bluff in a slight depression to the left rear of Crozier's forces. The police and volunteers occupied an open space, with wooded country on either hand and with a slight hill perhaps sixty yards in front of them. In the cover thus provided on three sides, the insurgents were concealed. To the right of the trail and perhaps a hundred yards back was a log house which proved to be occupied by some of the best sharp-shooters of Dumont's forces. The police took up positions about the sleighs to the centre and left, and Captain Morton, followed by the Prince Albert volunteers, moved out at right angles to the trail toward the right. Behind them was a bluff, and why it was not used for purposes of cover is hard to understand. As a matter of fact, however, the Prince Albert volunteers operated with practically no cover at all, unless the top of a straggling rail fence almost buried in the snow could be so described.

While these preparations were in progress, Major Crozier, with Joseph MacKay as interpreter, advanced to parley with representatives of the op-

posing force, who came to meet them. These were a half-blind Cree chief called Falling Sand, with a couple of his counsellors. Crozier asked who they were, what they wanted and why they were accompanied by such a force of armed men. These questions, Falling Sand parried by returning them. As Joseph MacKay, the interpreter, was carrying on his share of this exciting interview in alternating Cree, French and English, one of the Indians caught hold of his rifle, which he held in his left hand. As the interpreter wrenched his weapon free, his assailant attempted to seize his pistol, which MacKay immediately drew. Meantime, the second of Falling Sand's counsellors, who was kneeling nearby at a fence, was endeavouring to cover MacKay with his rifle, and the latter was keeping his immediate assailant between him and the marksman. At this juncture, Crozier asked what the rebels were saying, and MacKay replied that nothing could be done with them, as they would not listen to reason. Thereupon Major Crozier turned back toward the police and volunteers, and raising his hand, gave the command: "Fire away, boys!" The first shot rang from Joseph MacKay's pistol as he felled his assailant and followed Major Crozier back to the loyalist lines. Almost at the same instant came an exchange of volleys. The insurrection had become a rebellion indeed. Blood had been shed, the first battle had commenced, and from that moment it was apparent that the campaign would open with a rebel victory.

In weighing questions of responsibility, the details surrounding the opening of this first engagement are of exceptional importance. The prevailing reports of the affair cast on Dumont and his men the onus of firing the first shot. For the facts in the present narrative, however, the writer has relied upon the definite statements given by Joseph MacKay himself, and supported by eye witnesses who were close at hand.¹

Perhaps the affair might have terminated somewhat differently had not the only cannon been disabled after firing but two shots. The gun and the men working it were the special target of the Indians and Halfbreeds. Beside it, three men were killed and two others wounded. Doctor Miller was also hit at this place, but the bullet struck the case of surgical instruments at his belt, and he thus escaped. In the excitement a shell was rammed home into the gun before the charge of powder was put in, and the cannon was thus rendered useless for the remainder of the engagement.

The rebels were firing from cover and the police and volunteers had but little opportunity to use their firearms with effect. Dumont, himself, however, received a severe scalp wound, from the effects of which he never completely recovered during the whole campaign. Several other rebels were wounded and four Halfbreeds and an Indian were killed. Of the ninety-

¹ In Crozier's report of the Battle of Duck Lake he states that the rebels fired first, and this version found its way into the Commissioner's reports as well.

nine police and volunteers some of whom necessarily remained with the horses, and were therefore not in the firing, three policemen and nine Prince Albert volunteers were killed.² About twenty-five others were wounded, nine of them seriously.

It is a recognized principle of Indian warfare that an attacking force should never come to a stand, especially in the open. The natives show an instinctive skill in making use of every possible cover, and if given an opportunity will stalk their enemies so cleverly as to involve them in almost inevitable destruction. On the other hand, if the circumstances are at all favorable to the attacking party, it is, as a rule, relatively easy to dislodge them from their position by direct attack. In the present instance, however, such movement was out of the question. The snow was so deep that anything in the form of a rushing charge was a physical impossibility, and even if Crozier's forces had succeeded in driving the enemy from the rising ground behind which those in front had taken cover, the position of affairs would not have been improved. Dumont's main force would simply have fallen back behind the next rise and the volunteers and police would have been still more completely at the mercy of the sharpshooters concealed to the right and left of the trail.

Accordingly, recognizing the inevitable, Crozier ordered the horses to be attached again to the sleighs and his men to retreat. The last sleigh to leave the battle-field was that driven by Sheriff Neilson. In so far as possible, all their fallen comrades who showed signs of life were carried away by the retreating loyalists. The dead were left, however, and some of the wounded. Only one of these, Charles Newitt, escaped assassination at the hands of the Indians. There is some reason to believe that he was saved only by the personal interposition of Riel himself. Newitt was taken back to Duck Lake as prisoner.

Alexander Stewart, in a letter written while recovering from a wound received in the engagement, says: "If we had not retreated when we did, we would all in less than five minutes have been massacred." Already the enemy had advanced far around the flanks of the loyalists on both sides. Indeed, had the rebels acted in accordance with the wishes of Dumont, no successful retreat would have been possible."

The battle had lasted about thirty-five or forty minutes, and from first to last the police and volunteers displayed unwavering coolness and courage. Those who fell, fell as became brave men, and there was no unseemly outcry. In tribute to these defenders of the honour and dignity of Canada,

² The following are the names of those members of Crozier's party who were killed at Duck Lake or died of their wounds: Constable T. J. Gibson; Constable G. P. Arnold; Constable G. K. Garrett; Captain John Morton of Prince Albert Volunteers; W. Napier, private; James Bakie, private; Sheffington Courier Elliott, private; Robert Middleton, private; Daniel Mackenzie, private; Daniel McPhail, private; Joseph Anderson, private; and Alexander Fisher, private.

let us quote some of their last words, graven ineffaceably, henceforth, on the memories of their companions. Said William Napier, a young Scot from Edinburgh, "Tell my Mother I died like a man." "I am shot!" said William Baker, "God have mercy on my soul." "Fight on, boys," cried Elliott, the policeman, "don't let them beat us." When Captain Morton, second in command of the Prince Albert volunteers fell, one of his men, William Harlan, raised him in his arms. "You can't do anything for me," said Morton, "I am shot through the heart. Take care of my wife and family and tell them that I died like a man on the battle-field."

Nor were the sences of pathos and courage confined to the ranks of the loyalists. The following picture of events in the rebel lines is translated from the narrative of the wounded Dumont himself.

"While we were fighting Riel was on horseback exposed to the bullets and having no arms except a crucifix which he held in his hand. Upon seeing me fall, my brother Edouard hastened to me to drag me into the ravine, but I told him rather to go to our people who seemed disheartened by my fall. He rallied them; they cheered and commenced firing again. My cousin, Auguste Lafromboise, whom I had been advising a few moments before not to expose himself too much, then fell near me. A bullet struck him in the arm and passed through his body. I dragged myself to him, creeping, saying to myself that I would go to say a little prayer for him, but in trying to make the sign of the cross with my left hand, my right being paralyzed, I tumbled over and said to him, smiling, 'Cousin, I owe that to you.' I wished to say for him the prayer I had composed when we received the blessing of the priest at Belton in Montana—'Lord, reinforce my courage, my confidence and my faith so that I may profit all my life from the benediction³ I have received in Thy Holy Name.' This is an invocation that I have always recited after my prayers, morning and evening. . . . The enemy then commenced to flee and my brother, who after my fall had taken command, cried to our people to pursue and destroy them. Riel then begged for the love of God that no more should be slain, saying that already there had been too much blood spilt."

Some time after Crozier's return to Fort Carlton, Colonel Irvine had arrived with eighty police and thirty additional volunteers from Prince Albert. However, as we have already pointed out, Fort Carlton lay in an utterly indefensible position; and if the Halfbreeds and Indians, flushed from victory, had attacked it at night, a still more serious catastrophe might have occurred. On the night of the 27th, therefore, Irvine who was now in command, determined to evacuate the Fort. While this movement was in progress, a fire was accidentally started, and when the loyalists left the fort it was in flames.⁴ Much ammunition and many valuable stores were destroyed. On the 28th the retreating forces reached Prince Albert.

³ *Le recit de Gabriel Dumont.*

⁴ In the evacuation of Fort Carlton it took two and one-half hours before the last sleigh reached the top of the hill. If, during this interval, an attack had occurred, a terrible disaster would have had to be recorded.

At Duck Lake, on the day following the battle, Riel drew up his combatants in two lines and said to them: "Vive Gabriel Dumont! and thank God for having given you so valorous a leader." The rebels passed the day in praying for their dead, whom they buried at St. Laurent. Dumont then suggested sending a prisoner to Carlton to invite the enemies to come for their dead. This was done, Dumont sending a letter promising safe conduct. However, when the messenger reached Fort Carlton he was seized as a spy and the evacuation of the fort occurred immediately afterwards. Dumont wished to prepare an ambush along the road which the police and volunteers would have to follow. Had his advice been taken, a terrible massacre might have resulted. However, as Dumont himself tells us, Riel forbade the project, endeavoring all the while to moderate Dumont and his followers. Three men were at last sent out from Prince Albert to recover the bodies of the dead volunteers. The halfbreeds had placed them in an old house to preserve them from desecration, and gave what assistance they could to Crozier's emissaries. They also restored to them their wounded prisoner.

Shortly afterwards the rebels burnt all the buildings at Duck Lake except the mill, and retired to Batoche.

We have told of the part unintentionally played by the Honorable Lawrence Clarke, in causing the Halfbreeds to take up arms and seize available stores, and we referred in passing to the mystery surrounding Crozier's rash sortie from Fort Carlton. In causing it, Mr. Clarke again played a prominent part. When Sergeant Stewart's convoy returned to the fort, and Crozier had quite properly given up the idea of making any onslaught upon the armed rioters at Duck Lake, Mr. Clarke and other leading Prince Albert volunteers⁵ were so ill advised as, in the hearing of

⁵ I do not wish to cast upon the respected memory of Mr. Clarke an unfair share of the responsibility for the rash movement against Dumont, for which in the last analysis the commanding officer himself was answerable. Sergeant Stewart informs me that when he came to Crozier to report, he told that officer, in reply to questions, that he did not think he had men enough to make an advance successfully. Crozier then gave orders for his force to return to Fort Carlton. Thereupon a gentleman, who in the ensuing skirmish paid for his rashness with his life, said in Mr. Stewart's hearing that "if Crozier retired he would brand him as a coward." "Very well," said Crozier, "if you want to go to Duck Lake, I'll take you." He then recalled his previous order and commanded Sergeant Stewart's contingent to turn their teams and accompany the column to Duck Lake.

It must be remembered that Crozier was accustomed to over-awing hostile Indians by the audacity characteristic of the North West Mounted Police, and it is highly improbable that on the present occasion he expected any real resistance on the part of the Halfbreeds.

In justification of his sortie from Carlton, Crozier says he was influenced by the consideration that if the Indians saw that a party of Halfbreeds could contemptuously drive back and prevent officers of the Government from doing their duty, thus defiantly seizing property with impunity, they would be able to gain the firm allegiance of the wavering Indian tribes. "Nevertheless," he adds, "had I expected I should be attacked by them as I was, I certainly would not have taken the matter in hand."



Scene in Fort Pitt just prior to the Frog Lake massacre.



Great Indian Council gathered to welcome the Marquis of Lorne.

HISTORIC INDIAN PICTURES.

different people, to challenge Crozier "to teach the rebels a lesson if he were not afraid of them." Few men in the North West need have felt less under the compulsion to disprove an insinuation of cowardice than did Major Crozier, who was known far and wide through the Territories for his dauntless courage. However, it is unfortunately true that he allowed himself to be so influenced by the suggestions of the volunteers that he ordered his men to turn about and proceed to Duck Lake. This act transformed what might have been a passing riot into a genuine rebellion.

From these circumstances it is evident that no source of information short of inspired prophecy could have allowed the central authorities to foresee the events that actually happened. That the country was in a state of dangerous excitement, every one knew, but no one could foresee the ill-considered statement which first induced the disaffected Halfbreeds to take up arms against the Government, nor the foolish challenge, foolishly accepted, which was responsible for the actual precipitation of the rebellion.

In view of the severe criticism to which Mr. Dewdney and the Ottawa authorities were naturally subjected for not foreseeing the rebellion, the question arises of why, in self-defence, no public reference was ever made to Mr. Clarke's share in bringing it about. No doubt, respect for that gentleman's ardent loyalty, unquestioned courage and subsequent valuable services⁶ would partly account for this reticence. I believe, however, that I can point to a still more potent factor underlying the silence of the authorities.

Among the sessional papers bearing upon the rebellion, which were laid before the House, and published in 1885, was the following letter. It will be noted that in the printed copy both superscription and signature were omitted to prevent the identification of the writer.

Dear Sir:

The French Halfbreeds on the Saskatchewan River, and a section of the English Halfbreeds living between the two rivers, have been holding meetings at St. Laurent, at which meetings all the members were sworn to secrecy. Notwithstanding this, enough has transpired to show that grave trouble will arise in the country unless repressive measures are adopted by the Government.

A number of resolutions were passed of a violent nature. Amongst others, Resolution No. 3—"That they, the Halfbreeds, do not recognise the

⁶ "Although it might appear invidious to mention any names," says Irvine, in his report to Sir John MacDonald, regarding the defense of Prince Albert, "I must beg to be allowed to bring before you that of the Honorable Lawrence Clarke, who, besides the arduous duties of supplying food for the garrison and inhabitants generally, provided shelter for them on their arrival from the country, and that of Mr. Thomas MacKay, chief of the Scouts, whose unremitting efforts tended greatly to my aid."

right of the Government to the North West Territories," and appointed delegates to proceed to Montana, U. S., and invite Louis Riel to come over and be their leader in any further action that they may determine on.

The delegates so appointed—names: Gabriel Dumont, Moise Oulette, Michel Dumas, and James Isbister—left yesterday for Montana to carry out the objects of their mission. The French Halfbreed race, living on the Saskatchewan, number about Seven Hundred male adults, and are gathering force every year by immigration from Manitoba and the southern part of the Territories.

These men are not farmers, merely cultivating small patches of land little larger than kitchen gardens. They live by hunting and freighting. Their occupation as hunters was ended by the disappearance of the buffalo and there is not sufficient overland freighting going on in the country to afford labor to one-third of their number, hence they are getting poorer year by year.

This in reality is the real source from which this agitation arises, although pretended grievances against the Government are rushed to the front.

These men avow that the Indians are in sympathy with them.

The French Halfbreeds are closely related to the plain Indians and there is danger of the Halfbreeds persuading the Indians to join them should an uprising take place.

The Indians have no arms or ammunition, it is true, but both arms and ammunition in considerable quantities, belonging to the defunct Saskatchewan Military organization, are scattered throughout the country without protection and could be seized at any moment.

These scattered arms and ammunition should be collected and placed under police surveillance at Prince Albert, and the force increased to the extent of thirty men with an officer in command. A strong detachment should also be stationed at St. Laurent. I have an intimate knowledge of the character of these Halfbreeds and, as you are aware, some influence over them. Many of the men I have spoken to are averse to any agitation leading to a breach of the law, but a number of Riel's abettors in the Red River troubles are resident in their midst and are promoters of this movement, and candidly state that they believe that if Riel is allowed to visit their settlements serious disturbances will arise therefrom.

In my opinion, and it is also the opinion of Rev. Father André, who is the superintendent of the Roman Catholic Missions on the Saskatchewan, these delegates should be shadowed and if Riel accepts the invitation and attempts to cross the boundary line, he should be made prisoner.

The Rev. Father also agrees with me that if Riel is not allowed to enter the country, the influence we can bring to bear on the body of the people will counteract the influence of that section of them who are leaders in this movement.

Any letters Riel might write would be of little avail. This matter I thought of such importance that I wired Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney, who arrived at Battleford on the 13th inst., as follows:

"Are you coming east? If not, like speak you over wire; important."

Next morning I spoke to Governor Dewdney over the wire, telling him it was important that I should meet him if possible, giving him a mere outline of what had taken place. He could not then state what his move-

ments would be, but said he would wire me in a day or two of his decision, since when I have not heard from him on the subject.

It is therefore well, I think, that you should put the Government in possession of these facts with as little delay as possible, impressing on the Premier the necessity of prompt investigation.

This interesting communication I brought to the attention of Mr. Joseph Parker, Regina, who, in 1885, was secretary to Mr. Clarke. Mr. Parker identifies it as one written by himself at Mr. Lawrence Clarke's dictation. Had the Government acted on Mr. Clarke's wise and timely suggestion, and prevented Riel's coming into the country, that ill-balanced agitator could manifestly not have led a second appeal to arms against the Canadian Government, and if Mr. Clarke's advice regarding the grievances of the Halfbreeds had been listened to, the discontent culminating in the outbreak would have been removed. In view of these facts, therefore, it was entirely impossible for the Government to criticize his subsequent words or actions, however unfortunate their results. Hence the official silence regarding the real immediate cause of the outbreak of an unforeseen insurrection.

CHAPTER XXI

FROG LAKE MASSACRE

DANGER OF INDIAN RISING—GENERAL LOYALTY OF INDIANS—ATTEMPTS TO ROUSE THE TRIBES AFTER THE BATTLE OF DUCK LAKE—TREACHEROUS CONDUCT OF INDIANS AT FROG LAKE—THE MASSACRE—SIEGE OF FORT PITT—DANGERS AND HARDSHIPS ENDURED BY WHITE PRISONERS—LAST RESTING PLACE OF VICTIMS OF MASSACRE.

In the foregoing chapters we have frequently called to mind the un-sleeping dread of an Indian rising, the danger of which was ever present. Thanks to the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company and the tradition it handed down to those who had directly to do with the management of the Canadian Indians, and thanks to the services of those men who brought about the peaceable surrender of the West by treaty, Canada had never seen an Indian war. In 1885 the census returns reported four thousand four hundred and ninety-two Indians in Assiniboia—more than one-fifth of the population; six thousand two hundred and sixty in the provisional district of Saskatchewan out of a population of only ten thousand seven hundred and forty-six; nine thousand four hundred and eighteen in Alberta, where the total population was only fifteen thousand five hundred and thirty-three; and in Athabasca and the Great North West, many thousand other red men roamed the wilds. Had a general conflagration broken out in this inflammable mass, few indeed of the settlers would have survived to tell the tale.

Fortunately, the tedious work of inducing the Indians to settle upon reservations had just been all but completed, and in general the reserves were relatively small and scattered, as compared with the enormous reservations common in the western States. This rendered concerted action more difficult, on the part of disaffected bands. Moreover, the more intelligent chiefs realized the futility of any attempt permanently to expel the whites, not to mention the certainty of terrible reprisals when the armed forces of the Dominion would be seriously aroused. Consequently, the majority of the Indians everywhere remained loyal. Chief Mis-to-was-sis and At-tak-a-koop, the most important Indian leaders of the Carlton section, and Chiefs John Smith, James Smith and William Twatt of the Prince Albert district, and Moosomin and Thunder Child whose reserva-

tions were near Battleford, all withdrew their people from the scene of disturbance and attempted with almost entire success to keep them well in hand. Pecan, of White Fish Lake, even induced his band to take sides with the authorities. To these chiefs and others like them, especially the famous Blackfoot chief, Crowfoot, Canada owes a great debt of gratitude for difficult and unpopular duties well performed.

The disaster at Duck Lake produced such widespread excitement among the aborigines as, however, to render them almost uncontrollable, and for a time the whole Indian situation was perilous in the extreme. Many of the wiser among the French halfbreed rebels themselves were profoundly adverse to any attempt to arouse their Indian kinsmen to assist them in their quarrel. Others, however, and these the more influential, did all in their power to secure the co-operation of the red men. Letters addressed to the Indians were sent in all directions, the following, found in Poundmaker's camp, being a sample:

"Praise God for the success He has given us. Capture all the police you possibly can. Reserve their arms. Take Fort Battle, but save the provisions, ammunition and arms. Send a detachment to us of about a hundred men."

In another such missive (this time addressed to Halfbreeds), Riel said:

"Dear relatives and friends: We advise you to pay attention. Be ready for anything. Take the Indians with you. Gather them from every side. Take all the ammunition you can in whatsoever storehouse it may be. Murmur, growl and threaten. Stir up the Indians."

As a more or less direct result of this systematic agitation among the Indians, isolated depredations were committed by them in various quarters. Four days after the Battle of Duck Lake, an Assiniboin Indian murdered James Payne, an official of the Stoney Reserve, near Battleford, and another murdered Bernard Tremont on the following day. These were but samples of the deeds of blood and violence done in various quarters. The most serious, however, occurred at Frog Lake in the early days of April. This blood-curdling affair was a terrible object lesson of what a general Indian rising would mean, and as such it must here be treated of at some length.

Frog Lake was a little hamlet that had recently been established as a trading post and the headquarters for dealing with the numerous Indians of the vicinity. There were but two white women in the hamlet, Mrs. Gowanlock, wife of the owner of grist and saw mills, and Mrs. Delaney, wife of the farm instructor for the adjacent reserves. From their narratives and the evidence given at the state trials, we learn the details of the sanguinary story.

On March 30th a message was received from Rae, of Battleford,

announcing the Duck Lake Battle, and asking the officials at Frog Lake to keep the Indians of that district from leaving to join those who were contemplating or already engaged in rebellion. On the same day a letter was received from Captain Dickens, who was in command of a small detachment of police at Fort Pitt, summoning the whites to come to him for protection. The whites, however, were not seriously alarmed, and Indian Agent Quinn and Mr. Delaney felt that their duties required them to remain where they were. However, a message was conveyed at midnight by John Pritchard, a halfbreed interpreter, telling Gowanlock to bring his wife to Delaney's to accompany Mrs. Delaney to Fort Pitt. After a consultation among the whites, they decided to summon the Indians together next day and communicate the news of recent events, thinking it wiser that the tidings should come from themselves, rather than through the distorting medium of rumor.

When the Indians gathered on April 1st, however, the officials found to their dismay that the savages were already in possession of full particulars. The Indians of the local band were on good terms with the whites and no fear was felt or subsequently justified in that quarter. There was at Frog Lake, however, a considerable band of destitute and disaffected Plain Crees, nominally under the leadership of Big Bear. Unfortunately, that shrewd and peaceably inclined chieftain was absent on a hunting expedition. He did not get home till night, and was not seen till next morning. His absence facilitated the machinations of some of his rebellious sub-chiefs and helped them to get control of affairs. They assumed an apparently friendly attitude, however, and promised to defend the whites against any rebels. They reported that an attempt was to be made that night by halfbreeds to steal the horses belonging to the settlement, and insisted that the animals should be given to them for safekeeping. At dawn on April 2d they announced that in spite of their precautions, the horses had been stolen. This was untrue, but the removal of the horses rendered flight impossible on the part of the whites.

The Indians, with the exception of Big Bear, had by now assumed their war paint and were hour by hour becoming more dangerously excited. Big Bear warned Delaney that trouble was impending, though as yet the Indians had shown no ill will to the white people in the settlement. "It is hard to say how far they intended to go on with the bad work they had commenced," says Mrs. Delaney. "So far from their manner seeming strange or extraordinary, I might say that I have seen them, dozens of times, act more foolishly, ask more silly questions and want more ridiculous things, even appear more excited. Only for the war paint and what Big Bear had told us, we would have had our fears completely lulled."

Early in the morning, however, one of Big Bear's sons had attempted to

enter Quinn's bedroom to murder him in his bed, but had been prevented by the latter's Cree brother-in-law, Loving Man. Quinn was himself a Sioux halfbreed and consequently was recognised by all as being in special danger from the Crees. He was summoned downstairs and boldly went, in spite of the remonstrances of Loving Man. A group of savages, headed by Wandering Spirit, one of Big Bear's most troublesome subordinates, took him to Delaney's. After some discussion the Indians then went to the Hudson Bay Company's store, where they forced Cameron, the trader, to give them additional arms. Big Bear appeared on the scene and forbade his men to take anything by force, but when he subsequently departed the stores were looted. Meantime, the party of whites were being hurried from house to house by the riotous members of Big Bear's band, though Big Bear himself and his youngest son, King Bird, were evidently doing what they could to protect them from violence.

After breakfast the Indians, who still declared that they wished only to protect the whites against a possible attack by rebels, insisted upon their attending mass, but the services were cut short on account of the threatening and disorderly conduct of the red men. The whites, who had been deprived of all arms, were then compelled to march out towards the Indian encampment. Quinn demurred, however, and Wandering Spirit addressed him as follows: "You have *la tête dure*. When you say no, it is no, you keep your word. Well, if you care for your life you are going to do what I tell you. Go to the camp." "Why should I go there?" said Quinn. "Never mind about that," answered the Indian. "I shall stay here," said Quinn, calmly. Thereupon Wandering Spirit cried out: "I told you to go!" and shot him dead.

The general massacre was an affair of but a few moments. A group of the Indians rushed upon George Dill, a trader. When pursued by mounted Indians, he gave up an attempt at flight and was immediately murdered. The next victim was William Campbell Gilchrist, a book-keeper and an assistant surveyor in the employ of Gowanlock. He fell close beside George Dill. The Gowanlocks were toward the front of the little party of whites moving out from the village. Suddenly they were overtaken by Williscraft, an old man of seventy-five years, shouting, "Oh, don't shoot, don't shoot!" The Indians fired again, and Williscraft fell amid the bushes. "My dear wife," said Gowanlock, "be brave to the end!" With these words on his lips, he fell, dying.

The next victim was Delaney. When he was shot, the heroic priest, Father Farfard, who all the while had been endeavoring to restrain the Indians, threw himself between the wounded man and the savages and, kneeling beside him, asked if he could say the confiteor. Mr. Delaney repeated the prayer. As he finished it the priest said, "My poor brother,

"I think you are safe with God." As the words left his lips he received his own death wound, and fell prostrate across Delaney's lifeless form. Another priest, Father Marchand, was endeavoring to protect the women and to rescue Farfard's body, but he also was assassinated a moment later. C. Gouin, a Sioux Halfbreed carpenter, was also killed.

Meanwhile, Cameron, the Hudson's Bay Company trader, was at his store under the protection of Big Bear. With his assistance, Cameron escaped to the woods, where the chief of the Frog Lake Indians gave him shelter. The widowed white women, the only other survivors of the fearful massacre, were torn away from the bodies of their husbands and dragged to an Indian encampment, through water waist deep. They were saved from a fate worse than that of the dead by Pritchard and other Halfbreeds, who ransomed them from the Indians by the gift of two horses and thirty dollars. "I fully trusted to Pritchard's manliness and good character," says Mrs. Delaney, "and I was not deceived. He not only proved himself a sincere friend and a brave fellow, but acted the part of a perfect gentleman throughout."

On April 3d Big Bear came to the tent of the white women and wept bitterly over the conduct of the evil men he could not control.

This was Good Friday. Next day some of the bodies—which had been mutilated—were placed in the church by the Halfbreeds, but the little sanctuary was soon afterwards burned down by the Indians. They also destroyed the other buildings at Frog Lake, and gave themselves up to savage revelry.

On the 6th the band of Indians went over to Fort Pitt and demanded its surrender. This was, of course, refused by Inspector Dickens, and Mr. McLean, a Hudson's Bay Company officer, went to parley with the savages. His efforts as a peacemaker were unavailing, however, and he was taken prisoner. He now believed the encampment to be safer than the fort, and sent for his family, who were then added to the list of captives. Several days elapsed amid great anxiety. On the 15th the savages returned again to Fort Pitt with a prisoner, Pritchard, to act as interpreter. A number of settlers and others who were at the fort at the time were seized. On this day three scouts were fired upon as they returned to the fort, and one of them, Constable D. L. Cowan, was wounded and subsequently massacred. One of his comrades was also wounded, but escaped into the fort, while the other was made prisoner. All hopes of successfully defending Fort Pitt were now abandoned, and indeed, as was shown by the evidence at the subsequent state trials, it was probably owing to Big Bear's influence that Dickens and his men were allowed to escape on a scow. They reached Battleford after terrible hardships, on the morning of April 22d.

Meantime, the white and Halfbreed prisoners, including Mrs. Gowanlock and Mrs. Delaney, were being held as hostages. Their captors were soon pursued by General Strange and Colonel Steele. During the skirmishes which followed, and the headlong flight of Big Bear's band through the morasses of the northern wilderness, the prisoners suffered great hardships, and were often in peril of their lives. The watch kept over them was vigilant—indeed, nerveracking. Mrs. Delaney writes, "I used to sleep in a sitting position, and whenever I would wake up in a startled state from some feverish dream, I invariably saw at the tent door a human eye riveted upon me." On May 29th the Indians contemplated forcing the white women away from their Halfbreed protectors, but they were saved in this desperate juncture by a report that the police were approaching. This caused a sudden panic and stampede. Pritchard and his proteges escaped two days later, on the first and only time that the Indians were not on close watch, falling into the hands of Mackay and Balentyne, two of Strange's scouts. At the moment preceding their rescue, their real danger was greatest, for the police had mistaken the refugees for a band of the rebellious Indians.

Such is the tragic story of the massacre of Frog Lake, which is fortunately without a counterpart in the history of Saskatchewan. Twelve years afterwards, the bones of the murdered men were removed from their first resting places to the little cemetery at Frog Lake, where small iron crosses mark the graves of the nine victims.

CHAPTER XXII

MIDDLETON'S PLANS: THE ADVANCE TO THE SEAT OF INSURRECTION

MIDDLETON COMES WEST—PROPOSED MOVEMENT OF MIDDLETON'S AND OTTER'S COLUMNS—CAVALRY ASSIGNED TO LINE OF COMMUNICATION—NORTH WEST FIELD FORCE—INTELLIGENCE CORPS—THE NORTH SHORE ROUTE—COMMISSION APPOINTED TO INVESTIGATE HALFBREED CLAIMS—RIEL AND THE TELEGRAPH LINES—SITUATION AT PRINCE ALBERT—IRVINE'S APPREHENSIONS—MIDDLETON'S CONTINGENT—USE OF INTOXICANTS FORBIDDEN; RESULTS—OTTER'S NEW ORDERS—OTTER'S CONTINGENT—THE MARCH TO BATTLEFORD—MIDDLETON AT CLARKE'S CROSSING—SUBDIVISION OF MIDDLETON'S CONTINGENT—RIEL'S SCOUTS.

It will be remembered that Riel's followers took up arms on the 18th of March, eight days prior to the first engagement—the Battle of Duck Lake, which we have described in a preceding chapter. On March 22d a despatch was received by the Premier stating that a group of Halfbreeds had seized the mails near Duck Lake, looted several stores and were generally terrorizing the community. On the afternoon of the 23rd, General Frederick Middleton was notified by the Hon. Adolphe Caron, Minister of Militia, that conditions in the Saskatchewan would probably necessitate military action, and he at once set out for the west, traveling by rail *via* Chicago. He arrived at Winnipeg on the 27th, and there learned of the disaster of Duck Lake. Meantime the local military authorities had been active, and on the evening of the same day General Middleton proceeded west with 260 members of the 90th battalion, one company of which had left the night before. The left wing of the battalion under Major Bosworth had started for Troy (South Qu'Appelle) on the 25th. Qu'Appelle was selected as the primary base as it was the place nearest to Winnipeg with direct trail to Batoche, Riel's headquarters.

Middleton's plan was to move with the principal column direct to Clark's Crossing, a telegraph station and ferry on the South Saskatchewan, about forty-four miles by trail from Batoche.

The second column under Lieutenant-Colonel Otter of the permanent militia was to proceed from Swift Current, about one hundred and fifty

miles west of South Qu'Appelle, on the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which town Middleton intended subsequently making his chief base. Otter was to meet him at Clarke's Crossing, when the two columns would advance, one on each side of the river, to attack Batoche. They were then to separate, one marching to Prince Albert and the other to Battleford, where in the meantime the Mounted Police were to be reinforced by a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Herchmer.



DISTINGUISHED OFFICERS OF NORTH WEST FIELD FORCE.

Major-General Strange, Alberta Column.

Lieut-Col. Otter, Battleford Relief Column.

Lieut-Col. Williams, who led the charge at Batoche.

General Middleton, Commander-in-chief.

The third main column, under Major General Strange, was to overawe the Indians in the Calgary district, march north to Edmonton and come down the North Saskatchewan to Fort Pitt. There Middleton hoped to meet him. After the junction of their two columns he intended to dispose of Big Bear's band. Meantime, mounted scouts were to patrol east and west of the Cypress Hills between the Canadian Pacific Railway and the American frontier, as information had been received that a body of three hundred Chicago Fenians had bound themselves together by oath to invade Canada in support of the rebel Halfbreeds. If they came they were expected

to head for Moose Jaw in the first instance. Furthermore, this force was intended to prevent retreat to the United States on the part of defeated rebels and Indians. The ordinary cavalry Middleton did not consider suited for active employment at the front on account of the nature of the country and the style of warfare which the Halfbreeds and the Indians might be expected to adopt. They were, therefore, to be posted on the line of communication between Qu'Appelle and Humboldt, to hold in check the disaffected Halfbreeds and Indians about Touchwood Hills. In due course, accordingly, the Governor General's body guard (eighty-one) from Toronto, under Lieutenant-Colonel George Denison, was posted at Humboldt and a small mounted troop of the permanent forces (forty-eight) was placed at Touchwood under Lieutenant-Colonel F. Turnbull.

Middleton's column was at Qu'Appelle by the 2nd of April and spent four days there, chiefly in drill.

Meanwhile the transport and commissariat departments and the hospital corps were being organized and more troops were being gathered from all parts of the Dominion. These included "The Midlanders" (386), consisting of two companies of the 46th Battalion and one each from the 15th, 40th, 47th, 49th and 57th Battalions, organized by Lieutenant-Colonel A. Williams, M. P.; "The Simcoe Rangers" (342), consisting of four companies each of the 35th Simcoes and the 12th York Rangers, under Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien, M. P.; "The 65th Mount Royal Rifles" from Montreal (340), under Lieutenant-Colonel Ouimet, M. P.; the 91st Battalion from Winnipeg (432), under Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Scott, M. P.; the Winnipeg Light Infantry (327), under Lieutenant-Colonel Osborne Smith; a company of sharpshooters from the Governor General's Foot Guards (51), under Captain Todd; the 7th Fusiliers from London (257), under Lieutenant-Colonel W. Williams; the 9th Battalion (232), under Lieutenant-Colonel Amyot, M. P.; the Halifax Forces (381), under Colonel Bremmer, and a regiment from Quebec and Kingston (225), under Lieutenant-Colonel Montezambert; a small cavalry troop from Winnipeg (36), commanded by Captain Knight; the Winnipeg Field Battery (62), under Major Jarvis, and the 90th Battalion, also of Winnipeg (314), under Lieutenant-Colonel MacKeand, Montreal Garrison Artillery (296), Lieutenant-Colonel Oswald commanding, did not arrive at Winnipeg from the east till May 20, but should be mentioned.

The promptitude with which they answered the call to arms and the spirit with which they performed their unaccustomed military duties has ever since been a source of pride to all Canada. Mounted intelligence corps and other scouting bodies were organized under Captain Dennis from among the survey parties (53); by Captain French (late N. W. M. P.) from among the settlers around Qu'Appelle (30); by Captain Stewart

(Rocky Mountain Rangers, 154); and Captain White (Moose Mountain Scouts, 54); by Major Boulton at Winnipeg (113); and a valuable corps of police scouts were organized by Major Steele. Home guards and local companies of volunteers were also organized at Regina, Battleford, Yorkton, Qu'Appelle, Prince Albert and elsewhere. The total strength of the North West Field Force, exclusive of the Mounted Police, reached, on paper, approximately 5,000.

Enormous difficulties were overcome in transporting troops from Eastern Canada to the front, as there were still several gaps along the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway. For example, about four hundred miles of the road east from Port Arthur required the continual embarking and disembarking of guns and stores from flat cars to sleighs, and *vice versa*. The weather was cold and the snow deep. Over one piece of road it took the guns seventeen hours to move thirteen miles, and even when the railroad was open long distances had to be covered on unprotected flat cars, though the thermometer frequently registered forty to fifty degrees below zero.¹

Montizambart, in his report of the journey west, remarks that when they reached Nipegon on the north shore of Lake Superior, the men had had no sleep for four nights. Even when the volunteers reached the North

¹ I have copied the following passage indicative of the nature of the North Shore journey in 1885, from one of the several diaries to which I have had access:

"Thursday, April 2, 1885. We drove all night through a very wild and beautiful country. It was not till eight this morning, after a drive of thirty-five miles, that we had a chance to rest and warm ourselves. Our haven was Magpie Lake, where there is a large camp. About eleven we leave Magpie Lake and after a most delightful drive of five hours we reach the track again at a point hereafter known to fame as Camp Desolation. No train awaits us as we expected at Camp Desolation, and we have to stand shivering and hungry for three hours before the cars arrive, and then we find that we have to ride one hundred and seven miles in open flat cars. There is no help for it and we pack in as best we may. Each man has but one thin Government blanket.

"Friday, April 3. The horrors of last night are simply indescribable. We leave Camp Desolation about seven, rather cold and hungry, but for some time enjoy ourselves fairly well. The mode of progress is, to say the least of it, somewhat novel. The ties are merely laid on the snow, unballasted and unleveled; sometimes we seem to be plunging down veritable precipices, so steep are the grades, and at all times oscillation is so great that one momentarily expects the car to leave the track bodily. Soon we find, however, that it is becoming too cold to allow any interest to be taken of anything but the question of how not to freeze, and even that question, in spite of the vigorous efforts of some of the more cheerful and pluckier spirits to keep the men's courage up, ceases ere long to bother our poor, despondent fellows. The thermometer, by actual observation, goes down to thirty-five below zero; the wind is biting; our cramped quarters render movement of any kind impossible, and at last we simply make up our minds to freeze. Jack McLennan, who has been the life of No. 4 so far, works hard, but when, as a last sally he rings up His Satanic Majesty, informs him that a collection of thirty-one cents has been taken up for His Majesty's exchequer, and begs him to turn on the hot tube for fifteen minutes, and is then not rewarded with a laugh, he, too, curls up and prepares to die.

"All things have an end. About 2:30 a. m. we reach a camp called Heron Bay, ninety miles from Camp Desolation, and have a meal. I was about to say breakfast, but it is really the dinner of the day before yesterday. Many of our poor fellows have to be lifted out of the cars, so stiff with cold are they."

West, the winter had not yet broken up, and the men were called upon to endure very serious hardships in their march north.

It may be remarked in passing that on March 30 a commission consisting of Messrs. W. P. R. Street, A. T. Forget, Q. C., of London, Ontario, and clerk of North West Council, and Roger Goulet, D. L. S., St. Boniface, Manitoba, was appointed to investigate the Halfbreed claims. Had such a step been taken a little earlier no rebellion would have occurred.²

After the outbreak of the disturbance Riel had cut the telegraph wires so as to isolate Prince Albert; beyond this he apparently thought it best not to interfere with telegraphic communication. Evidently it was his opinion that when the particulars of the Battle of Duck Lake should be known in the east and in the United States, he would be likely to secure moral and material support that would be of great value.

Among the few messages that came out from Prince Albert was the following letter, which speaks for itself:

Prince Albert, 30th March, 1885.

Dear Sir:

Telegraph the following cipher in my name to the Commissioner: Riel warned all settlers from farms. Would be forced to join him or be shot. gave them forty-eight hours' notice. People flocking in. Irvine appointed me supply officer. Send flour, bacon to Troy, send 2,000 sacks flour *via* Calgary to Edmonton, and 4,000 lbs. bacon if safe. Steamer from here will be sent to bring it down. Carlton burned to the ground, have saved all furs and bulk of provisions, lot of goods destroyed. Population all in arms. Police here; tell my people I am safe; just got our dead in from Duck Lake, nine in all. Will wire every opportunity. Provisions for further transport already at G. Lake.

S. G. CROZIER.

Wm. MacKay, Esq., H. B. Co., Battleford.

Advices were also received by Mr. Dewdney from Lieutenant-Colonel Irvine, in which, according to General Middleton, Irvine declared that the General's force should be 1,500 strong, as matters were in a very critical state, and Irvine believed that all the Indians would join the rebels unless decisive actions were taken at once.

The forces immediately under Middleton's command numbered a little over eight hundred, though all these were not yet with him when he commenced his march northward from Qu'Appelle on April 6th. It may be remarked in passing that the thermometer dropped to ten degrees on the evening of that day, and stood at 23 degrees below zero next morning.

Some little time later Middleton divided his forces into two columns. The left consisted of:

² An Order in Council had been passed in January, authorizing the appointment of this Commission, and Honorable D. L. MacPherson is authority for the statement that the Half-breeds were notified of the Order on February 4.

	<i>Strength.</i>
The 10th Royal Grenadiers, Lieutenant-Colonel Grassett commanding.....	250
Two Guns, Winnipeg Field Battery, Major Jarvis commanding.....	50
Detachment from A Battery, Lieutenant Rivers commanding.....	23
French's Scouts, Captain French commanding.....	20
Detachment of Boulton's Scouts, under Sergeant Brown.....	30
Total	373

The right column was made up as follows :

	<i>Rank and File.</i>
90th Regiment, under Major MacKeand.....	268
A Battery, R. C. A., under Captain Peters.....	82
C Company, Permanent Force, under Major Smith.....	40
Scouts, under Major Boulton.....	50
Total	440
With Lieutenant-Governor Houghton as staff officer.	

Middleton's decision in connection with allowing the use of liquor by the troops and his subsequent experience in that regard may here be indicated :

"The question for my consideration was whether I should allow the troops to have a certain ration of liquor, in which case, of course, the Government would allow of its being admitted for their use. It was pointed out to me that most of the men in the militia, though not by any means drunkards, were in the habit of having a certain amount of stimulants daily, some few a good deal, and that, with the cold weather and hardships they would have to undergo, the sudden withdrawal of stimulants might have a deleterious effect, &c. After due consideration, bearing in mind that Lord Wolseley allowed no liquor in the Red River expedition of 1870, I resolved that I would allow none to be issued to the troops on this expedition, or to be carried with them by either officers or men, except a certain amount as medical comforts. It was a bold step to take under the circumstances of the case, but I was fully borne out by the result.

"At first a few men suffered from pains in their limbs from sleeping on wet or damp ground, and there were a few cases of frostbites, and colds and coughs, also a few cases of snow blindness, to meet which the Government had supplied goggles, but in a short time this was got over, and there was little or no sickness, severe as was the weather, and men who believed that they would surely succumb to this deprivation of their accustomed stimulants found themselves at the end of the campaign in better health than they had been for years before."

As Middleton proceeded northward, he, of course, maintained close communication with the various posts affected by the insurrection. The messages from Superintendent Morris at Battleford indicated that the danger at that point was so acute that on April 11 the General changed his plans

with regard to the movements of Lieutenant-Colonel Otter, and telegraphed him to start at once from Swift Current to the relief of Battleford. Otter accordingly pushed forward on the 13th, with a force made up as follows:

	<i>Men and Officers.</i>
B Battery, Royal Canadian Artillery, Major Short commanding—two guns, one Gatling.....	113
Detachment C Company, Infantry School Corps, Lieutenant Wadmore commanding	49
Detachment Governor-General's Foot Guards, Captain Todd commanding	51
Queen's Own Rifles (two regiments), Lieutenant-Colonel Miller commanding	274
North West Mounted Police, Lieutenant-Colonel W. Herchmer commanding	50
Total	537

The teamsters and transport officials numbered 200.

He was to push on to Battleford with all speed and hold that town until Middleton's arrival. The march performed by his force after crossing the river at Saskatchewan Landing was most creditable. The distance covered 160 miles and it was done in five and a half days. Otter had a long and cumbersome train, and it was necessary to carry twenty-five days' rations, twenty days' oats, ten days' hay and a supply of wood. There were also wagons for a portion of the infantry and, indeed, for the whole column on the last days of the march. As Otter had not sufficient transport force to move all his supplies at once, it was necessary for his teams to make double trips. This involved leaving large quantities of provisions and ammunition practically unprotected on the prairie, and it is extraordinary that they were left unmolested by the disaffected Indians, through whose country he was traveling. Some of the supply trains were, of course, captured.³

An interesting feature of Otter's movements is involved in the fact that, after all but completing so creditable a march, he halted in the afternoon within two miles of Battleford, and allowed a considerable portion of the town, including Judge Rouleau's residence, to be looted and burned that night by the Indians.⁴

³ Extract from the diary of an officer of Otter's Relief Column:

"The supply train captured yesterday was a small one and not important, but the next time we may not be so lucky. Perhaps now an escort will be sent with the supply trains and a proper guard kept on the halting places. We hear of one station where one solitary man is in charge and there are stored thousands of boxes of feed and biscuit, and, more valuable still, a great many rifles and ammunition. This is a station only forty miles away and easily within reach of the Nitchies."

⁴ From the diary of Member of Otter's Relief Column:

"We make only thirty miles, however, halting quite early about five miles from Battleford. We are disgusted to notice clouds of smoke rising from the settlement. We are ordered to camp, however, much as we should like to press on and render

When Otter arrived to relieve Inspector Morris at Battleford, that town had been in a state of siege for a month. Refugees had crowded in until Morris had in his care nearly four hundred women and children. He had organized two companies known as the Battleford Rifles and the Home Guard, and had done what he could to render the settlement capable of resisting attacks. In his official report he mentioned with special gratitude the assistance rendered him by Sergeant-Major Kirk; Mr. Macrae of the Indian Department; Mr. Harvey Nash; Mr. Frank A. Smart, who was killed by skulking Indians upon moving out beyond the line of protection, and Constable Stores, who volunteered to carry a message to Swift Current and in so doing was chased sixty miles by rebels. Later on, March 14, Constable F. O. Elliott, N. W. M. P., was killed near Battleford while scouting.⁵

Now let us return to Middleton's column. On November 16 his advanced guards marched through a blizzard to Clarke's Crossing, the main body of his column arriving there the next day. Here they were reinforced

help if help is needed. It is not considered advisable to advance when night is approaching. The scouts, however, go on to make an investigation. In the evening shots are heard from the direction of the town and twenty-five of the Mounted Police start off to see what the trouble is. Dr. Leslie goes with them. They come back all right and report that the scouts had a few shots with some odd Indians, but that the main body that had been besieging the town had departed. Before leaving they set fire to Judge Rouleau's house as a last work of defiance, and this was the building we saw burning."

Another member of Otter's force, Sheriff Geo. B. Murphy of Moosomin, writes me as follows in defense of his commanding officer:

"Moosomin, Sask., February 28, 1913.

"Mr. N. F. Black, M. A., 2067 Retallack Street, Regina.

"Dear Sir: Your letter of November 12 last was received and I should have answered your inquiry as to Otter's march referred to in same but the letter got filed away.

"The column camped, as stated, two miles out of Battleford, south, as it was night-fall and the houses mentioned as being looted were deserted, as all the people had gone into the fort and it would not have been safe to have gone through the bush at that time of the night. The Commander had full information, through scouts, that the residents of the buildings had escaped.

"With kindest regards, yours truly,

"G. B. Murphy."

⁵ The following interesting note on Battleford occurs in one of the several diaries loaned me by members of Otter's Relief Column:

"I must describe the situation of things over in the fort. The enclosure is about two hundred yards square, with some log houses as barracks and storehouses, also stables, and inside the enclosure have been pent up for over a month 530 people, of whom over 300 were women and children. Dozens had to huddle together in one tent. In a small house (the Commandant's), two-story frame cottage 72 people were quartered. (This is the house Captain and Mrs. Nash were in.) Food was very scarce and water was only to be obtained at the risk of death. All the inhabitants of the town were huddled here. The town is half a mile away and the people were not allowed to stay in the town, as it was too far away to be under protection, though, strange to say, the Indians did not make any attempt to pillage or burn it. The town consists of forty houses—some of them quite comfortable looking. The Saskatchewan here is about half a mile wide and the current is tremendous and consequently the water is very muddy. The town stands about three-quarters of a mile from the Saskatchewan and about the same from the Battle River."

by the Royal Grenadiers from Toronto. With a few extra wagons to assist the men in marching, this capital militia regiment had in nine days, including one day's halt, covered the distance from Qu'Appelle, 198 miles, over a wet and heavy trail.

Middleton now determined to divide his force, sending what we have called the left column across the river, under Lieutenant-Colonel Montizambart, with Lord Melgund (subsequently Earl of Minto, Governor-General of Canada) to take the place he had intended for Otter's column. To transfer Montizambart's force across the river was no easy task. It was done by means of two scows, one of them brought from Saskatoon for the purpose. The scows were worked by pulleys running on a wire rope, the current of the river providing the motive power. His task was performed on the 20th and 21st, after which the columns proceeded down the river, one on either side.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE BATTLE OF FISH CREEK

DUMONT RESTRAINED BY RIEL—ATTEMPTED SURPRISE AT TOUROND'S
COULEE—BATTLE OF FISH CREEK—MELGUND CROSSES THE RIVER—
MIDDLETON'S OWN ACCOUNT OF THE ENGAGEMENT—CASUALTIES—
DUMONT'S REPORT.

During the advance on Batoche it is notorious that Dumont was in favor of systematically harassing the Canadian forces, which he could easily have done with much effect. Intimately knowing the country as he and his warriors did, it would have been relatively safe and easy for him to have severely strained the nerves of the militia by oft-repeated alarms, especially at night. However, he was overruled in this by Riel, and indeed Lord Melgund subsequently pointed out that the Halfbreeds seemed governed simply by a desire to protect their own homes and settlements from aggression.

On the morning of the twenty-fourth, however, Middleton's forces clashed with the rebel outposts at Tourond's Coulee, which in the newspaper accounts was called Fish Creek. This was a steep and winding ravine lying directly in Middleton's path and leading down to the river. Here Dumont and his associates had carefully planned a surprise. It was not entirely successful, as Major Boulton's scouts were feeling their way ahead of the advance guard.¹ They informed Middleton that at the left of the trail they had come across a camping place, not long vacated and the fires still smouldering. From the number of the fires and other signs it was believed that nearly two hundred men had camped there. A few moments after the receipt of this warning the skirmish began. Men in the advance guard of the Ninetieth afterwards declared that "the first indication of the enemy's presence which they had was in seeing several of the scouts in front fall from their saddles under the deadly fire of the Half-

¹ Moreover, we are told in *Le Recit de Gabriel Dumont*, that, much to his chagrin, some of his men rode for some distance on the regular trail between Fish Creek and Middleton's camp on the night before and this left such traces of their presence as to necessitate a departure from the original plans determined upon by the rebel captain.



BATTLE OF FISH CREEK

breeds concealed in the bluffs."² Major Boulton's description of the opening of Fish Creek Battle is as follows:

"I gave the command, 'Left wheel, gallop,' and we charged down upon thirty or forty mounted men who were standing in the shelter of a bluff. When we came upon them they at once turned their horses and bolted for a ravine, or gully, about a hundred and fifty yards distant, dismounting as they galloped. I instantly gave the word to my men, 'Halt! Dismount! Extend in skirmishing order and lie down.' Simultaneously the enemy, who were in a ravine, and out of sight, opened a murderous fire upon us. I said, 'Fire away, boys, and lie close; never mind if you don't see anything, fire,' my object being to keep the enemy down in the gully and hold them in check till the supports came up. The rebels would pop up from the ravine, take a snap shot, and disappear in an instant. The General at once sent back Captain Wise, A.D.C., to hurry up the main body, in which duty his horse was shot. We here sustained the whole of the enemy's fire, which was very hot and unfortunately fatal. Captain Gardiner, who was beside me, was the first to say, 'Major, I am hit.' Almost immediately Langford called out that he was hit. Bruce was the next victim. Then poor D'Arcy Baker called out, 'Major, I'm hit,' and he received his death wound by a bullet crashing into his breast. Then Gardiner called out, 'I am hit again.' Langford, too, was hit a second time. I told the wounded to drag themselves to the rear the best way they could and get out of further danger, ordering the remainder to hold on and fire away."³

One Indian in full war paint came forward, dancing and shouting his war cry apparently out of sheer bravado. He was immediately shot and fell in the open, where his body remained all day. The advanced guard of the infantry under Captain Clarke, of the Ninetieth, who was wounded shortly afterwards, presently arrived, and was extended to the right of the scouts, and when the main body arrived under Lieutenant-Colonel Houghton and Major MacKeand two additional companies were extended to the right. Captain Peters brought the two guns into action, but with such little effect, owing to the cover in which the enemy fought, that Middleton, after a few rounds, withdrew them.

The firing line pushed on to the edge of the bank of the creek. Here many casualties occurred, and Middleton has been criticised for thus exposing his men. It has been said that he should have taken advantage of the superior range of his rifles. However, I do not think criticism valid in view of the nature of the country in which the fighting occurred. Granting that it was necessary to clear the Indians and Halfbreeds out of the steep

² Macbeth: *Making of the Canadian West*.

³ Boulton's *Reminiscences of the North West Rebellion*, pages 225 and 226.

ravine in which they were concealed, it seems evident that such action could be accomplished only by bringing the Canadian forces right to the edge of the coulee, and even into it. The rebels were entirely invisible almost from first to last even at this close range.

Towards the right of the Canadian lines the rebels set fire to the prairie, and under cover of the smoke made a gallant attempt to dislodge the volunteers. The seriousness of the situation at this juncture was candidly admitted by Middleton in articles which subsequently appeared in the *United Service Magazine*. However, the volunteers kept their nerve, and a group of teamsters under Bedson's directions advanced, and with great pluck beat out the flames. "If anything had been required," says General Middleton, "to keep the men steady at this rather critical moment, it would have been found in the extraordinarily composed and cool behavior of William Buchanan, a little bugler of the Ninetieth, who, while calmly distributing ammunition along the line, kept calling out in his childish shrill voice, 'Now, boys, who's for more cartridges?'"

Meantime the left column on the other side of the river could plainly hear the firing, but were, of course, unable to render any immediate assistance. Melgund with the Tenth Grenadiers, however, under Captain Mason, crossed the river and were extended along to the right centre.

"The scow," says Middleton, "unfortunately was not in proper position, having been sent early that morning to our camp for forage for the left column. It was then on its way down, and men were sent along the river to hurry it along. When it did arrive it had to be unloaded before the crossing could commence. The unwieldy scow, which could barely hold sixty men, instead of having the assistance of the wire rope and current, had now to be laboriously propelled with oars roughly improvised and made with axes by men totally unused to such work, the current being an obstruction instead of an aid. Added to this was the difficulty of embarking and disembarking, owing to the deep mud, boulders and blocks of ice, and to the absence of a wharf and of roadways down and up the steep wooded banks, some one hundred feet high on each side. Yet with all these difficulties to surmount, two hundred and fifty men and two guns and their wagons, fully horsed, were crossed over a wide and rapid river without an accident, principally owing to the indomitable energy and determination of the officers and the men, and especially of Lord Melgund and Major Jarvis, commanding the guns of the Winnipeg Battery. A force of regulars could not have done better, if so well.

For the following account of the chief remaining incidents of the battle of Fish Creek I am indebted to one of Middleton's articles⁴ in the *United Service Magazine*, to which reference has already been made:

"Captain Peters, commanding the artillery, now asked permission to have a party of volunteers to try and dislodge these troublesome 'Pitties,' which I granted. The party consisted of a few dismounted artillerymen and some of the Ninetieth under Captain Ruttan. They advanced into the ravine, at the bottom of which they were checked by the fire of the enemy, who, as usual, were invisible. Here they were joined by some more of the Ninetieth under Lieutenant Swinford, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Houghton, who had been sent with orders, and attached himself to the party, and my *aide-de-camp*, Captain Wise, who had obtained leave to go. At the same time another small party advanced in another direction to create a diversion. After making several gallant attempts, all had to retire with the loss of three men killed and five wounded, one of the latter being Lieutenant Swinford, who died of his wound. I refused to let them make a second attempt then, and took Captain Drury, with one gun, supported by a part of C Company, under Major Smith, across the ravine to the left, to try and take the pits in reverse, but with no apparent effect, as one of the gunners was wounded, and Major Boulton, who accompanied me, had his horse shot under him. I brought them back and contented myself with detailing a party, well under cover, to watch the place where the pits were. My gallant and ever-ready *aide-de-camp*, Wise, was now put *hors-de-combat* by a shot in the ankle, received while trying to ascertain if the enemy had gone.

"By about 3 p. m., with the exception of an occasional shot from the pits, all firing had ceased; the enemy had fled, and the fight was virtually over. Captain Mason, of the Tenth, and some officers and men were now very anxious to be allowed to again try and rush the rifle pits, but I did not think it advisable for several reasons to risk losing more, as we certainly should have done in a second attempt. The tenants of the pit were evidently reduced to a small number, and could do little, if any, more damage. Moreover, I could not help having a feeling of admiration and respect for their stubborn defense when deserted by their comrades, so I refused, and shortly after the fire ceased altogether.

"I must now refer to the proceedings of the other column. On hearing the firing on our side Melgund, with the concurrence of Lieutenant-Colonel Montizambart, gave orders to make a secure lager with the wagons, and moved the force down the river bank, leaving a small party on guard. The firing becoming heavier, they moved down the river, and as they got nearly opposite the scene of action—which was not visible to them—they saw somebody on our side gesticulating and shouting. Melgund went down to

⁴ "Suppression of Rebellion in North West Canada," by General Sir Fred Middleton. This account begins in the *United Service Magazine* of November, 1893, and runs through several numbers. The chapters have been scrapbooked in convenient form in Toronto Reference Library.

the river side, and though he could not make out clearly what was said, he rightly concluded that they were wanted to cross, and immediately set to work to do so.

"The band of the 90th did most excellent service in bringing in the wounded, not hesitating to expose themselves to the fire of the enemy in so doing.

"My men had borne their baptism of fire well; and if they had not—as was only to be expected—displayed the dash and rapidity of movement of regular troops in their first essay of war, they had clearly evinced great staying and dogged courage."

Middleton had something less than 400 men actually engaged, of whom ten were killed or died of their wounds, and forty others were wounded. This heavy casualty list shows how effective was the firing of the rebel sharpshooters, who at no time during the engagement numbered more than 130, though they were credited with being present in much greater force. In General Middleton's account it is stated "That the rebels had eleven killed, or died of their wounds, and eighteen wounded, besides three Indians left dead on the field." However, from the parish register at Batoche and the monument raised to the memory of the fallen in Batoche country we learn that as a matter of fact only four of the Halfbreeds were slain.

The names of the volunteers who lost their lives as a result of the Battle of Fish Creek were as follows:

Killed—Gunner D. H. De Manolly, Gunner W. Cook, Privates A. W. Ferguson, James Hutchins, George Wheeler, William Ennis.

Died of wounds—Lieutenant Charles Swinford, Corporal John Code, Private Arthur J. Watson, Trooper D'Arcy Baker.

Middleton remained a week at Fish Creek awaiting the arrival of the steamer Northcote, which was to convey the wounded to Saskatoon, and did not reach the crossing till May 5th. It was therefore necessary to carry the wounded, in improvised ambulances, a distance of about forty-two miles. Boulton's scouts formed the escort, and the wounded were placed under the care of Dr. Willoughby of Saskatoon, and other physicians.

When at last it arrived, the steamer brought, besides supplies, about eighty Midlanders, under Colonel Williams, M. P., Lieutenant-Colonel Van Straubenzie and Captain Howard (late of the U. S. Army), with a Gatling gun.

Let us now turn to a consideration of the Fish Creek engagement as seen from the point of view of the rebels themselves.

It is to be remembered that Gabriel Dumont had been wounded at Duck Lake fight, and it is believed by many who had exceptional opportu-

nity of knowing the facts, that thereafter he was never entirely himself again, during the remainder of the campaign. Indeed, his conduct on the occasion of the skirmish at Fish Creek was severely disapproved by some of his associates. I have carefully weighed the available evidence, however, and have concluded that the flattering judgment of the Canadian soldiers was more just, and I believe that Dumont's story of the affair may be accepted as substantially reliable.

In his account Dumont informs us that on the evening of the 23d he set out from Batoche to meet Middleton with a force of two hundred of the insurgents, made up of Métis, a few French Canadians, and a motley company of Indians—Saulteaux, Crees and Sioux. "Riel accompanied us," he says, "and in the halts he made us say our beads." The company halted for supper at Roger Goulet's farm, where they were overtaken by Noël Champagne and Moïse Carrière, with word that the mounted police were believed to be advancing on Batoche by the Qu'Appelle road. Edouard Dumont, with a little garrison, had been left to defend Batoche and he desired either his brother or Riel himself to return with thirty additional men. Gabriel refused to go back, but Riel consented and the former gave him fifty of his two hundred men.

Dumont then advanced and at daybreak he and his men sighted Middleton's camp at McIntosh's farm. After this preliminary reconnaissance, Dumont caused the main body of his party to fall back upon the precipitous coulee of Fish Creek. He himself, in company with Napoleon Naud, continued the scouting operations, approaching at 4 A. M. to within a half-mile of Middleton's camp, after which they returned to Tourond's. There he was when one of his runners brought word that Middleton was approaching. Dumont then placed one hundred and thirty men in the coulee opposite Tourond's and set out with the remainder of his force, consisting of twenty picked horsemen, to prepare another ambushade on Middleton's flank, but upon seeing recent marks inadvertently left on the trail by some of his men, he was obliged to abandon this plan. At 7:30 Dumont's advanced guard came under fire. Several of its members fled, as also did a considerable number of the Halfbreeds and Indians whom he had left in the coulee. Dumont and his more stalwart companions, by gigantic efforts, stopped their retreat, rallying their men to the number of sixty-two; forty-seven of these were in the main ravine, and fifteen were with Dumont in an adjacent coulee. Dumont was separated from the main body in the ravine during most of the day and it is commonly said that defections from the insurgent ranks reduced their number to forty-five.⁵ Those that remained, however, put up a most courageous fight. Isadore Dumont, to keep up the courage of his companions, started an old chanson

⁵ Dumont gives the number fifty-four.

of Napoleon the First, and all joined in the chorus. Maxime Lapine's report of what he saw and did in that fatal coulee will be found quoted at length in the chapter devoted to religious aspects of the rebellion.⁶

Riel would not allow reinforcements to come from Batoche during the battle, but towards evening Gabriel Dumont's brother Edouard refused to remain any longer in the village and came to the support of his brother with eighty mounted men. By this time, however, the fighting was practically over. Dumont, with his handful of men, had successfully withstood Middleton's overwhelmingly superior force, and when in the evening he retired to Batoche, he carried away his dead and wounded.

⁶ Chapter XXIX.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE BATTLE OF CUT KNIFE CREEK

MIDDLETON'S COMMENT ON OTTER'S RECONNAISSANCE—POUNDMAKER'S ATTITUDE—HIS VISIT TO BATTLEFORD—OTTER'S SORTIE—BATTLE OF CUT KNIFE CREEK—RETREAT—WHY PERMITTED BY POUNDMAKER—CASUALTIES—CONFLICTING OPINIONS REGARDING OTTER'S CONDUCT.

While Middleton's column was recuperating after the Battle of Fish Creek, the General received the news of an encounter between Lieutenant-Colonel Otter and Poundmaker about thirty-eight miles west of Battleford. "The movement which led to the engagement," says Middleton, "was made without my orders, though Lieutenant-Colonel Otter had the approval of Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney,¹ to whom, however, he should not have applied on such a purely military matter." The foregoing written criticism is currently believed to be considerably milder than were the General's verbal comments on this unlucky affair.

Let us first consider the events leading up to it. It was known that the rebels had been for some time endeavouring to induce Poundmaker and his Crees to cooperate with them. Their representatives were in his camp, and evidently came determined to bring him into sympathy with the movement. They were attended by the Stonies, whom they brought over to Poundmaker's camp, where the Stonies pitched a "soldiers' tent." Poundmaker's influence, such as it was, seems always to have been exercised in the interests of peace and humanity, but he was apparently now thwarted. He was, indeed, a prisoner in his own camp, and attempted three times to escape from it and was brought back. Poundmaker might well have been in fear of his life. In order to commit the Indians, the Halfbreeds

¹ The Correspondence that passed between Colonel Otter and the Lieutenant-Governor, in this connection, consisted of the following telegrams:

(1) Otter to Dewdney, dated Battleford, April 26: "Propose taking part of my force at once to finish Poundmaker, leaving one hundred men to garrison Battleford. Great depredations committed. Immediate decisive action necessary. Do you approve?"

(2) Dewdney to Otter, dated April 26: "Think you cannot act too energetically or Indians will collect in large numbers. Herchmer knows country to Poundmaker's reserve. Sand hills most dangerous ground to march through. Be sure to secure good, reliable scouts."

(3) Otter to Dewdney, received April 30: "Have sent scouts to find Poundmaker's whereabouts. All ready then to move."

seem to have absented themselves at the last; but were represented by Chicucin. There was only one of Poundmaker's men at the meeting, the rest being Stonies. An incriminating letter was dictated by the Council.

It is to be remembered that an Indian chief, however influential, is not like the commander of a disciplined force. The influence he has is just such as his character and oratorical ability may give him, and enables him to lead men only where their inclinations jump. He has no court of justice or means of punishment.

Shortly afterwards Poundmaker went to Battleford. The Indians were armed, but there was, of course, nothing unusual in this, and there is nothing to show that Poundmaker organized a body to come with him. Apparently he went to ask for tea and tobacco, and found out what had happened at Duck Lake. At Battleford, however, they found the south part of the village deserted, and in all directions there were goods and all manner of things to arouse the cupidity of the natives. What was to be expected then happened, and the houses were looted, though, as has already been stated, there is nothing to prove that this violence was pre-considered. Indeed, at Poundmaker's trial, one of the witnesses declared that Poundmaker did what he could to prevent harm being done. Whether Poundmaker himself came into possession of any of the stolen goods or not, it is impossible to say, as the evidence at the trial was conflicting. The next morning the Indians disappeared, returning to their reserve at Cut Knife. The Stonies came in, and the Halfbreeds with them, and thenceforth Poundmaker was helpless, whatever his wishes may have been.

When Poundmaker's party went to Battleford, Poundmaker asked Peter Ballantyne where the agent was who wished to interview him. That official, however, had crossed the river to the north side from fear of the Halfbreeds from Duck Lake. Poundmaker said he was very sorry that the agent had withdrawn, as it would place him (Poundmaker) in a very bad light. The Battleford people had withdrawn to the barracks, which, with the police, they had fortified.²

Colonel Otter mistrusted Poundmaker's intentions, believing that he was merely waiting to make a junction with Big Bear's band. Consequently, although the unfortunate chief had, doubtless with the utmost difficulty, succeeded in corralling his unruly followers upon their reservation nearly forty miles from where they could do any further harm, Colonel Otter marched forth against him on the night of May 1st with about three hundred and twenty-five men, two seven-pounders and a Gatling gun. In his official report he describes this movement as an armed reconnaissance.

² The foregoing statement of Poundmaker's attitude is based upon and amply corroborated by the evidence given at his subsequent trial in Regina.

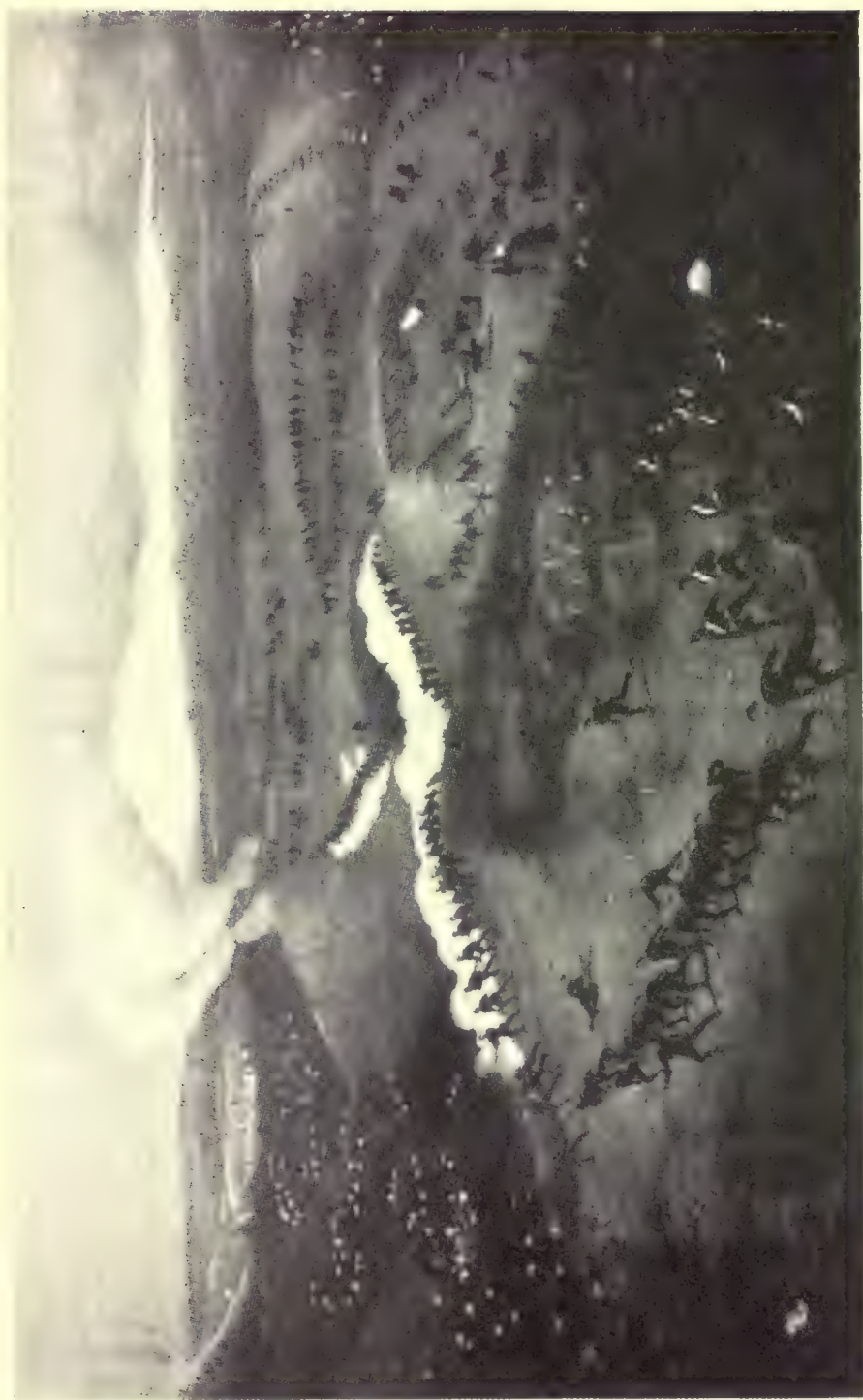
His force was conveyed in a train of forty-eight wagons. After a six hours' march, Otter halted for the moon to rise, then pressed forward again, reaching the Indian encampment about daybreak. It was necessary to ford Cut Knife Creek, which was deep and muddy enough to make the manœuvre awkward. The advanced guard had crossed and were approaching Poundmaker's camp when they were sighted. The Indian, who apparently first saw them, galloped about the camp in a circle and this signal was immediately followed by the appearance of some thirty braves. Orders had been given that the troops were not to fire unless fired upon, but in his evidence at Poundmaker's trial, Scout Charles Ross, of the Mounted Police, was unable to say which side really commenced the engagement. However, someone shouted, "Yes, the Indians have started. We have the privilege to shoot," and presently the firing was general and continued.³

The main body of troops was still at the ford when the police scouts galloped back with the cry, "The Nichies are on us." The troops dashed up Cut Knife Hill, as also did the Indians on the other side, but the Mounted Police won the race for this position. The Indians then moved down out of sight into the numerous gullies to the right and left of the hill. Otter's forces were thus so placed as to be obliged to fight in the open against an invisible enemy raking both flanks. Some of the Government force rushed forward to storm the enemy's camp, which had been left almost defenceless. One of Poundmaker's lieutenants, Piacutch, later admitted that if Otter's forces had followed up this movement instead of remaining cooped up on the hill, the camp would have been captured, and the Indians would have been compelled, if they desired to defend it, to come out into the open. "If the police had stayed on their horses," said Piacutch, "they could

³ The following passage is borrowed from the diary of one of the volunteers:

"In the early dawn we reach Poundmaker's Reservation. Here there are a few houses but no one is visible and we hurry on. About half-past four we come to a wide open plain and find that here there has evidently been a very large camp. The marks of numerous tepees and fires can be plainly seen and it is evident that the camp has been but lately vacated. We halt at this camp for some time while the scouts search some clumps of bush that are nearby. In front of the camp and quite close to it is a large creek and rising from it, on the far side, are high hills intersected with numerous ravines. After a short delay the scouts return and by this time it is quite light. We can see far away on the distant hills a herd of cattle grazing and one or two mounted men riding about. Here evidently are our friends. As they are at least two miles away, it is decided to cross the creek, climb the hill, have breakfast and rest the horses before pushing on.

"The stream proves to be rather hard to cross. After crossing it we have some five hundred yards of scrubby, marshy lands to go through and then we begin to climb the hill. The scouts are quietly riding near the guns. The men have dismounted and are walking by twos and threes along the trail, when suddenly, just as the scouts reach the top of the first steep ascent, I hear a rattle of rifles ahead and then, in a minute or two, see the police and some artillery lying down firing briskly over the crest of the hill and the guns and gatlings also working for all they are worth. At the same time bullets begin to fly around us and puffs of smoke floating from the bushes on right and left show us where they come from. Evidently we are in a trap."



BATTLE OF CUT KNIFE CREEK

have got through to the camp, for the Indians could only have fired one shot as they passed." ⁴

However, by a most unfortunate blunder, the advanced guard was recalled, and the police retreated to the hill, driving the enemy out of the valley to the rear, which the attacking party had just crossed.

For five hours or more the police and volunteers lay in skirmishing order among the hills in the blazing sun, exposed to a hail of bullets from every side, and rarely seeing an enemy. The guns had been promptly brought into action, but were practically useless. "The Gatling," says Howard A. Kennedy, who participated in this battle, "sprayed the prairie with a vast quantity of lead, with a noise that gave the Indians a bit of a scare at first; but they soon got used to that. A gatling may be all very well when your enemy stands in front of it in a crowd, but that is not the Indians' way. They had a wholesome respect for the seven-pounders, which was more than the gunners had, for the wooden trails were rotten and gave way under the recoil, so that one of the guns fell to the ground after every shot and the other had to be tied to the carriage with a rope."

Though Otter's force had planned to take the Indians by surprise, it itself was so surprised by the suddenness of the onset that, again to quote Kennedy's narrative, "Scarcely a man had a biscuit in his pocket or a drop of water in his can when he sprang from his wagon and flung himself down in the firing line. Exhausted by the all-night ride and the hunger and thirst and heat of the day, many a man went to sleep under fire, while a comrade kept up the fight—to take a nap in his turn later on. It was weary as well as bloody work. But at last, after having charged the Indians out of the flanking coulees and the valley in our rear, we took advantage of the lull to saddle up and go back the way we had come. The Indians, when driven out of the coulees, had fallen back, discouraged by the white man's bravery, and prepared to defend their camp, which in fact our men were eager to attack. Great was their surprise and joy when they found we were actually in full retreat, and they poured down the hillside after us like a swarm of angry ants before half of us had crossed the creek. Now, however, they were in the open, and a well-planted shell from our rope-swarthed seven-pounder—its companion has been put to bed in a wagon—with the cool musketry of our rear guard, held the pursuers in check till the last of our wagons had struggled through the creek."

There was plenty of mismanagement in connection with this disastrous engagement, but the coolness and courage of the entrapped police and volunteers merits all praise. A detachment of the Queen's Own Rifles were the last to cross the stream, and their method of doing so shows that at all events their retreat was far from being a rout. The banks were

⁴ Howard A. Kennedy's *New Canada and the New Canadians*, page 168.

very muddy, and across the creek lay a fallen tree. Rather than wade through the miry stream the volunteers coolly retired over this natural bridge.

Nevertheless, the Indians might easily have turned the defeat into a terrible disaster if they had pursued the retreating forces, and caught them in the woods. "This the young men wanted to do," says Piacutch, "but Poundmaker held them back out of pity." Another Indian informant, in describing this incident, declared that Poundmaker brandished his whip and threatened to flog any Indian who dared go after the white men. "If you shed any more blood, the Great Spirit will punish us for it," cried the victorious savage.⁵

Otter's slain were as follows: Corporal Sleigh, of the N. W. M. P.; Corporal Lowry, of the N. W. M. P.; Trumpeter Bourke, of the N. W. M. P.; Bugler Foulkes, of C Company, Infantry School Corps; Private Rogers, of the Ottawa Sharpshooters; Private Osgood,⁶ of the Ottawa Sharpshooters; Private Dobbs, Battleford Rifles; Teamster Charles Winder.

In addition to these the wounded numbered fourteen.

Father Morice states on the authority of A. H. Byoness, O. M. I., a missionary among these Indians, that only five of Poundmaker's braves were killed during this action.

In the retreat the wounded suffered dreadfully in the jolting wagons, and the men chafed bitterly under their sense of defeat as they rode into Battleford at 11 o'clock that night. In the preceding thirty hours they had ridden about eighty miles and fought a six-hour fight.

After this engagement, Poundmaker could no longer resist the war spirit of his elated braves, and his tribe was henceforth definitely to be reckoned among the number of rebels.

Various writers have attempted to justify Otter's attack on Poundmaker, among them Major Boulton:⁷

"While Colonel Otter apparently acted upon his own responsibility in making this attack upon Poundmaker, the circumstances by which he was surrounded must be taken into consideration. On his arrival at Battleford he found that several murders had been committed, settlers' property had been destroyed, and their owners were obliged to flee to Battleford for safety. A portion of Battleford itself was also burned and pillaged. These doings, no doubt, led him to attempt to inflict some punishment upon Poundmaker's Indians. Moreover, an amalgamation between Big Bear's band (which had so recently captured Fort Pitt) and Poundmaker was to be feared, and Colonel Otter deemed it advisable for the safety of the country

⁵ Missions des O. M. I. Vol. XXXIII, page 336.

⁶ The body of Private Osgood his companions were unable to carry away. It was burned by Father Cochin, a prisoner in Poundmaker's camp.

⁷ Page 318.

to inflict a blow on Poundmaker before this junction was effected. The reports that Big Bear's runners brought back to their chief about the fighting that had taken place, and the loss the Indians had suffered at Cut Knife, no doubt, led Big Bear and his tribe to feel that they were safer in the neighbourhood of Fort Pitt, and no junction was afterwards attempted. On the whole, then, it must be said that this attack was well timed and pluckily executed."

Treating of the same incident, Alexander Begg, in his history of the North West (Vol. 3, page 216), expresses the following views:

"The only advantage gained by this reconnaissance was that the Indians were forced to declare themselves, and as they proved to be on the side of war, the military authorities knew what to expect of them, and were less liable to be surprised by an attack. Poundmaker previous to the Cut Knife fight, though he had abstained from attacking Battleford and there was some doubt about his ultimate intentions, had committed several depredations on settlers in the neighbourhood. His Indians had killed Bernard Tremont, a stock raiser; James Payne, farm instructor on the Stoney reserve, and Mr. Smart, a trader, besides pillaging and destroying property and stealing cattle. Colonel Otter was justified, therefore, in making the attack which he did, but after the Cut Knife affair he remained on the defensive at Battleford, until joined by General Middleton on May twenty-fifth. There is no doubt that the Indians lost heavily, and this must have had the effect of deterring them from further hostilities."

The comments of Wilbur F. Bryant, in his "The Blood of Abel" seem to me much fairer and more reasonable than these examples of special pleading. Says he:

"The assault on Cut Knife Hill does not reflect especial glory on the attacking forces. The gallantry of the Mounted Police and Poundmaker's magnanimity at the close of the action are its distinguishing features. In all, the fighting lasted seven hours, the honours remaining with the Indians, whose cover gave them an overwhelming advantage over their foes. Poundmaker, who had only 250 poorly armed warriors, showed his generalship in the skilful disposition of his men, and that he succeeded in saving his wigwams from destruction against so superior a body must be placed to his credit. After the last shot had been fired, and Colonel Otter had given the signal to retire, Poundmaker made no attempt to follow up his victory. His braves rested on their rifles, and through the thick screen of bushes watched the soldiers fall back across the creek. Had any spirit of revenge actuated the old chief, there is little doubt but that his warriors might have cut the flying column to pieces, and the inglorious retreat would have been turned to a terrible disaster."

One more opinion may be quoted. This is that of Captain G. Mercer Adam:

"From a military point of view it was doubtless necessary to overawe Poundmaker by a display of our strength on the field, and, if possible, to hem in the insurrection.

"Moreover, there were scores to be settled with his band for their plundering and intimidation in the region, for the murder of Payne and Applegarth, the local farm instructors, and for the shooting of at least two of the settlers. There was also the need of keeping Poundmaker from joining Riel and his Halfbreeds, and of giving aid to Big Bear and his bands in the west. But whatever justification there was for sallying out with an armed force against the Indians, we could have wished that Colonel Otter had met Poundmaker anywhere but on his own reserves and surrounded by the teepees of his women and children."⁸

It is a fact worthy of mention that Cut Knife Creek and Hill were so named because at the same place, many years before, Poundmaker and his Crees had repulsed the attack of Cut Knife, a great Sarcee warrior.

⁸ Page 318, *The North-West*, 1885.

CHAPTER XXV

THE CAPTURE OF BATOCHÉ

MIDDLETON'S ADVANCE TO DUMONT'S CROSSING—THE *NORTHCOTE* ARRIVES AT BATOCHÉ AHEAD OF MIDDLETON; A CHAPTER OF ACCIDENTS—A CHECK—ALLEGED PROPOSAL OF RETREAT—MELGUND SENT EAST—SECOND DAY'S FIGHTING—FIRST FEIGNED ATTACK FROM THE EAST—DISCUSSION OF MIDDLETON'S POLICY—MIDDLETON'S PLANS FOR FOURTH DAY—ASTLEY'S HEROISM—MISCARRIAGE OF ORIGINAL PLANS—THE FINAL CHARGE—HENTY'S DISPATCH—THE *GLOBE*'S ACCOUNT—CASUALTIES—HEROISM OF THE HALFBREEDS—EXTENT OF THEIR LOSSES—CAPTURE OF RIEL—ESCAPE OF DUMONT.

The next event of special importance in the campaign was Middleton's advance upon and capture of Batoché. On May 7th he set out from Fish Creek with his entire force now upon the right bank, numbering seven hundred and twenty-four officers and men. To these were added, two or three days later, the Land Surveyors' Scouts, some fifty in number, led by Captain Dennis.

The steamer *Northcote* was also to take part in the attack upon the rebel headquarters. Upon it were about fifty combatants under the command of Major Smith.

On the first day the force advanced as far as Gabriel Dumont's Crossing, where it camped for the night. The next day's journey brought Middleton's force within about nine miles of Batoché, and on May 9th the siege began. About six a. m. Middleton moved out from camp, leaving it standing with a small guard to assist the teamsters in case of an attack. According to Middleton's own report, the *Northcote* was to have moved down the river at such a time as to reach Batoché at nine o'clock, when he would also be on hand, and the village would be attacked both from the river and from the land. Apparently there was some misunderstanding, however. Lieutenant-Colonel Houghton, Middleton's chief of staff, subsequently declared¹ that the steamer was under orders to be at Batoché at 8 a. m., and that its failure to connect with Middleton at the crucial time was owing to the fact that the general was one hour late in arriving. Who-

¹ *Montreal Gazette*, Controversy of February and March, 1894, page 2.

soever was the fault, the steamer actually did approach Batoche one hour in advance of the land force, and a very hot welcome she received. Seeing no sign of support from the land, she swept with the current slowly past the settlement, exchanging with the rebels a vigorous fire. At Batoche's Ferry there is a steel cable crossing the river. Their attempts to sever this as they moved down stream failed, and the cable carried away the smoke-stack of the steamer, and for a few moments the accident threatened to be even more serious. Had the unlucky steamer been stranded at this point in the river, the results might well have been deplorable. The enemy's fire was kept up for nearly two miles, but only three of the men on the *Northcote* were wounded. She then came to a stand, but found it impossible to steam back against the current with the two heavily loaded barges in tow. Accordingly it was reluctantly resolved by those in command to go on down the river to the Hudson's Bay Ferry, repair damages, leave the barges there, take in more fire wood, and return at once to Batoche. Before reaching her intended destination, however, the unlucky vessel ran upon a sand bank, where she lay stranded for several hours. On reaching the ferry Major Smith found there the steamer *Marquis* with a party of Mounted Police. Though it takes us ahead of our story, it may be stated here that the two steamers were not ready to start back until the 12th, and then, as the engines of the *Marquis* broke down, she had to be towed by the *Northcote*, so that the two did not reach Batoche until after its capture. Middleton's official comments on this chapter of accidents were very generous: "Though the *Northcote* was unfortunately prevented from taking part in our attack on Batoche, I have little doubt that the probability of her returning with reinforcements tended to disturb the enemy, and Major Smith and his party deserve great credit for the way in which they met the difficulties with which they were beset."

Now let us return to the column. As it approached the river, Middleton heard, to his intense exasperation, a rattling fire and the steamer's whistle, showing that the *Northcote* was already engaged and that his plans for a combined attack were frustrated. The elated rebels, upon this first day, brought Middleton to a stand near the church, a short distance above Batoche. Indeed, the check was so serious that it was confidently affirmed by Colonel Houghton and many others, though denied by Middleton himself, that in the afternoon the General contemplated retreating to the camping ground of the night before, and was prevented from doing so only by Dr. Orton's absolute refusal to allow the wounded men to be transferred. It is almost impossible to arrive at the facts concerning this and many other incidents of the rebellion, as bitter disaffection was rampant among the officers in command, largely the product of the mutual jealousy that so universally prevails between professional soldiers and militia men. Had such

a retreat occurred, its moral effect on both the volunteers and the rebels would have been very serious indeed.

Towards evening the troops were gradually withdrawn to the four sides of the zareba which Middleton had established on one of the very few open spaces adjacent to the village and above it. The enemy followed them up for a time, and even when checked by heavy fire from the zareba they maintained a desultory, long range fire until nightfall. No tents were pitched except for the wounded, and, after a hasty supper, the men lay down in a drizzling rain with their weapons beside them. Middleton's casualties had been two killed and ten wounded, including Captain Mason, of the Tenth Grenadiers.

An interesting and suggestive episode of this first day was the departure of Lord Melgund. Whatever may have been his motive, Middleton's explanation was that he had determined to send Lord Melgund with an important despatch to the Minister of Militia. The contents of this despatch have never been made public, though it still remains in cipher at Ottawa. It will doubtless provide interesting reading. Lord Melgund reached Humboldt (fifty-five miles southeast of Batoche) at four o'clock next morning. From there he sent Middleton's telegram, and, in the interview with Lieutenant-Colonel George T. Denison, he told of the abortive attempt to drive the enemy out of their position. Colonel Denison says that while Lord Melgund, of course, revealed nothing of why he was being sent back East, the general impression was that it was to get us some regulars from Halifax.²

The next morning Middleton's forces were under arms at dawn, and an attempt was made to take up the position from which they had retired the preceding evening. This proved unsuccessful, as the rebels in high force held the grounds about the cemetery and in front of the church. The infantry were stationed in as advanced a position as was possible, and engaged the enemy throughout most of the day. During the afternoon trenches and isolated pits were constructed, from which in the evening an unexpected flank fire drove back the rebels as they attempted to follow up the advanced parties, when, under Middleton's orders, they fell back to the camp for the night. His losses during the day were one killed and five wounded.

On the third day of the siege, Middleton led a mounted reconnaissance, or feigned attack, north from the camp, past the Humboldt trail, which runs west from Batoche to a small open plain to the east of the village. This is the only piece of level country of any extent devoid of woods in the vicinity, and is known locally as La Belle Prairie. This region proved to be well protected, but the movement withdrew the rebels from the main

² *Soldiering in Canada*, p. 287, by Lieutenant-Colonel George T. Denison.

front, and Colonel Williams succeeded in carrying the Indians' position below the cemetery.

Bitter dissatisfaction was prevalent in the evening, when the advanced parties were again recalled to the camp. It was felt that Middleton's policy unnecessarily involved the nightly sacrifices of whatever had been gained during the day. The rank and file, as well as most of the Canadian officers, were becoming distinctly restive, and were eager to close with the enemy and bring the siege to an end by a single decisive action. There are not wanting men whose opinion deserves respect, who think that the General



BATOCHÉ'S HOUSE.

Captain French, who was shot when at the central upper window giving the signal to cease firing, when Batoche was captured.

showed discretion in not risking everything in a premature attempt to capture the village by a vigorous general assault. The country in which the fighting took place was admirably adapted to the purposes of defense. The numerous wooded ravines were lined with rifle pits, and to carry them the attacking party would need greatly to outnumber the enemy or to exhibit the most tenacious courage and steadiness under the withering fire of an invisible foe. Middleton was still under the impression that the rebel forces were much more numerous than they really were, and he was manifestly doubtful of the fighting qualities of his inexperienced militia men,

at all events if they were called upon too soon to carry out so difficult and dangerous an assault. His sentiments are indicated in his despatch of May 1 to General Strange, in which he remarked, "These raw soldiers require whipping up at first." Furthermore, as Middleton has pointed out, he recognized that his forces could afford the considerable expenditure of ammunition which such tactics rendered necessary much better than his adversary. However, by May 11, "our men," says Middleton, "were beginning to show more dash, and that night I came to the conclusion it was time to make a decisive attack." "Our casualties for the day," he reported, "consisted of four wounded, all very slightly. This shows that my men are becoming more at home at this sort of warfare." It was his intention personally to conduct a feigned attack on the settlement from across La Belle Prairie. As soon as the firing was general in this quarter and the enemy had been withdrawn from their main position to resist the attack from the east, Van Straubenzie was to seize the position formerly held by the Canadian troops and to push on cautiously. The General with his immediate staff would then gallop back and take command of the main attack, which would now be in progress.

Accordingly, on the morning of the fourth and final day of the siege, May 12, operations commenced with a vigorous firing across La Belle Prairie. During this engagement letters were sent over from the rebel lines by Riel, borne by two loyalist prisoners, Mr. Astley and Mr. Jackson. Astley's letter ran as follows:

"Batoche, May 12, 1885.

"If you massacre our families we are going to massacre the Indian agent and other prisoners.

LOUIS 'DAVID' RIEL."

To this communication General Middleton wrote the following reply: "Mr. Riel:

"I am anxious to avoid killing women and children, and have done my best to avoid doing so. Put your women and children in one place and let me know where it is and no shot shall be fired on them. I trust to your honor not to put men with them.

FRED MIDDLETON,

"Commanding N. W. Field Forces."

Astley returned with this missive to Riel, and some time afterwards was sent back with the following acknowledgment:

"General:

"Batoche, May 12, 1885.

"Your prompt answer to my note shows that I was right in mentioning to you the cause of humanity. We will gather our families in one place, and as soon as it is done we will let you know.

"I have the honor to be, General,

"Your humble servant,

"LOUIS 'DAVID' RIEL."

The desperation to which the rebel chief was now reduced was painfully indicated in a postscript written on the outside of this despatch:

"I do not like war, and if you do not retreat and refuse an interview the question remains the same as regards the prisoners."

To this communication Middleton sent no further reply, as indeed, by the time he received it, it would have been quite impossible for him to have induced the volunteers to withdraw from their attack. However, Astley, with memorable heroism, returned again to the rebel lines with a view to protecting the prisoners, and inducing Riel to surrender without further unnecessary bloodshed. In passing to and fro between the lines, Astley happily escaped uninjured, though his clothes were rent with bullets.

We left Middleton conducting a feigned attack from the east. When he judged that the time had come for the decisive assault, he galloped back to his main body, which he expected to find already engaging the enemy. Owing to the high wind prevailing from the west, however, Straubenzie had not heard any certain sound of the preliminary attack east of the village; consequently, to Middleton's inexpressible exasperation, he found the troops still in camp. While the General was getting something to eat, Straubenzie moved forward towards the cemetery on the left, with orders to assume the old position and push on cautiously. To the right of Straubenzie's two companies of Midlanders, led by Colonel Williams, were the Tenth Grenadiers, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Grasett, extending beyond the church. Who gave the command to charge, or whether any such command were ever given, is still a matter of dispute. The men were in a mood in which restraint was no longer to be thought of. The shouting of Williams' Midlanders as they came under fire was the signal for a spontaneous advance of the whole line. "Halt when I halt and not before," cried Williams, and his men followed nobly. The advance towards the line of occupation of the previous Saturday was a race between the Midlanders and Grenadiers. As Middleton hurried out from his tent he "found the whole line, which had been splendidly led by Lieutenant-Colonel Van Straubenzie, in the wood facing the village, the line being perpendicular to the river; the Midlanders on the left, the Grenadiers in the centre, and the Ninetieth on the right in columns commanded by Captain Buchan; Major Makeand having sprained his leg early in the day and Major Boswell being left in the zareba with the guard. The guns were now up and commenced firing from their old position on the village and on the ferry by which some of the enemy were escaping. The Ninetieth were now quickly extended on the right of the Grenadiers, the extreme right being taken by the scouts dismounted." It was at this juncture that Astley brought Riel's second message asking Middleton to withdraw his men.

Houghton and others subsequently stated that in this decisive assault

the Canadian officers charged the pits on their own responsibility. "Had they been unsuccessful," says Houghton, "they would have been tried by courtmartial and shot, but being in close touch with their men, and knowing their metal, they drove the rebels from cover and broke the back of the rebellion."

The only authentic description of the fight by an independent eye witness was that cabled to the *London Standard* by G. A. Henty, Jr., the well-known war correspondent and author. After speaking of the armed reconnaissance of the morning he tells of Middleton's return to camp and of the general advance which took place at one o'clock. Continuing, Mr. Henty wrote as follows:

"Without a moment's hesitation they dashed into the bush, and with a rush carried the rifle pits from which the enemy had harassed us on Saturday; and then swept the enemy before them down a short valley dotted with bush, into the plain, which extends half a mile back from the river banks.

"On one side of the plain the enemy had dug a long line of rifle pits, from which they opened fire as we advanced from the village of Batoche, which stands in the centre of the plain. The ground to be crossed was open, and for the most part under cultivation, though here and there were patches of brushwood.

"As the Grenadiers had cleared the valley, the other corps had come up, and the Grenadiers and Boulton's Horse advanced together with the intelligence Corps on their flank.

"The scene was a pretty one as the troops advanced, the puffs of smoke darting out from the houses of the villages, and fringing the bush-covered hills on our flank from the rifle pits at their feet. On our part there was no attempt at advancing in accordance with any military system. The troops moved forward in an irregular row, firing as they went, at the village in front.

"The enemy were few in number, but fought well and steadily, keeping under cover of the houses, and seldom showing a head. The troops advanced briskly until near the village, when they hesitated a little, and the officers had to expose themselves a good deal to get them forward; the result was that three officers were killed, Captains French and Brown, and Lieutenant Fitch, while only two privates fell slain in the whole day's fighting. This speaks for itself, and shows also the steadiness and accuracy of the aim of the enemy. We had in all eleven wounded.

"After a short pause, the troops went at the village with a rush, and the rebels fled instantly from the other side. So quickly was the affair over that Riel's men had no time to carry off their prisoners with them, and they were all found uninjured.

"Several of the enemy were killed as the Grenadiers rushed the rifle pits, and some more were shot as we cleared the valley, but the total number engaged was small, and there can be no doubt that many of those who fought against us on Saturday must have retired before the fighting began."

A. S. O. E.'s dispatch to the *Toronto Globe* also provides a very spirited



THE CAPTURE OF BATOCHE

—even if somewhat grandiloquent—account of the battle, and from it the following extracts are borrowed:

"Every man's blood was up and heated with excitement. Nothing could have drawn off the men from their one purpose in view. Another minute and a telling volley was poured by the Midlanders down the slope into the enemy's pits, and then with a 'three times three' rolled into one, they disappeared over the bank and fairly vaulted over the pits and prodded and bayonnetted the enemy out.

"It was a grand and noble action, and ever thereafter they should be called 'The Irresistibles.' The cheering was contagious, and those behind, looking on from the trenches, caught it up, and cheered again and again in loyal style, and as only Britons can cheer. The Grenadiers, not a moment behind, answered the command of their colonel, and on they went in short rushes, covering the ground as if the very devil was behind them. Without cover, they chose close quarters for their safety, if they thought at all of their safety, and every rifle seemed levelled at them as they covered the ground and pushed on past the last of our trenches.

"The whole line took up the charge, and many a teamster jumped from the zareba, and, overtaking the main body, became thenceforward one of the men. The excitement was intense. The Grenadiers, peppered at in their onward course, kept on all the while, answering back the rebels' fire, giving it to them in rapid style, and nearing their pits every moment. It was plain to be seen that the advance was a general one from the extreme right to the left, and the 90th, in the zareba—'the little devils,' as they are now called—were formed up ready to do their part on the right, and impatiently they waited. Still the Midlanders kept on, three men falling within as many minutes, their voices hardly missed in the wild cheering of those escaping as they dashed ahead on towards Batoche, still a mile or so distant. Away to the front rushed Colonel Straubenzie, hat in hand and waving it and cheering on the men.

"Just then the horses galloped up with the guns, the entire artillery being under the command of Colonel Montizambart, and the remainder of the 90th joined the advance on the right. The Winnipeg guns opened on the rebel houses; Howard crashed away at the bluffs covering the advance of the 90th and the remaining guns showered shrapnel into the scraggy and small-growth timber.

"Away to the left the rebels seemed more concerned with the advance of the Midlanders, who were fast gaining on the cemetery, and they made a firm and bitter stand, but all to no purpose; yet it was terribly hot for the men, and it was a great relief when the right of the Grenadiers gained the upper edge of the slope, and, pelting away at the rebels in their pits, eased things off for the Midlanders, and made it a little more comfortable. This was a great advantage gained, and the Midlanders, with another cheer and a rush, cleared the pits from which the fire had come so heavily.

"In the meantime the Surveyors' Corps had joined the charge, and Boulton's infantry came on, both being cheered to the echo when they were seen to enter and join the fight. They at once began to force the fighting away to the extreme right in a terrible fashion. Perhaps of all points along the line theirs was the hottest; the rebel pits fronted them as from two sides of a triangle. The Midlanders, with the assistance of the Grenadiers, had

got too far ahead. They had cleared everything before them and the Grenadiers' attention was turned once more to their own immediate front. On they went under the disadvantage of getting the fire more or less from both the right and the left of the enemy's line. But their advance was as certain and as sure as the wave upon the wave-beaten shore. Too busy to tell who it was who fell, on they went except perhaps now and then one would cry out: 'Ambulance! Ambulance!'

"Things were by this time beginning to get mixed, and a black coat would be seen mingling with the red, and a red coat with the black. The Midlanders were catching it from across the river, and remaining still; answering back the rebels' fire was tame work for them. The fire of the enemy came also hot and fast from the small ravine on further than the cemetery. Things were getting to be considerably unpleasant. 'I want a company to reinforce me,' said gallant Colonel Williams, 'and I'll clean out that ravine.' 'I'm here, and here's my company,' shouted back Ruttan of the 90th—an old Cobourg boy—and on the Midlanders went, followed by Ruttan, down into the ravine, the rebels jumping from their pits and scurrying back as they saw the onslaught that was on them. On, up, out of the ravine, and onwards, when Lieutenant Halliwell was hit just as he had told Laidlaw and Grace to keep their divisions firing so as to lessen the fire of the enemy. The left, led by the Midlanders, was fast sweeping round. With each fresh rush the men would cheer.

"Firing was gradually ceasing, foretelling the final dash soon to come. The rebels seemed to see this, and as the line came on, would scamper back from pit to pit, firing as best they could. The 90th, behind the bush to the right of the Grenadiers, darted through the bush and down the slope, on across the hollow and up the other side to the bluff, from whence the enemy kept pouring forth their jagged bullets. In the impetuous rush Major Makeand slipped and fell, and the belief that he was shot incensed his men still more, and on they went for satisfaction. In the meantime, the line had reached the rise, on which, until now, the Gatling had been playing, and it was ordered to take up a position near the rear, from whence it kept up its kettledrum rattle on the bluffs, as now one corps and then another would force on the fighting.

"In less than half an hour the fight was decided, but the battle had to be won. The line came swinging round, and in a short time it was at right angles to the original line of attack. Just then a ferry started from the west side of the river to cross with the rebel reinforcements, but a division of C Company under Laidlaw sent them back, and here it was he was shot from the bank by rebels expecting to cover the crossing of the ferry.

"The houses then had to be taken, and taken at the double, and Colonel Williams sent back a message to the General that he was going to charge them. The message sounded very much as if it were *nolens volens*. Before Stewart returned, the Colonel was up and at it. His men reached the top of the slope, and then down the other side they rushed with the force of a buffalo. The Grenadiers joined in the dash, one of them in his course plunging his bayonet clean through an Indian and carrying him out of the pit with the velocity of his charge. The enemy still contested the ground, firing as they retired, and many a poor fellow bit the ground.

"The Red Cross men were now to be seen here and there and every-



SCENES AT SEAT OF THE REBELLION.

Batoche's store, in the cellar of which the loyalist prisoners were huddled. The cross (X) marks hole made by a shell during the siege. Humboldt Trail, entering Batoche. This road winds among ravines and "bluffs" and was so lined with hidden rifle pits as to be impassable. Below the mark (#) may be seen the face of a man standing in one of the trenches.

where. Amid all the din, the noise and cheering, a poor fellow could be heard now and again calling for a stretcher. Doctor Ryerson's portly form could be seen well up in the front, and his sympathetic word brought a strange reaction to the wounded, whose desire for revenge was only intensified by being clean bowled out of the fight. Down came the 90th, squeezing up against the Grenadiers and soon all became mixed. The Surveyors' Corps, too, from the right, came swinging round towards the houses, and they, too, joined in the mixing. It mattered not, for there was but one command: 'Double! On!'

"Down across the open they went, the Midlanders on the left clearing the pits along the bank, and making the race a hot one. A storm of bullets crossed the open, but they came too late. Nothing could stop the force of the rush. The Grenadiers suffered here terribly, but the rush went on the same. The rebels, from the houses to the front, poured a raking fire into the advancing line, and first one and then another kept dropping ere the ploughed field was reached. In front of the houses were long trenches running parallel to our line of attack. From these also the firing came fast and furious. The ploughed field was reached at last, and on past it the rush continued. The first house to come upon was the little shack on the bank. As a Midlander pulled back the door, Captain Ruttan slipped in. Helterskelter went the inmates from the back portion of the house. The end had come. Our men knew it and felt it, and, flushed with victory, they pushed ahead and jumped upon the rebels in the very trenches before the houses. They had passed the log stable in front of the prison house, on past it with such a rush that a handful of rebels had escaped notice, and so it was Lieutenant Garden of the Surveyors' Corps got his nasty arm wound. Over the heads of the rebels, who lay in the trenches, on into the prison house and with a deafening cheer the men pulled up the prisoners from the poisoned atmosphere of the dark and slimy cellar.

"The fight, though, still went on. Private Eager, of the Grenadiers, coming out, was shot from the trenches, which our men rushed by to enter the store and release the prisoners. The charge continued on past the houses and on towards the rebel camp. In the meantime Batoche's house had been taken, poor French receiving his death wound at the upper window of a room that he had just entered, closely followed by Private Skinner, of the Midlanders. There was nothing now left of the line. Every man dashed along and plunged ahead on a 'sort of go-as-you-please style,' except that he went at fever heat. Men from the extreme right got mixed up with men from the extreme left, and men took orders from the officers nearest them, regardless of what regiment he belonged to. On past the houses dashed portions of the regiments, determined to be in at the finish, and on up to Riel's Council House, where Captain Young secured important papers. The Grenadiers, in the meanwhile, led by Grasett and the Midlanders, on the slope and water's edge, charged and carried the pits in front of the Halfbreed and Indian camp, and by the time the *Northcote* came up the stream close on to the evening, to join the force once more, the last shot was fired, the rebels routed, the fourth day's fight was over, and the Battle of Batoche was a thing of the past."

The names of the Government volunteers who lost their lives at Batoche are: Grenadier William Philips, of A Battery; Lieutenant W. Fitch; Pri-

vate T. Moore, of the Tenth Grenadiers; Private R. R. Hardisty, of the Ninetieth Battalion; Private James Fraser, of the Ninetieth Battalion; Captain E. L. Brown, of the Scouts; John French, of the Scouts; Lieutenant A. W. Kippens, of the Intelligence Corps; Private F. A. Watson, of the Ninetieth Battalion (died of wounds). In addition to these the Canadian wounded numbered forty-five.

Middleton sent back for blankets and food, and bivouacked in and about the houses of the village, having, however, sent the scouts back to strengthen the guard he had left all day in the zareba under Lieutenant-Colonel Hough-



BATOCHE CEMETERY.

The monument in the left foreground bears the names of Riel and of all the Métis who fell in action during the Rebellion. In the central background may be seen a cluster of crosses marking their graves. In the foreground is Mr. Louis Marion, a loyalist Halfbreed, who was detained a prisoner at Batoche for refusing to take up arms against the government. The dust of Gabriel Dumont rests in this same historic burying place.

ton, consisting of a party of the Ninetieth under Major Boswell, and a gun of A Battery.

As Canada recalls with pride the courage displayed at Batoche and elsewhere by her civilian soldiery, let her not withhold or grant in scanty measure the meed of admiration so well deserved by her misled children, the Halfbreeds of the Saskatchewan Valley. Among them, doubtless, were rogues and schemers and poltroons, but such renegades were in no greater numerical proportion than in any ordinary community. Hopelessly outnumbered in every engagement, totally unprovided with artillery and pos-

sessed of but a scanty supply of arms, and those largely of the crudest and most heterogeneous description, the Métis fought gallantly in defense of their rights, their homes and their leaders. Cruel necessity required that the uprising of this handful of misled and ignorant pioneers should be sternly repressed, but it would be an ill day for Saskatchewan if ever the vigor and valor which distinguished them should be extinguished in any body of its citizens, be they white men or Halfbreeds. The man who can visit the humble graves of the fallen Métis in the cemetery at Batouche and not feel for their memory the deepest respect is not worthy of the franchise of a citizen in our Dominion. Thanks to the skill with which they conducted their military enterprises, the actual loss of life among the Halfbreeds was remarkably small. During the four days of fighting at Batoche there were, in point of fact, only eleven of their number slain—in addition to a young child—despite the exaggerated reports that have obtained currency through the pages of various accounts of the rebellion.³

At the capture of Batoche on May 12 Dumont, Riel and most of the other leaders escaped. Next day Middleton sent the following note to Riel by the hand of one of his friends, Moise Ouellette, who consented to carry it only on the condition that he should not be followed:

"Mr. Riel: I am ready to receive you with your council and protect you until your case has been decided upon by the Dominion Government."

Riel stated that he received this communication towards one o'clock on the morning of the 15th. He asserted afterwards that he might have escaped to the United States as did Dumont, but preferred to give himself up immediately in the interests of his Métis followers.

Meantime numerous parties of mounted men were scouring the woods in search of the rebel leader. Two of these scouts, Armstrong and Hourie, fell in with him on the 15th and brought him to Middleton's tent. Middleton then placed a guard over the fallen leader, as much to protect him from violence as to prevent his escape, and he was presently taken to Regina in the charge of Capt. C. H. Young. There he was placed in prison to await his trial.

Having become separated from Riel, Dumont searched for him until

³ In view of the discrepancy between my figures and those found in numerous other accounts of the rebellion, I may state that I obtained my data from Reverend Father Moulin himself; from the original parish register in his possession, showing the names of deceased parishioners and the dates of their deaths; and from the list of names on the monument in Batoche cemetery, erected July, 1901, to the memory of the Métis that had fallen in 1885. Besides Riel, those of the insurgents who gave their lives for this cause were the following: (At Duck Lake) Jean Baptiste, Joseph Montour, Isador Dumont and Lafranboise; (at Fish Creek) Joseph Vermette, Francois Boyer, Michael Desjarlais and Pierre Parenteau; (at Batoche) Joseph Ouellette, Joseph Vandal, Donald Ross, Isadore Boyer, Michel Trottier, Andre Letendre (*dit* Batoche), Damase Carriere, John Swain, A. Jobin, Calixte Tourond, and Elzéar Tourond. The Batoche monument also records the names of four Indians who fell in one or the other of these engagements.

the 16th, when he heard of his surrender. With less than nine pounds of sea-biscuit as rations, Dumont then set out on his six-hundred-mile ride to safety beyond the border. He was accompanied by Michel Dumas, unarmed and also provided with but a few biscuits. It is commonly stated that Dumont's escape was deliberately facilitated by the numerous admirers of the plucky warrior, who were to be found in all quarters and among all classes. Dumont subsequently visited Montreal, 1889, where his story was carefully taken down, read to him and formally approved, in the presence of Colonel Adolphe Ouimet, Esq., and a number of other well-known witnesses.⁴

The unfortunate people of Batoche had been reduced to deplorable want and misery by recent events, and before his departure, Middleton sent two teams loaded with flour, bacon, tea, etc., to the Roman Catholic priests at Batoche, to enable them in a measure to relieve the prevailing distress.

It may be remarked in passing that on the morning of the 11th Father Moulin had been brought to Middleton's camp with a bullet wound in his left thigh. The General reports that the bullet was fired from the cemetery by the rebels, but a glance at the wall of Father Moulin's house is sufficient to show that he was the victim of a chance shot from the Gatling gun.⁵ As a matter of fact, a considerable area of the wall was honeycombed with bullets at the same time.

⁴ Le Recit de Gabriel Dumont was incorporated in an *Étude*, by Ouimet, entitled *La Vérité sur la Question Métisse*.

⁵ This inference is verified by Father Moulin's personal statement to me, i. e., that he was wounded by a bullet from the gatling gun. N. F. B.

CHAPTER XXVI

MIDDLETON'S ADVANCE VIA PRINCE ALBERT TO BATTLE- FORD, AND THE SURRENDER OF POUNDMAKER

MIDDLETON MARCHES FROM BATOCHE TO PRINCE ALBERT—PREVIOUS SIEGE
AND DEFENCE—FAILURE OF IRVINE AND MIDDLETON TO CO-OPERATE
—POUNDMAKER ASKS TERMS OF PEACE—MIDDLETON'S REPLY—
POUNDMAKER'S SURRENDER.

Middleton remained with his forces at Batoche until May 17th. He and his troops then crossed the South Saskatchewan at Guard du Puis, marching toward Prince Albert, which they reached three days later.

That town had been practically in a state of siege for almost two months. Though no actual attack had been made upon it during the rebellion, its citizens suffered much inconvenience and indeed not a little hardship and danger. Colonel Irvine and his men were precluded from an active share in the actual fighting subsequent to March 26th, but nevertheless they served with honor. Prince Albert was the key to the whole situation, and after the disaster at Duck Lake its security became a matter of supreme moment.

A large number of Sioux did move with the intention of making a raid on Prince Albert, and it is Colonel Irvine's belief that these rebel Indians only abandoned their intended raid when close to Prince Albert they came upon Irvine's trail leading to that place. The task of protecting Prince Albert itself was a difficult one. Prince Albert was a straggling settlement five and one-half miles in length with a normal population of about seven hundred, but refugees had increased this to about fifteen hundred, exclusive of the police.

To reinforce his two hundred police, Irvine enrolled about three hundred and nine special constables—practically the whole adult male population—after his arrival from Carlton, but only one hundred and sixteen rifles were available for their use. There were four companies under the command of Captain Young (*Vice* Captain Moore wounded), with Campbell and Wilson; Captain Hoey, with Lieutenants Brester and Agnew; Captain Craig, with Lieutenants Taite and Dunlop; Captain Brewster, with Lieutenants Sutherland and Spencer. The staff duties were performed by

Lieutenant-Colonel Sproat as Supply Office and Mr. Hayter Reed as Brigade Major. The services rendered by Mr. Lawrence Clarke have already been noted. The scouts, forty-seven in number, were organized under Mr. Thomas MacKay, and all the shotguns in the country were gathered in and issued to those not having rifles.

In his official reports, Irvine speaks in the highest terms of the work done by his scouts, under the direction of Mr. Thomas MacKay. Their constant activity obliged the enemy to keep a strong portion of their force on the west side of the river and restrained the operation of Riel's information corps.

"I feel at a loss to know," says Irvine, "how I could adequately give expression to the appreciation of the gallant service rendered to the country by the Prince Albert volunteers. Certainly no body of men ever earned more honorable mention than in their case is deserving."

This body of volunteers were disbanded on May 17th.

Food was scarce and rations had to be issued for eleven hundred and sixty-five souls in addition to enrolled men. It was necessary to retain the services of the farmers who had volunteered, and this prevented their sowing their crops. Before the date of siege was finally relieved supplies had fallen so low that it had been necessary to use a considerable quantity of flour which had been soaked with coal oil. Most of the citizens had been forced to withdraw from their dwellings, and to gather within extemporized fortifications.

The decided check sustained by General Middleton and his troops at Fish Creek produced a very serious impression in and about Prince Albert. Indeed, a number of Indians and Halfbreeds who had previously professed loyalty then went over to the rebels.

According to Middleton's account, Irvine urged him to cross the river and march direct to Prince Albert, so that their forces might be combined before an attack was made on Riel.¹ This course Middleton considered would be bad strategy, but he directed Irvine to come out with some one hundred and fifty Mounted Police, to co-operate on the west side of the river. His orders he did not think it advisable to put on paper, but they were carried by Captain Bedson and Mr. Macdowall (later a member of the Canadian House of Commons for Prince Albert). Middleton informed him that he intended taking Batoche on the 18th of April, and instructed Irvine to prepare to cut off flying Halfbreeds, as Middleton feared, it is

¹ When he suggested to Middleton the advisability of combining forces, Irvine states that he was under the impression that the total strength of the force acting under the General's immediate orders was only three hundred and fifty, with a thousand more troops to follow. It was not until the 16th of April, when Messrs. Macdowall and Bedson reached Prince Albert via Carrot River that Irvine was aware of the strong augmentation of Middleton's force.

likely, that they would make away on the approach of his column. In obedience to these instructions and greatly to the indignation of the people of Prince Albert, who felt that the safety of the town was being seriously jeopardized, on the 18th Irvine moved out from Prince Albert with two hundred Mounted Police, but learned from his scouts that no attack was being made on Batoche, and, receiving on that same day a letter from Prince Albert which made it appear not unlikely that an attack was contemplated on that place, he and his force returned.

On April 30th one of his scouts brought a message from Middleton, dated the 26th, telling Irvine to expect him at Batoche about Thursday. On the 7th of May he learned through his own scouts that Middleton had changed his plans, but throughout the whole episode he was in the utmost uncertainty as to Middleton's movements.

Irvine was exceedingly disappointed that the force under his command was not given active employment after the fall of Batoche.

"We were able," says he, "to travel twice as fast as the militia troops General Middleton had with him. In addition to this, we not only knew the country and the bands of Indians, but even the men in the ranks knew and recognised at a glance the chief head men and others against whom operations were being conducted."

After resting a day and a half at Prince Albert, General Middleton set out on the Steamer North West for Battleford with half his force, leaving the others to follow by boat or trail, and on the 23d one of Poundmaker's prisoners, Jefferson, a farm instructor, met the steamer in a small boat, and delivered to Middleton the following letter:

"Eagle Hill, May 19, 1885.

"Sir:

"I am camped with my people at the east end of the Eagle Hills, where I am met with the news of the surrender of Riel. No letter came with the news, so that I cannot tell how far it may be true. I send some of my men to you to learn the truth, and the terms of peace, and hope you will deal kindly with them. I and my people wish you to send us the terms of peace in writing, so that we may be under no misunderstanding, from which so much trouble arises. We have twenty-one prisoners, whom we have tried to treat well in every respect.

With greetings,

"(Signed) POUNDMAKER. His (X) mark."

To this communication Middleton returned the following reply:

"Poundmaker:

"I have utterly defeated the Halfbreeds and Indians at Batoche, and have made prisoners of Riel and most of his Council. I have made no terms with them, neither will I make terms with you.

"I have men enough to destroy you and your people, or at least to drive you away to starve, and will do so unless you bring in the teams you took, and yourself and councillors with your arms to meet me at Battleford on

Monday, the twenty-sixth.² I am glad you have treated the prisoners well and have released them.

FRED MIDDLETON,
"Major General."

Meantime, Father Cochin and the other prisoners from Poundmaker's camp had already, on May 20th, reached Battleford, bearing the following communication:

"To the commandant of the Fort at Battleford:

"Sir—I and my men are at the foot of the Eagle Hills, having heard of Riel's surrender. I send you in twenty-one white prisoners, whom I have treated well. I await terms of peace. Please send in writing so that there may be no mistake. (Signed) POUNDMAKER, His (X) mark."



SURRENDER OF POUNDMAKER TO MIDDLETON, BATTLEFORD,
MAY 26, 1885.

From a painting, the property of the Dominion Government.

Middleton arrived at Battleford on Sunday, May 24th, and on the afternoon of the 26th Poundmaker and his people came in to surrender.

The picturesque scene is graphically described in the following quotation from the diary of one of the officers present:

"Just after breakfast the lookout sentry reports that two horsemen are coming in and they turn out to be an Indian and Halfbreed who report that Poundmaker is just behind. Colonel Williams, who just at this time rides up, takes charge of the Indian and gallops off with him to report to the General. Soon we see a band of horsemen approaching rapidly and ere long the renowned Cree chief appears before us. Poundmaker is accompanied by some fifteen sub-chiefs and councillors, and the appearance of the band is very picturesque and striking. The great chief is himself a very remarkable looking man, tall, very handsome and intelligent looking, and

² May 26 was really Tuesday.

dignified to a degree. He wears a handsome war-cap of the head of a cinnamon bear, with a long tuft of feathers floating from it, a leather jacket studded with brass nails and worked with beads, long, beaded leggings coming to his hips, and brightly colored moccasins, while over his shoulders he has a very gaily colored blanket. The others are dressed in much the same manner and all are elaborately painted. Poundmaker shakes hands with the officers at Fort Otter without getting off his horse or uncovering, but all the others dismount and take off their headgear before they approach. After a short talk they go on to the General for a pow-wow with the Commander-in-chief."

The unfortunate Indians squatted in a semi-circle in front of Middleton's chair, and Poundmaker advanced into the open space, and through Interpreter Hourie delivered to the General a long and poetical oration. He declared that he knew little of what had been going on, that he had done his best to keep his young braves quiet, that he had carefully preserved their prisoners from violence, and that he considered himself deserving of very honorable terms. General Middleton was very caustic in reply. Upon the whole, in the matter of dignity and moderation of speech, the savage showed to better advantage in this interview than did his victorious enemy.

Middleton now arrested Poundmaker and four of his sub-chiefs, Lean Man, Yellow Mud Blanket, brother of Poundmaker, Breaking-through-the-ice, and White Bear, and demanded the surrender of those concerned in the murder of Tremont and Payne. Thereupon, Man-without-blood stepped out of the semi-circle, and sitting at the General's feet, which he grasped with both hands, confessed to one of the murders. His example was followed by another Indian, Itka by name, who first stripping himself to the waist, advanced and confessed to the other murder. The remaining Indians then returned to their reserves.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE WORK OF THE ALBERTA FIELD FORCE, AND THE CLOSE OF THE CAMPAIGN

ORGANIZATION OF ALBERTA FIELD FORCE UNDER STRANGE—MEASURES FOR THE SECURITY OF SETTLERS IN ALBERTA—MISSIONARIES AS PEACEMAKERS—STRANGE'S NORTHERN MARCH—SKIRMISHES NEAR FORT PITT—A DANGEROUS SITUATION—BATTLE OF FRENCHMAN'S BUTTE; AN UNCONSCIOUS VICTORY—MIDDLETON'S CRITICISM AND DISPATCHES—STEELE'S PURSUIT OF BIG BEAR—SKIRMISH AT LOON LAKE—SHORTAGE OF AMMUNITION—PURSUIT CONTINUED AMONG UNEXPLORED MORASSES—THE SILENT MARCH—CONDUCT OF FRENCH VOLUNTEERS—MORAL IMPORTANCE OF CLOSING PHASE OF CAMPAIGN—DEATH OF COLONEL WILLIAMS—MIDDLETON'S FAREWELL TO NORTH WEST FIELD FORCE—COST OF THE REBELLION.

It is now necessary for us to turn back in our story to recount the doings of the Alberta Field Force, under General Strange, a veteran of the Indian mutiny.

On April 16th, the day of Middleton's arrival at Clarke's Crossing, the 65th Battalion of Mounted Royal Rifles, under Lieutenant-Colonels Ouimet and Hughes, arrived at Calgary from Montreal. Strange's column also included the Winnipeg Light Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel W. O. Smith, the 9th Battalion, under Lieutenant-Colonel Aymot, a detachment of the Mounted Police with a nine-pounder from Fort McLeod, under the command of Inspector Perry (subsequently Commissioner), another detachment of Police Scouts under Major Steele, and still another company of Scouts commanded by Major Hatton. Altogether, Strange's forces amounted to about nine hundred.

Preparations for the defence of the South Country were seriously hampered by the fact that the settlers (owing to the protection hitherto enjoyed at the hands of the Mounted Police) were almost entirely without arms. Moreover, the cowboys, who themselves were but partially armed, could not be withdrawn from the cattle districts among the Indian reserves, without placing at the mercy of the Indian raiders valuable supplies of horses and cattle. Home guards and local patrols were, however, organized.

General Strange's orders, from General Middleton, as we have seen, were to overawe and restrain the Indians of Alberta and Southern Athabasca, to protect the various settlements along the railway and elsewhere, to march north to Edmonton and move thence down along the Saskatchewan and make a juncture with Middleton himself. Strange left Amyot's battalions as a garrison at Calgary, and provided for the protection of McLeod and the railway lying to the east of Calgary, stationed a company at Gleichen to guard the railway and northern trails, and to keep watch over the Blackfeet; and then marched his remaining troops in three columns to Edmonton.¹ The advance force, under Strange's personal command, moved north on April 20th. In addition to Steele's sixty scouts and policemen, Strange had only one hundred and fifty infantry to guard his long line of one hundred and seventy-five wagons, which were sometimes unavoidably extended from a distance of one and a half miles to two miles. The teamsters were unarmed, there being no weapons available for them. That the convoy reached its destination in safety was due, says General Strange, largely to the careful scouting done by Major Steele's force. This column entered Edmonton on May 1st.

Inspector Perry was in command of the second column from Calgary, which marched out on April 23d. He found the Red Deer River impassable. The column under General Strange had forded it twenty-four hours before with ease, but owing to the very heavy rains it had risen rapidly and was now fully two hundred and fifty yards wide. A raft was constructed, but owing to an accident it was carried some three miles down the river before a landing was effected. Here there was a cut bank thirty feet high, up which Perry's gun, carriage and ammunition had to be hauled. A ferryboat was then constructed which proved of great assistance to the column following. On arriving at Edmonton, Perry turned his contingent over to General Strange.

In advance of Strange's contingent went the heroic missionary, Father Lacombe, who, unaccompanied and despite the difficulties of travel at that season of the year, visited all the Indian reserves as a peacemaker, and succeeded in persuading the Alberta Indians to maintain strict neutrality and remain quietly upon their reservations. In these measures he was vigorously supported by the famous Blackfoot chief, Crowfoot, and excellent service was also rendered by the Rev. John McDougall, who had great influence, especially among the Stoneys. Moreover, Lieutenant-

¹ Before the arrival of Strange's troops, Superintendent Cotton of Fort MacLeod offered to make a prompt movement on Edmonton and Fort Pitt. In reply to this offer, Major General Strange wrote Superintendent Cotton as follows:

"Your valuable services, knowledge of the district, and influence with the Indians, render it important that you remain where you are. I must therefore order you to do so. I can understand your desire to go to what you consider the front, but the front may at any time become the rear, and *vice versa*."

Governor Dewdney was communicating with the Indians through Father Scollen.

It is impossible here to relate in detail the valuable work performed by various police officers in the south country, and throughout what is now Alberta, but mention must be made of Superintendent McIlree, who was stationed near the Cypress Hills, of Superintendent Cotton, west of McLeod, of Captain C. E. Denny, author of "The Riders of the Plains"—who performed services of special value among the Blackfeet, Piegans, Sarcees, Stoneys and Bloods—and of Inspector Griesbach, of Fort McLeod. Minor depredations had been committed in many places by the Indians between Calgary and Edmonton, but happily for Canada, the Blackfeet, Piegans, Bloods, Sarcees and Assiniboines and other warlike tribes of the Far West, decided in favour of peace.

Having placed a small garrison at Red Deer, and having rendered Edmonton capable of defence, Strange, on May 14th, with his depleted forces, pushed on to Victoria on the North Saskatchewan, and thence toward Fort Pitt, in the vicinity of which Big Bear's band was lingering. On May 24th, the day of Middleton's arrival at Battleford, Strange passed Frog Lake, where the bodies of the victims of the massacre were given honorable, if hasty, burial. Then the pursuit of Big Bear's followers began in earnest. On reaching Fort Pitt, Strange sent out in every direction scouts, including the Rev. John McDougall and the Rev. Canon MacKay.

It may be remarked that there were five of the MacKay brothers engaged in the suppression of the rebellion—Thomas, a prominent member of early Territorial Councils and Assemblies; Joseph, of the R. N. W. M. P.; James, the well-known lawyer and member of Parliament; John and George, the missionary clergymen. All of them were men famous for endurance, courage and skill with the rifle. "One of them, George, a canon of the Anglican Church, accompanied our column as chaplain," says the Presbyterian clergyman, Mr. MacBeth, who was a member of Strange's Winnipeg force, "and I can vouch for it that he could fight as well as pray."

Major Steele, with his scouts operating on the east or north side of the river, were fired upon when about ten miles distant from Fort Pitt. Two Indians were slain in this encounter. Meanwhile, Perry was reconnoitering south of the river.² Steele presently reported that his scouts had

² Prior to the Battle of Frenchman's Butte, General Strange (on May 26) sent Perry with five scouts and seventeen other men of his force to reconnoiter south of the river. He was to travel directly south as far as the Battle River and then circle around to the east and return to Fort Pitt. His understanding of Strange's orders was that he should establish connection with Battleford if possible. When about twenty miles from Battleford he met an Indian bearing a message from Middleton

come upon one hundred and eighty-seven lodges. Leaving a company of the 65th to fortify and protect what remained of Fort Pitt, Strange, with one hundred and ninety-seven infantry, twenty-seven cavalry and one gun, hastened to Major Steele on the 27th. Together they advanced four and a half miles, and, coming upon the Indians, they drove them from their position and followed them up until darkness approached. The 65th were hurrying after them, but Strange and Steele could not wait for these reinforcements. Strange's forces were obliged to bivouac that night under arms and without tents or camp-fires. His columns at this time were really in a most hazardous position, as is indicated by the following extract from MacBeth's interesting reminiscences:

"Humanly speaking, I have never been able to make out why the enemy, who were in force outnumbering us by three to one, did not make short work of us in the darkness. The clearing in which we were encamped was small and surrounded by dense forest, the wagons were in zereba form, with all the men and horses inside, and the night was intensely dark. The Indians must have been already in panic, or, with their knowledge of the situation, they might have rushed in, stampeded the horses, and in the confusion done serious execution."

At dawn on the 28th, Strange moved forward, finding numerous traces of recent trails. About 7:30 he overtook the enemy, whom he found occupying an impregnable position in the forks of a creek. The front and flanks of their position extended about three miles, and were covered by a muskeg. Strange deployed his little force, dismounted his men, and sent Major Steele forward on the left to turn the enemy's flank, if possible. Meanwhile, a general fire was opened all along the front. The forces under Strange's command had been so depleted that they were now, as we have seen, considerably outnumbered by the bands they were pursuing, and his staff pointed out that any attempt at an actual assault upon the enemy, who were concealed in rifle pits over the crest of the hill beyond the marsh (Frenchman's Butte), would be exceedingly hazardous. Accordingly, after engaging the enemy for some time, he recalled Major Steele, judging it advisable to return to more open ground. This decision rested partly upon the observations of Major Hatton, who could see that the Indians were moving out towards the right, and believed that an attempt was being made to turn Strange's right flank. Accordingly, Strange fell back six miles and encamped, subsequently returning to Fort Pitt. During the four hours' engagement he had but three men wounded and none killed.

announcing the surrender of Poundmaker and Riel. He accordingly proceeded to Battleford and reported to the General, returning immediately thereafter to General Strange. The ride from Fort Pitt to Battleford by the road traveled involved a journey of 130 miles, which was accomplished in thirty-six hours.

It afterwards proved that Strange's operations had been much more successful than he or his men supposed at the time. He was unfortunately deprived of the services of Major Perry, who was, as we have seen, absent on a reconnoitering expedition, and would otherwise have been in charge of his gun. Consequently, it was not at first worked to the best possible advantage and its shots went too high. This was noticed by Lieutenant Strange, the General's son, who accordingly instructed the gunners to fire lower. The next shot took effect in one of the pits, and did considerable execution. The Indians, owing to the favorable wind, had heard Lieutenant Strange's orders, and their prompt and sanguinary result caused a general panic and retreat, though the Government forces were unaware of the fact. The movement, which had been mistaken for an intended attack upon the right flank, had been, in point of fact, the beginning of a general rout. The Indians scattered, permitting the escape of eleven prisoners, and fell back on Beaver River, some eighty miles distant.

"It was a pity," says General Middleton, "that General Strange had not waited for my arrival, when a more decisive blow might have been struck." This implied criticism is scarcely fair, as Middleton had left Strange entirely in the dark as to his wishes or intentions, and indeed, had not communicated with him since May 1st.³

Moreover, General Strange had notified the Commander-in-chief of his intention of moving eastward with a view to attacks being made upon the Indians from both directions, and he believed the proposal had been approved. Strange now sent two plucky volunteers, Sergeant Borrowdale and Scout Scott, down the Saskatchewan by canoe, through the Indian country. General Middleton sent them back with a letter to Big Bear demanding his immediate surrender, and on the 30th Middleton left Battleford with all his force, in three steamers, with the exception of the mounted men, who came by the trail along the south bank.

Meantime, General Strange had sent Major Steele with cavalry to follow the trail of Big Bear's band, and moved his own forces to Frog Lake. Major Dale, on the 2d, brought into camp the Rev. Mr. Quinney, Mrs. Quinney, Messrs. Cameron, Halpin and Dufresne, and five Halfbreed families, who had been prisoners with the Indians. Mr. MacKay, of the Hudson's Bay Company, with ten mounted men, also recovered Mrs. Gow-anlock, Mrs. Delaney and other prisoners, and brought back to Fort Pitt, in addition to these, thirty-six members of Big Bear's band as prisoners.

On June 4th word had been received that Major Steele had overtaken some of the fleeing Indians, with whom he had had a successful skirmish at Loon Lake.

Before the battle, Steele was just ready to offer terms of surrender

³ According to Begg, Vol. 3, page 241.

to the Indians, and had MacKay with him to act as interpreter, when, probably as the result of nervousness, some Indians in an ambuscade fired their rifles. The engagement was soon general. Steele had with him only sixty men. An attempt was made to turn his flank, but he detached fifteen men to prevent this and to bring the enemy under a cross fire. This was successfully accomplished. After the battle, Steele had his terms shouted across to the Indians, and the next day one of the white prisoners was sent by the Indians to arrange for surrender. In ignorance of the approach of the released prisoner, Steele at this juncture caused some guns to be fired to intimate to the Indians his position. This apparently intimidated the messenger, who returned to the Indian camp without seeing Steele.

Major Steele is confident that if the government instead of sending up large detachments of outside forces had simply sent in an abundance of arms and ammunition and placed the suppression in the hands of the police and western volunteers, it would have been brought about much more efficiently.⁴ His own men, for example, were, after the battle of Loon Lake, reduced to fifteen rounds of ammunition. Their supplies had been held up at Winnipeg by a customs officer.

In the pursuit of Big Bear's band through the Loon Lake country, the Canadians were hampered by the presence of bodies of water not marked upon their maps. Nevertheless, Steele is quite convinced that if he had been given a freer hand and if he had had an adequate supply of ammunition he could easily have secured the whole band of fugitives.

On receipt of Steele's dispatch, on June 4th, Middleton attempted to follow him up, but the country through which the Indians were moving was characterized by such a maze of all but impassable morasses that on the 5th he sent back the infantry. On the same day Steele joined him. Forces under Colonel Otter from Battleford, and Colonel Irvine from Prince Albert, were scattered north of the Saskatchewan to prevent the retreat of the Indians, and General Strange moved northward into the Beaver River country, where his plucky force acquitted itself with a distinction worthy of greater recognition than it received in some high official quarters. Says MacBeth:

"It was decided to make what became known in the rebellion annals as 'The Silent March,' and so, leaving our wagon train, the horses being completely tired out, we started marching again about eight o'clock in the evening. For quite a distance our way was through water, knee deep, and

⁴ This opinion is shared by practically all well informed old-timers. What was wanted was 500 mounted infantry who knew the character of the men with whom they would have to contend and of the country that was the scene of rebellion. The Indians and Halfbreeds were themselves amazed at the folly of sending horseless warriors against them.

through this swamp I remember how the Frenchmen of the 65th, almost shoeless and half clad as they were, more than once helped the horses on Perry's gun, next to which they were marching. It was night when we struck the heavy and practically trackless forest, for there was scarcely any trail to be found. The darkness grew denser as we advanced, and the great trees above us shut out the sky. Sometimes in rank and sometimes in Indian file we kept on marching in dead silence, with our arms ready for instant use, until about two o'clock in the morning when a halt was ordered, and by little twig fires—larger were not allowed—we tried to dry our wet and well-nigh frozen garments.

"As the day began to dawn we moved on again, and by sunrise arrived at a point near the Beaver River, where the Indians had been seen, but found they had vanished. Evidences of their recent presence, however, were at hand, for we found about one hundred bags of flour cached in the woods. This was a 'windfall,' as by this time bread was little more than a distant memory, and even 'hard tack' was scarce enough to be appreciated."

On June 6th Strange camped near Beaver River when an episode occurred which illustrated the spirit of his men. "My infantry," he says, "were dead beat from marching in rain and awful mud. The 65th, who had borne the brunt of the marching for five hundred miles, having been in the first advance, had tramped the soles off their boots. Some were literally bare foot, others with muddy, blood stained rags tied around their feet. Their commanding officer told me the men could march no more and wanted to know when they would be allowed to go home. I outwardly thanked that officer for his information and rode up at once to the battalion. They certainly presented a pitiable spectacle in their tattered uniforms. The misery of their march through swamp and forest had been added to by the mosquitoes and horse flies, which were almost unbearable. Addressing the battalion in French, as was my habit, I said, 'Mes enfants, votre commandant m'a dit que vous demandez quand vous pouvez retourner chez vous. Mais je n'ai qu'une réponse—c'est celle-là de votre ancienne chanson.

'Malbrook s'en va-t-en guerre,
Ne sait quand reviendra.'

It had the desired effect. The weary little French Canadians shouted, "Huorra pour le General! En Avant! Toujours en avant! and they stepped out to the refrain of their ancestors."⁵

By the 8th of June Middleton found himself and his troops floundering through such a network of muskegs that though it was evident he was close on the trail of Big Bear, he did not feel justified in attempting to pursue the fugitives any further. With Batoche captured, Riel and Poundmaker prisoners, Big Bear powerless and a fugitive, and almost all the prisoners who had been in the hands of the rebels again at liberty, the

⁵ From *General Jingo's Jubilee*, by General Strange.



COL. STEELE AND DETACHMENT DURING REBELLION

General felt that his work was nearly done and commenced his arrangements for breaking up the forces.

However, in fairness to Strange and his officers, especially Steele and Colonel Osborne Smith of the Winnipeg Light Infantry, the importance of the last phase of the campaign must not be minimized. It was essential that the Indians should know that if they violated the Queen's peace they could find no place of refuge, however remote. These men taught them that lesson, and the task kept them engaged weeks after most of the other members of Middleton's forces felt that for them the war was over. One hundred picked men of the Winnipeg Light Infantry were detached from Strange's force at Beaver River to cross that stream and strike northward to a chain of lakes where some of Big Bear's band had, as the issue proved, withdrawn. MacBeth hints that the picking consisted largely of selecting those who had some remnants of boots left, and whose uniforms could be counted on as likely to hold together a little while longer. On June 20th scouts from Smith's little column found the portion of the Indian band that held Mr. McLean and other prisoners, and on the 23rd the Indians, in response to a summons, sent them all to Fort Pitt safe and sound. They were met on the way by Major Bedson with a detachment of the 90th. Accordingly, Smith's adventurous One Hundred returned to the brigade, and on July 2nd Big Bear made his way to Carlton and surrendered.

The general rejoicings over the successful issue of the three months' campaign was tempered by the universal regret caused by the ultimate death of Lieutenant Colonel Williams, M. P., commander of the Midlanders, who died on board the steamer from the effects of exposure.

Apart from the losses sustained by the Halfbreeds and rebels, the rebellion cost Canada the lives of thirty-nine citizen soldiers, and almost one hundred and fifteen others had been wounded. In the general order with which Middleton took leave of his forces, he expressed himself as follows:

"In thus completing the breaking up of the North West Field Force, which has been under the immediate control of Major General Middleton during the late campaign, he cannot let the officers and men comprising it separate without expressing his great satisfaction with them. During the whole time he has not had to assemble one court martial; and, in fact, there has been an almost total absence of crime. The troops have had great hardships to undergo and real difficulties to overcome, and have borne and met them like men, with ready cheerfulness and without complaint. They, as untried volunteer soldiers, have had to move in a country where an extraordinary scare existed, and against an enemy with whom it was openly prophesied they would be unable to cope, unless with great superiority of numbers. The scare they disregarded, as shown by the fact that during the whole three months not more than two or three false alarms took place in camp, and the prophesy they falsified by beating back the enemy with a fighting force equal, if not superior, to them in numbers.

Each regiment, corps, or arm of the service has vied one against the other—and each has equally well done its duty; not forgetting the transport service, which, under its able officers, has so well aided our movements; the medical department, which has been so efficiently directed, and the chaplains, who have so carefully and assiduously ministered to our spiritual comforts.

"The Major General, in taking farewell of his old comrades, begs to wish them all happiness and success in their several walks of life, and to sincerely thank them, one and all, for having, by their gallantry, good conduct, and hard work, enabled him to carry to a successful conclusion what will probably be his last campaign."

All Canada was justly proud of the courage and good conduct of her citizen soldiery; nevertheless, the pride of the thoughtful was tempered by the recollection that Duck Lake was a decisive victory for the rebels; that at Fish Creek a handful of men checked the advance of an army and inflicted losses double those they sustained; that at Cut Knife Creek, Poundmaker drove back the attacking force, which indeed owed its escape to his magnanimity; that on the evening of the first day's fight at Batoche a dispatch seems to have been sent calling for reinforcements from the East; that on the second and third day of the siege Middleton failed to regain ground occupied on the first day; that at Frenchman's Butte the victorious force retired from the field ignorant of its victory; and that it cost Canada the death of some thirty-nine brave soldiers, the maiming of approximately three times that number, and the expenditure of about \$100,000 for every Indian or Halfbreed killed in action, to crush a rising caused by the maladministration of officials who escaped unpunished.

Such is the story of the Saskatchewan Rebellion of 1885. It has been necessary to omit many episodes and much detail of a most interesting character, but so far as it goes, the foregoing account may be accepted as fair and authentic. I have been hampered greatly by the gross inaccuracy of many of the official reports and some or other features of every previous extended account of the rising with which I am familiar. Public opinion apparently demanded a certain style of report at the time and the demand created the supply. After the lapse of a generation, however, it is time for a simple statement of facts, and such I have labored earnestly to give, without favor or prejudice. Some episodes I have deliberately omitted, however, because not essential to an understanding of events, and because the reverse of creditable to officials who used the distresses of their country to selfish pecuniary advantage. Names of many of these contemptible parasites are well known, but no good purpose would be served by their publication at this date, to the humiliation of innocent relatives. Let their names pass into merciful oblivion.

Mr. Thompson, in answer to Mr. Blake, stated from his seat in the House of Commons in 1886 that the total number of Halfbreeds committed

for trial in connection with the North West Rebellion was forty-six, Indians eighty-one and whites two. Eighteen of the Halfbreeds were accused of treason felony, one for high treason and one for murder. Eleven were discharged on their own recognizance, four received sentences, eight were discharged to appear again when called for; one, Adolph Nolin, was set at liberty on order of General Middleton, and two others, who were held for trial, were discharged on the proceedings being discontinued on the direction of the Minister of Justice. Four others were also released. Of the Indians, forty-four were convicted of various crimes, nearly all treason-felony; one was for manslaughter, three for arson, five for horse stealing, one for cow stealing, one for breaking goal; the others were convicted of treason-felony. Ten were discharged on promising to come up for trial when required. In the case of one charged with treason-felony no evidence was elicited and he was dismissed; three were convicted. The remainder of the Indians charged with various crimes were set at liberty. Two who were charged with stealing were also released. Of the whites, two were held for trial. One, W. H. Jackson, accused of treason-felony, was acquitted on the grounds of insanity; the other, T. Scott, accused of the same offense, was also acquitted.

CHAPTER XXVIII

RACIAL ASPECTS OF THE REBELLION OF 1885

THE REBELLION A FRENCH HALFBREED RISING—MISUNDERSTANDING BETWEEN FRENCH AND ENGLISH—ALLIANCE OF REBELS WITH THE INDIANS—CHARACTER OF BIG BEAR; HIS TRIAL; SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE—POUNDMAKER'S CASE—DEWDNEY'S OPINION OF POUNDMAKER—WHITE CAP'S EXPERIENCE.

While the Saskatchewan rebellion was the immediate result of prolonged neglect on the part of the Ottawa officials and of gross errors of judgment on the part of others in the territories, it arose in a considerable measure from racial and religious causes.

The whole population of the Territories shared and bitterly resented many of the grievances of which the rebels complained, this being, of course, specially true of the English speaking Halfbreeds. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether a single white man¹ could be named who fairly earned the name of rebel, and the non-French Halfbreeds remained loyal almost without exception. So also did the great majority of French Halfbreeds, though in a special sense the rebellion was a French Halfbreed rising.

It is evident that at least some of the seeds of insurrection can be traced to the lingering discontent of the haughty warlike race whose army met disaster on the Plains of Abraham in 1759. The gulf involved in diversity of languages and national traits is one to be bridged only by generations of mutual forbearance, by prolonged and general efforts to appreciate a standpoint far removed from one's own and by the exercise of wise and patient statesmanship. The facts that there were no rebels of unmixed French blood, and that the French Canadian volunteers served nobly in the suppression of the rebellion, are among the many indomitable evidences that such a gulf can be bridged, however, and the insurrection is merely a painful reminder that the task of unifying the Canadian nation was not as yet altogether completed.

Indeed, the rebel Halfbreeds were disaffected not so much because they were French as because they were Indians. The aboriginal blood flowing in their veins made them feel that in a special sense the country they occu-

¹ Jackson, the white man who for a time was Secretary to Riel, was subsequently adjudged insane and therefore irresponsible.

pied was their own, and that the whites were interlopers who by force of numbers and by the subtleties of the law were robbing them of their inheritance. The crime laid at the door of Riel and his associates, which people of the west found it hardest to forgive, was that of instigating an Indian outbreak. As we have seen, many of the French Halfbreeds themselves were intensely averse to anything that might involve such a conflagration. In judging the moral culpability of the others, moreover, one should realize that it would be a very different thing for white men to arouse the warriors of a barbarous race to support them against their foes, from what it was when a handful of Métis in desperate straits sought succor from their brothers-in-law and cousins of the red race, whom they felt to be suffering from the wrongs identical with or kindred to their own.

The amazing feature of the whole situation is, however, that no general Indian rising actually took place. The great majority of the Indians, as we have seen, remained either neutral or definitely on the side of the Government. Of the numerous American Indians residing in Canada few, except some of the Teton Sioux, took any part in the rising. Those who did were, it may be remarked, practically exterminated. Furthermore, many of the Canadian Indians who were involved in the insurrection played the part they did very much against their wills.

Most of those who have written on rebellion topics have united in vilifying Big Bear, but the testimony of those who knew him is almost unanimously in his favor and, from a dispassionate review of the available evidence, I am personally convinced that he had no share in instigating the outrages with which his name came to be associated. "Personally," says MacBeth, in his *Making of the Canadian West*, "he was rather a harmless old man who but for two of his band, Wandering Spirit and Little Poplar, would never have been found on the warpath." Mr. John Dixon, of Maple Creek, knew Big Bear well, and has always been convinced that he was not responsible for the outrages at Frog Lake. "Big Bear," said Mr. Dixon, in an interview with the writer, "was an Indian of whom I cannot say too much good. He was generous to a fault and always faithful to his word. He was constantly endeavoring to educate his people, especially the younger ones, to obey the law. He recognized that the white men had come to stay and he was concerned only to get for his people the best terms that he could." Mr. Dixon won Big Bear's complete confidence and the unfortunate chief frequently discussed his difficulties with him.

The Saskatchewan Herald of June 9, 1883, said of Big Bear: "He was the only chief around here who has displayed any energy in his operations or who has conducted himself with dignity, and it would have a bad effect on the other bands of the district if, from any fault not his own, he should be made to forfeit his high position as the most industrious, best behaved

and most independent chief in the district." Big Bear, Crowfoot, and other Indians have alleged that as early as 1879, while they were visiting Montana, Riel attempted to arouse them against the whites.²

I do not think that any disinterested person can now read the official records of Big Bear's trial for treason-felony without feeling profound sympathy for the unfortunate old man.

Big Bear's trial took place on September 11, 1885, at Regina, before the Honorable Hugh Richardson, Stipendiary Magistrate and Henry Fisher, Esq., Justice of the Peace. The charge was one of treason-felony—i. e., that, with others, he had designed and intended to levy war against the constituted Government. The occasions of the alleged offense were, first, at the massacre of Duek Lake (April 2nd); second, at the capture of Fort Pitt (April 17th); third, on April 21 when an incriminating letter was said to have been dictated by him; and, fourth, at the Battle of Frenchman's Butte. Big Bear was defended by F. B. Robertson, Esq., while Messrs. D. L. Scott and W. C. Hamilton appeared for the Crown. The following pages contain a fair synopsis of the evidence upon which Big Bear was convicted.

One of the principal witnesses was Mr. John Pritchard, who had performed such important public services in protecting Mrs. Delaney and Mrs. Gowanlock, when after the massacre he and they were prisoners of Big Bear's band for a period of two months. Big Bear's son, Imesis, was the leader of the band of Indians that took him prisoner. Witness affirmed that Big Bear had tried to save the white families at Fort Pitt, and had arranged for the police to get away in safety. When the Indians moved down on Fort Pitt, Wandering Spirit and Little Poplar were in command and Big Bear had no influence over their following. He could not have prevented the pillaging of the Fort, and, in Mr. Pritchard's opinion, the best he could do was to help the whites to get away and save their lives. Indeed, the witness made it clear that Big Bear was treated from first to last with much contumely by his unnatural son and the other rebellious warriors. Mr. Pritchard was a Crown witness, but the only item in his prolonged evidence that reflected upon Big Bear's loyalty was as follows: Witness was taken to Wandering Spirit's teepee, where he also found Big Bear and two French Halfbreeds, Montour and André Néault. Big Bear said he was going to try and compel the Bacana Indians to join them and approved of a letter written by Montour to friends at La Biche, inviting them to come also. This letter was not produced nor was it shown that Big Bear made any actual attempt to deliver his proposed ultimatum to Pecan of the Bacanas. During all the wandering of the band, in spite of the difficult nature of the country and the fact that they had more than one

² *Toronto Mail*, February 22, 1885.

hundred horses, Big Bear was always on foot. A letter came to Pritchard from Norbert Delorme, and upon this falling into the possession of Wandering Spirit and his companions, a Council was held as to the advisability of joining Poundmaker, but the witness was not aware that Big Bear himself had taken any action in the matter. Imesis, Wandering Spirit and Little Poplar had wished to have all the prisoners killed, but Big Bear and others, especially the Wood Crees from Long Lake, had protected them.

James Kay Simpson visited Frog Lake on the afternoon of April 2, after the massacre, and was detained a prisoner. Big Bear complained to Simpson that his young men would not listen to him, and that he was very sorry for what had been done. He had known Big Bear for nearly forty years and had always found him a good Indian, a good friend to the white man, and always respected by the white people. At the time of the outbreak witness affirmed that Big Bear was not in control of his people. Indeed, as a matter of fact, of late years the younger men in the tribe had looked upon him as a sort of old woman. He had seen Big Bear the day of the skirmish of Frenchman's Butte early in the afternoon, about sixteen miles distant from the scene of battle. The fighting men were still at the front. When the proposition had been made that the band should join Poundmaker, Big Bear said he did not wish to go.

Mr. Stanley Simpson, Hudson's Bay Company clerk at Fort Pitt, another of the prisoners, stated that somewhere near Frenchman's Butte Big Bear had said something about wanting his people to cut the head off "the Master who was over the soldiers,"—that is to say, the officer in command of the police. At the same time Simpson admitted that this had been said in Cree and that his knowledge of that language was very limited. During the fight at Frenchman's Butte he had seen Big Bear about two and a half miles from where the skirmish was taking place, but the Indian had expressed his approval of the losses inflicted upon the soldiers. The witness admitted, however, that Big Bear had used his influence for the protection of the prisoners, and that the Indian had complained to his followers that there was a time when he was a great chief and they had obeyed him, but that now when he said one thing they would do another. In the cross-examination, to test this witness' knowledge of Cree, Interpreter Hourie expressed in that language the following sentence written by Mr. Robertson, and the witness was asked to translate it: "If the Captain of the Soldiers does not give me tobacco we will cut the tops off the trees." In answer, he said: "I am asked by Mr. Hourie if he had given me some tobacco, or something of that sort. I can't understand it."

Mrs. Catherine Simpson of Frog Lake was visited by Big Bear on April 2 and warned of danger. Big Bear told her that he could not be every-

where to look after his young men and that he thought there was going to be trouble. He stayed at her house for a time and had something to eat, and during this interval the massacre commenced. Big Bear sprang up and ran out shouting to the people to stop firing.

Mr. W. J. MacLean, Hudson's Bay Company factor at Fort Pitt, considered Big Bear a good Indian. During his two months' experience as a prisoner he had seen the chief almost daily, if not daily. The chief had taken no part in the pillaging of Fort Pitt. Through the whole trouble Wandering Spirit, Imesis, and Little Poplar had treated Big Bear with utter contempt. Mr. MacLean had worked actively to prevent the band from uniting with Poundmaker's Indians, and Big Bear also sided with him. He affirmed that at least during most of the time of the fighting at Frenchman's Butte Big Bear had been in camp with the prisoners some miles away, and he did not think he had taken any part in the fight. Big Bear had dictated letters to the police strongly advising them to leave Fort Pitt. The witness was very frequently at Big Bear's camp, than which none other was more wretchedly poor, and he was sure that the chief was not in possession of any of the pillaged goods.

Mr. Henry R. Halpin, Hudson's Bay Company clerk, had known Big Bear by reputation for six or seven years, and personally for the last nine months, and as far as he had known and heard of him he had always been a good Indian and friend of the white man. He had met him on the trail on March 19th and told him of the report that Riel had stopped the mails at Batoche and that there was likely to be trouble. Big Bear showed surprise. The Indian was then engaged in a hunting expedition. Afterwards when Mr. Halpin had been taken prisoner by Lone Man, Big Bear had shown himself friendly. He had invited Mr. Halpin to his own tent for security and told him that it was not through his fault that the trouble at Frog Lake had occurred. In the subsequent Indian Councils Big Bear very seldom spoke. When the Indians went down to Fort Pitt, Big Bear was away at the back of the caravan. Big Bear told him to come with him, as he thought if Halpin went down to Fort Pitt and wrote letters for him the white people might be induced to come out of the Fort peaceably and bloodshed might be prevented. He was in company with Big Bear during the whole time the pillaging of the Fort was going on and the Indian did not take any part in it. While Mr. Halpin had been a prisoner with the Indians the leading chiefs of his band had treated Big Bear altogether with contempt. The witness thought the prisoner had been desirous that no blood should be spilt and was sure that his intentions towards the captives had been good. Their chief protection, however, had been the prestige of the Hudson's Bay Company. When the witness had told Mr. Stanley Simpson

that he had been called for the defense, Mr. Simpson had said that he thought it very strange that any white man should appear in the defense of an Indian.³

Mr. W. B. Cameron, Hudson's Bay Company clerk at Frog Lake, described an interesting harangue in which Big Bear had spoken to the following effect:

"Long ago I used to be recognized by all you Indians as a chief, and there was not a bigger chief among you than I was. All the southern Indians knew it—the Plains, the Piegans, the Sioux, and the Blackfeet. When I said a thing at that time there was some attention paid to it and it was acted upon, but now I say one thing and you do another."

The chief pointed at Wandering Spirit and his other rebellious subordinates, and then sat with hanging head. When the Indians came to pillage the stores in the charge of Mr. Cameron at Frog Lake, Big Bear had crowded his way through the young men and forbidden them to take anything without permission. In a Council when Wandering Spirit was speaking against the white prisoners in the camp and agitating for their assassination, Big Bear got up and said:

"I pity all these white people that we saved. I don't wish harm should come to one of them. Instead of trying to harm them you should be giving them back some of the things you have plundered from them."

On one occasion the witness had heard Mr. Halpin complaining to Big Bear that some things had been stolen from him by some of the Indians and Big Bear said that he himself had had a blanket stolen out of his own tent, and added, "When they would steal from me, the man they call their chief, I can't be responsible for what they do to other people."

Briefly synopsised the salient points of the evidence were these: That Big Bear received his first information of the impending insurrection from his loyalist friend, Mr. Halpin, March 19th; that the news did not disturb his hunting plans and that he did not return to Frog Lake till the beginning of April; that in the meantime he had heard of the Duck Lake affair and that immediately on his arrival he went to the Indian Agent and assured him of his intention to remain loyal; that next morning he interfered to prevent the looting of the Hudson Bay Company's store, from which he went to Mrs. Simpson's to warn her of his inability to control his braves; that while there the massacre broke out and that he did what he could to stop it; that a fortnight later when the band moved down against Fort Pitt he reluctantly accompanied them and that by letters and messages to the inmates of the Fort he tried to avert bloodshed; that when the police left

³ Mr. Simpson subsequently declared this to be a misapprehension of his remark.

and the Fort was looted he took no part in the robbery, but that on the other hand he subsequently upbraided his people for having done so; that he said he was going to try to make Chief Bacana (Pecan) join him and that he advised Montour to write in the same tenor to friends of the latter, that at Frenchman's Butte it appeared that he took no part in the fighting, though, according to one witness, speaking with manifest animus, Big Bear on this occasion wished for the head of the officer who was driving him into the wilderness; that, on the whole, he enjoyed an exceptionally good reputation, had at one time been an influential chief but had of late years lost his prestige with his people; that he was a good friend to the whites and continually exercised what was left of his waning powers to protect the prisoners his band had taken; and that the real leaders of his band in their late adventures had been his misguided son, Imesis, certain subordinate chiefs and a mischief-making and influential Halfbreed.

Mr. Robinson's address to the jury was very earnest and convincing. He emphasized the unfairness of applying to an Indian, without consideration of his environment and viewpoint, the rules of conduct applicable to an intelligent white man. With rebellion in the air around him, a white man would have joined himself to the Government forces, but thus to separate himself from his band would not and could not naturally occur to an Indian; while on the other hand, in his wish to restrain his son and prevent further bloodshed he had abundant motive for staying with his people.

Mr. Scott took advantage of his privilege as Crown Counsel to address the jury after Mr. Robertson. He rested his case simply on the fact that Big Bear continued to associate with rebels, knowing them to be rebels.

Mr. Justice Richardson's charge reads very much like a continuation of Mr. Scott's address and, with it, had the effect of producing, fifteen minutes later, the verdict of guilty. Big Bear was sentenced to three years' imprisonment, but through the exercise of executive clemency he was released before his term had expired.

The case of Poundmaker is even more pathetic than that of Big Bear. That he had taken no active part in the rebellion until his camp was attacked by Otter is admitted, as also is that fact that had he chosen to take advantage of its helplessness he could utterly have annihilated Otter's column. A number of irresponsible Stoneys, who had associated themselves with his band, on more than one occasion had manifested a desire to murder the numerous white prisoners taken by his braves. Before sentencing Poundmaker to three years' imprisonment, Judge Richardson spoke as follows:

"That you were kind to the white men who fell into your hands is quite clear; that you were kind to the prisoners and took care of them seems also unquestioned; and probably the friends of these young white men, the teamsters, owe their lives to your personal influence."



MAIN STREET NORTH BATTLEFORD



MAIN STREET NORTH BATTLEFORD

VIEWS OF NORTH BATTLEFORD



VIEW NORTH BATTLEFORD FROM TOWER OF COLLEGIATE



C.N.R. DEPOT NORTH BATTLEFORD

At his trial Poundmaker bore himself with impressive dignity and decorum. Before sentence was passed, Mr. Justice Richardson gave him leave to speak.

"I only want to speak once," said he. "Everything that is bad has been said against me this summer—there is nothing of it true. This summer what I have worked for is the Queen and the country that belongs to the Queen. I did everything to stop bloodshed. If I had not done so there would have been plenty of blood spilt this summer. Now, as I have done that much good, whatever sentence you may pass on me, of course pass it.

"I am glad I stayed where there would have been a great deal of blood spilt, and now that I have done so, I shall have to suffer for their sins."

When the prisoner heard he was to be sent to Manitoba penitentiary he expressed the wish that he might be hanged instead. Indeed, such a course would perhaps have been the more merciful. Though he was released after some months, his confinement and chagrin had broken his heart. His death occurred shortly afterwards.⁴

As illustrative of Riel's methods of securing Indian support, the case of White Cap may be taken. The Halfbreeds came and drove away his cattle and loose horses, practically obliging White Cap and his band to follow them. Mr. Willoughby, of Saskatoon, endeavored to get an interview with White Cap, but the Halfbreeds did all they could to prevent it. However, a conversation occurred. White Cap sent for Mr. Willoughby and complained that he was being taken up to Batoche against his will, and wished the citizens of Saskatoon to assist him to escape from the Halfbreeds. Unaided, he said he was afraid to break away, but he said he would have nothing to do with the rebellion. Some citizens did try to secure his release, but either no favorable opportunity presented itself or, when the crucial moment came, White Cap himself failed to take the initiative. Consequently this old

⁴ The Honorable Edgar Dewdney, in a letter to the author, speaks of this unfortunate Indian in the following terms:

"Poundmaker was a good Indian and a great friend of mine. If I could have reached him I know I could have kept him in check. He stood among the Crees very much in the same position that Crowfoot did among the Blackfeet. Crowfoot called him his son. He had spent many years with the Blackfeet and spoke their language thoroughly. When the Crees were at war with the Blackfeet he always traveled between the two camps and was a 'peacemaker,' at the same time he was a brave Indian and had good control over his men which I was made aware of more than once when I had charge of them. He had most beautiful hair, which he wore in two long tresses which hung down almost to his knees. When sent to the penitentiary he begged me to save his hair for him and to request that it should not be cut off. This I did.

"After he came out of jail he came to me and thanked me at Regina for doing this, and asked to be allowed to go direct from there to see Crowfoot at the Blackfoot reserve. I did not think this advisable at the time and advised him to go home to his reserve and when I thought he might go to Crowfoot I would send him word.

"This I did in about twenty-six weeks. On his visit to Crowfoot, and while he was in Crowfoot's lodge, a berry stuck in his throat, which brought on a fit of coughing and he broke a blood vessel and died. He was an adopted son of Crowfoot and the old Blackfoot chief felt his death very much."

Sioux Indian, who could not speak a word of French or Cree, was brought in fear to Riel's headquarters at Batoche. He was taken into a meeting at which all the proceedings were conducted in French and Cree, and it seems certain that he knew nothing of what was transpiring. As a matter of fact, he had just been made a member of Riel's Council whether he liked it or not. Mr. Robertson's pathetic appeal for White Cap proved successful, and it is a relief to read that the jury at Regina returned a verdict of not guilty.

I have thought it worth while to report the cases of Big Bear and Poundmaker thus at length, because they remind the student of history of important practical truths. In times of public excitement irresponsible newspapers and orators may so prejudice the public mind that unless citizens learn caution from past miscarriages of justice, cruel wrongs may be inflicted even in our British Courts, of which we are so justly proud. The proverb, "Give a dog a bad name and then hang him," reflects a tendency to be guarded against, especially in times of popular excitement and in dealing with persons of another race.

CHAPTER XXIX

RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF THE REBELLION OF 1885

RELIGIOUS ASPECT GENERALLY IGNORED—RIEL A PROPHET AND HIS FOLLOWERS RELIGIOUS REFORMERS—CHRISTENING THE NAMES OF THE DAYS OF THE WEEK—RESTORATION OF THE SABBATH TO THE SEVENTH DAY—EXTRACTS FROM RIEL'S COMMONPLACE BOOK—RIEL'S CONCEPTION OF RELIGION—THE REBEL COUNCILS HAMPERED BY RIEL'S VISIONS—LEPINE'S REPORT OF THE BATTLE OF FISH CREEK—THE REBELS A BAND OF MISLED BUT SINCERE FANATICS.

To an extent, realized by very few, the insurrection of 1885 was a religious rather than a racial or political movement. This aspect of the rebellion has hitherto been so generally ignored or treated so briefly and superficially, that the serious attention of the thoughtful reader is specially invited to the facts set forth in the following chapter.

Despite their crimes and follies, the Halfbreeds associated with the insurrection were to a large extent simply a group of misled religious fanatics. All their official documents bear evidence of this fact. During the winter preceding the rebellion Riel had gradually alienated them from their priesthood, but he was very far from assuming an attitude of enmity to religion itself. Indeed, to a marvelous extent, he succeeded in imbuing these simple people with the idea that they and he were specially called by God to effect not merely a political but a religious reformation. They had no idea of allying themselves with Protestantism, but, through their instrumentality, they hoped that the Holy Church of their fathers would be rendered purer and more alive to the rightful liberties of its children and to the ancient faith, as they understood it. Their confidence in the divine mission of their leader was profound and touching. Indeed, the minutes of the rebel council at Batoche¹ are more suggestive of a conference of child-like theologians than a Council of War. Take the following extract as an example:

"Moved by Mr. Boucher, seconded by M. Tourond, That the Canadian Halfbreed Exovidat acknowledges Louis Riel as a prophet in the service of Jesus Christ, and Son of God, and only Redeemer of the World; a prophet at the feet of Mary Immaculate, under the powerful and most favourable protection of the Virgin Mother of Christ; under the visible and most con-

¹ Published in Sessional Papers, 1886.

soling safeguard of St. Joseph, the beloved patron of the Halfbreeds . . . the patron of the universal church; as a prophet, the humble imitator in many things of St. John the Baptist, the glorious patron of the French Canadians and of the French Canadian Halfbreeds.

"Ayes:—M. Henry, M. Parenteau, Mr. Dumont, M. Tourond, M. Jobin, M. Trottier, M. Boucher, M. Lepine, Mr. Carriere.

"Mr. Ouellette did not vote at all, but said that after a time, if his views changed, he would record his vote."

With the thunder of Middleton's guns almost audible in the distance, we find the Council calmly considering the appropriateness of changing the names of the days of the week from the present ones with their pagan associations to others of a more Christian character:

Sunday was to be Vire Aurore.

Monday, Christ Aurore.

Tuesday, Vierge Aurore.

Wednesday, Joseph Aurore.

Thursday, Dire Aurore.

Friday, Denil Aurore.

Saturday, Calme Aurore.

The Sabbath they determined to transfer back to the seventh day:

April 25, 1885.

Moved by Mr. Parenteau, seconded by D. Carriere:

"That the Lord's Day be put back to the seventh day of the week, as the Holy Ghost appointed it, through his servant Moses; and that if there be any members of the 'Exovidat' who are not as yet prepared to vote for this resolution, those of their brethren who this day take the lead cordially invite them to join as soon as they can conscientiously do so; and that, though their adhesion be declared it shall be accepted when it comes, as freely as if it had been given today. May these adhesions soon render unanimous the act by which the Canadian Halfbreed 'Exovidat' restores, in God's Name, the Holy Day of the Lord's Rest.

"Ayes:—Messrs. Boucher, Dumont, Trottier, Parenteau, Jobin, Carriere, Henry, Tourond, Bte. Parenteau.

"Nays:—Messrs. Ross, Ouellette, Lepine."

Riel's *Commonplace Book*, written at Batoche,² throws much interesting light upon these religious aspects of the rising. It is a curious *mélange* of piety, puerility, posing and mad pride, but in general it offers unquestionable internal evidence of sincerity. It is full of dreams and visions, which were evidently believed to be prophetic of future events, and it throws light upon the difficulties experienced by the rebel chief himself in controlling his colleagues and followers. Frequently the entries are very pointed prayers for or against particular individuals. The following

² In the following pages I have made use of the translation of Riel's *Commonplace Book* published in the *Toronto Globe*.

extracts are characteristic and some of them evidently bear upon the debates in connection with the theological questions referred to in resolutions quoted above:

"I have seen Gabriel Dumont. He was afflicted and ashamed. He did not look at me. He looked at his table stripped of everything. But Gabriel Dumont is blessed. His faith will not fail. He is firm by the Grace of God. His hope and confidence in God will be justified. He will come out of the conflict loaded with the spoils of his enemies."

"I entered the meeting with Maxime Lepine and another. I saw myself in the mirror of justice. Wisdom shone forth from me. It illuminated my countenance. Lepine did not appear to be paying attention. He kept away from me. He did not leave me, but did not follow me very closely. Maxime! Maxime! It is human opinion and your self-love which destroys you, and which estranges your good will."

"O God! I pray Thee in the Name of Jesus, of Mary, of Joseph; be pleased to sustain me when alone; support me in the enterprise and in the army! Since Thou art my support, help me! Thou alone art able! Oh! grant to guard the army and the entire council against Maxime Lepine! Give me grace to treat him gently and with humility, but sincerely and frankly, so that he may change his conduct and he may cease to have a feeling of repugnance and hostility against us. On account of the kind feelings which he has had towards me, grant him the opportunity to turn with a good grace to all those ideas with which Thou hast inspired me."

"Oh! my God, grant me grace to re-establish Thy Day of Rest; to restore to honour the Sabbath Day as arranged by Thy Spirit in the person of Moses, Thy servant."

"O Jesus! O Mary! O St. Joseph! O St. John the Baptist! Pray for us. Pray for me to the Almighty that the Métis people and myself may do the will of God, our Father, so that I may accomplish my mission in all details."

"O my God! make me to see that I do nothing of myself. O Jesus! work for the glory of our Heavenly Father, and at the same time cause that I speak His Word with all boldness."

"O Mary! I do not deserve that God should direct and assist me, but for the love of Jesus Christ, pray that He may continue to me His perfect direction and His victorious and triumphant assistance."

"O Jesus, Mary, Joseph, and St. John the Baptist! change the evil disposition of Moses Ouellette, and cause, through thy piety, that he shall voluntarily and with good grace, receive *carte blanche* to turn back from Rome. Pray God to graciously soften his heart, so that he may entirely devote himself to the heavenly reform of worship and of everything that is not right in the religion which Rome has inculcated upon nations and peoples. Grant unto me, grant unto all the Métis French Canadian Exo-vives, and to all who volunteered for the support of Thy cause, grace to act from this time forward without ceasing, and to the end steadily, expeditiously, immediately, with rapidity and all together, for Thy greater glory, for the honour of religion, for the salvation of souls, for the good of society, and for our greater happiness, both in this world and the next."

Occasionally the entries indicate expected revolutions within the church itself, and the choice of a new Pope:

"On the sixth of April, during the night, the Spirit of God said to me, 'In eight days, Taillefer, the Great Captain of the Eeternal City, will bring his arms to Ste. Thérèse, and twenty-four hours thereafter he will be at Montreal, at nine o'clock in the morning.' "

"The Spirit of God, through the intervention of His Angel, informed me that the appearance of Captain Taillefer was a providential act in celebration of the inauguration of Ignatius Pierre Bourget as Universal Bishop."

Riel's anxiety regarding the attitude which the Indians were to assume is reflected in a number of the visions and prayers:

"I see a great number of oxen and wagons, which are going toward Fort La Corne. They are the Indians who have forsaken us."

"O, my God! I pray Thee in the Name of Jesus Christ, of Mary, of Joseph, and St. John the Baptist, pardon me the sins I have committed among the Crees, the Sioux, the Blackfeet, the Blood Indians, the Saulteaux, the Sarcees, the Assiniboines, the Gros Ventres, the Piegans, the Nez Percés, the Redants, the Creilles, the Flat Heads, and deign to send them all to our assistance, so that Thy pity may cause them to come from the rising sun; that Thy charity may bring swiftly to us on the wings of the wind, those who come to us from the setting sun; that Thy power may send them quickly to us from the North; that Thy providence may despatch them to us from the South. O, my God! for the sake of Jesus Christ, of Mary, of Joseph, and St. John the Baptist, cause that they all come to us speedily, armed with good weapons and with a great quantity of ammunition.

"April nineteenth—I hear the voice of the Indian. He comes to join me. He arrives from the North. His mind is for war."

The presence of the French Canadians among the Government forces was viewed as something horribly unnatural:—

"O, my God! I pray Thee in the Name of Jesus Christ, Mary, Joseph, and St. John the Baptist, condescend to remember Alderic Quimet and all French Canadians who are with Middleton. O, dispose their hearts and minds in my favour, in favour of Thy doings, and in the midst of battle have them love without limits to save them and to save us by breathing into them that greatness of soul which will lead them either to lay down their arms or to make peace with us."

At the Battle of Fish Creek the Halfbreeds lost a large number of horses. This is made the occasion for some curious moralizing:

"Oh, my Métis nation! You have long offended me by your horse races, by your bets on this detestable matter of horse races, by your stubbornness, by your hateful contention over these bad horse races. It is on this account that the Eternal Christ said that 'yesterday, while sparing you, I have killed your horses.' "

"April twenty-sixth. The Spirit of God, in speaking of the Métis nation, has said to me, 'I have come to be annoyed at it, for it is too negligent. It is not sufficiently vigilant and obedient.' "

"O, my God, for Christ's sake have pity on it. Behold how charitable it is, how pleasant, how easily guided. Consider favourably, O great God, the great works which the Métis nation has done for Thy greater glory, for the honour of religion, for the salvation of souls, and for the good of society."

On the twenty-seventh a general fast seems to have been celebrated from which the best results were hoped:

"O, my God, consider in all kindness that Thy people give themselves to fasting and prayer in order to gain Thy good graces. O, lead it to repent bitterly of the fault which it committed in saying 'Yes' too quickly. O, bless the fasting of Thy children, inspire the prayer of Thy people, accept the desire which it has to please Thee. O, pardon Thou its sin. Introduce this day into Thy Paradise, and at once, those whom Thou has chosen in the conflict, and whose spirits Thou has called to Thyself."

"The road of the Métis which they follow to victories here below is also the heavenly road which conducts to Paradise the souls which the Saviour has chosen on the field of battle."

"April twenty-ninth—The Spirit of God made me look upon the Métis nation under the resemblance of Genevieve Arcand. It was not altogether so large as Genevieve. Its countenance had a rather bad appearance. One could read there certain marks of a good deal of carnal baseness. It loved the pleasures of the flesh. The thought, the desires, the calculations of the flesh were the things to which it gave the most attention. Still its line of progress was towards the right. It did not wish to turn aside from that. It took a great deal of pains and gave itself a great deal of trouble to prove to me its love of justice, etc. Oh! who shall tell me the changes which fasting and prayer can bring around in a nation of good disposition. Four days of fasting, well attended to, can cause so much good that there is no reason why it should not change a nation that is a dwarf to one that is a giant."

"O, my Métis nation, take courage! Your four days of fasting, prayer, and mortification have produced in you the admirable points of conversion. I see your change. It is grand."

"O, my God, grant me, for the love of Jesus Christ, etc., the grace of soon and surely making a good arrangement with the Dominion of Canada. Mercifully so arrange all things that this may be accomplished. Direct me, assist me, so that I may assure to the Métis and the Indians all advantages which there is presently any means of obtaining by treaty. Accord us the favour of making as good a treaty as Thy Charitable and Divine Protection and the favourable circumstances permit us to make. Cause that Canada consent to pay me the indemnity which is my due; not a little indemnity; but one just and equitable before Thee and before men."

On May 2d the prophet shows an unusual tendency to self-criticism. His prayer and reflections regarding the extension of priestly functions and characteristics are of special interest in the entries of that date:

"The Spirit of God shows me that my righteous actions were mingled with certain feelings and opinions which tarnished the whiteness and innocence of my soul."

"May second—The Spirit of God has given me His Holy Approbation and has praised me for having explained religion by setting forth that in which it consists:

"First—To have great confidence in God, through Jesus Christ, Mary, Joseph, and St. John the Baptist.

"Second—To keep His commandments faithfully.

"Third—To pray without ceasing and to be devout. Priests have been appointed to sustain the spirit of religion. They have power only so long as they are faithful to their mission. As soon as they turn aside they have no more place or usefulness. Priests are not religion. The Spirit of God has told that this was, is, and always will be true."

"May third—O, God, spread over me and my wife and children, over the Exovidat, over all my nation, the waves and torrents of Thy amiable and compassionate benedictions. I pray Thee for this for the love of Jesus, Mary, Joseph, etc. O, my God, I humbly ask of Thee in the name of Jesus Christ, of Mary the Immaculate, whom we especially honour during this beautiful month, and in the name of Joseph, that Thou wouldst condescend to enroot in the hearts of our French and dear Métis the most perfect faith and the greatest confidence in Thy Holy Catholic, Apostolic, and Loving Church in the New World."

"Cause to descend upon each member of the Métis French Canadian Exovidat all the charitable gifts of the priesthood, all the evangelical graces of the clergy, all the admirable fruits of Thy Holy Spirit, that each of them may be acceptable in Thy Sight, that each may celebrate in a gracious manner the solemn and consoling offices of the true religion. Come to all of them! Dwell in them!"

"Establish Thyself in the very midst of their spirits. Take entire possession of their very beings, that they may receive from Thee power to forgive the sins of those who shall confess to them, and that they may relieve from the weight of his transgressions every one who shall, to their satisfaction, perform acts of penance by asking Jesus Christ the spirit of repentance."

As Middleton's army approaches Batoche, Riel more and more realizes the difficulties of his position. He perceives that his "men were nothing more than little boys and their wives little girls, good only for fooling," and trembling between hope and despair he foresees on May 6th the coming capture of Batoche, which, in his vision, is called De Bonne Chairville. This event, it is to be noted, is to occur not because of the strength or wisdom of the victors, but on account of the sins and folly of the Métis.

"May sixth—The place, De Bonne Chairville, formerly well situated, is now abandoned. The town of Bonne Chairville—but yesterday in good condition—has no longer anyone to protect it. I ask for help. I wish to rouse up those who slumber in the deep sleep of their sins. They don't understand. They don't hear. They don't obey me. The enemy comes up the river. He arrives. He proceeds to bombard the town. How is it going to resist? Nobody takes its interests to heart. It is going to fall into the hands of the conqueror, for having first abandoned God. God also abandons it. It is all over with it.

"Oh, how many times hast Thou, O Prophecy, revealed Thyself? How many times in a century? How many times in a generation?"

On May 9th, the day of Middleton's first attack upon Batoche, the following entries occur, of which the second quoted is the last in the journal:

"O my God, assist me. Very charitably direct me, that I may properly arrange our people, and that I may superintend their movements without uselessly exposing myself and without pusillanimous fears. O condescend to sustain me that in the hands of Thy Providence I may be as tranquil and calm as a little child on its mother's breast."

"O my God, I pray Thee for the sake of Jesus, Mary, Joseph and St. John the Baptist, grant me Thy Holy Spirit of foresight and prudence, Thy Holy Spirit of courage. Thy Holy Spirit of power and of good designs, from this time forward without ceasing, till the very last sigh, that we may come to the end of all our good undertakings, and may have the happiness of completing them with an entire regard for Thy Holy Will."

From the minutes of the Council we see now the military operations of the Métis were shaped and at times hampered by the interpretations placed upon the signs or omens occurring in Riel's disordered visions. On the twenty-second his lieutenants were strongly desirous of attacking Middleton. To this Riel was opposed, though his reasons seem like the incoherent ravings of a mad man. Nevertheless, something of the spirit which seems to have been behind the movement is indicated in the following quotation from Riel's written protest against the plans of Dumont and his warriors:

"Respectfully and in the frankest spirit of friendship, I offer these considerations to the attention of the 'Exovidat,' so that they may weigh my reasons. What I wish is that my reasons be examined; but be convinced, sirs and dear brothers in Jesus Christ, that when you have examined what I now submit to you, if you adopt a course contrary to my views, I shall look upon it as an expression of permission of God, and I will help you with all my strength to carry out your views as though they were my own to the greater glory of God."

Nothing could be more pathetic than the simplicity and evident sincerity of the religious spirit animating many not only among the leaders, but among the rank and file of the rebel party. Passages from Dumont's story of Duck Lake, which were quoted in the preceding chapter will occur to the reader's mind in this connection.

Among the papers seized by Middleton at the capture of Batoche is Lepine's report of the Battle of Fish Creek. It is so full of pathos in its *naïveté* and transparent piety as to deserve sympathetic reading:

"I corroborate the report of Mr. Dumont up to the moment of the departure of Mr. Riel, for Mr. Riel left it to the choice of the people whether he was to go away or stay. The answer he received was to go and assist

the women and children. About half-past eight in the morning I started to get something to eat at the house of the widow Tourond, and about nine o'clock we left, Pierre Henry, Isidore Dumas and I, to come to the coulee. Our people made signs to us that the police were coming. Then we took up our position to wait for them, and we had hardly taken our places when shots were heard at the other end. As soon as we heard the shots we rushed to that side. When we got there our people were already all scattered and the battle had commenced. Not long after I saw that Jerome Henry was wounded, and we then took up a position in the coulee nearly on the bank, and I spent nearly the whole day there. The time seemed so long that I thought it was already evening, but on looking at my watch I saw that it was only noon. Before noon we heard shots all around us; but we heard shots also from the direction of Touron's, showing that there were still some of our people in that direction. In the afternoon we heard no more shots there, and I thought that our people on that side were all dead. Near us, and towards Mr. Tourond's, we heard shouts, and I think it was Gabriel Dumont and his people who were there. I know that Alec Gervais was there, for I saw him come from that direction, and then we saw that we were surrounded, for we saw men on all sides; we then heard the bugle to the right of our position and we heard the soldiers coming in the wood of the coulee, for we heard the branches breaking, and there were others along the wood to the left; and we heard voices speaking all around us and in front on the prairie, and then I thought we were lost. When they came into the wood we heard dreadful firing on every side. It was then between three and four o'clock in the afternoon. After that they retreated, and it seemed to me that the volleys were less frequent; and about five o'clock all was quiet for a good while, only a few sentinels seemed to be stationed at intervals watching us. During that period we thought they were getting ready to come and take us. After that we said to one another, 'We must try somehow to kill one each if they come, and we must each of us fire a good shot.' And Charles Trottier counted the men there, and out of one hundred and sixty that were there at the beginning there remained but fifty-four. I do not know whether he counted the wounded. And then we consulted as to how we were to get away, and we decided to wait until night and then to run the risk of breaking our way out. But we knew that many of us must be killed in that undertaking. And then we also thought of our wounded and it seemed to me that the only assistance I could leave them was the crucifix I had held in my hand all day, but when I spoke of that no person answered me; and we were praying all that time and I had the crucifix and I said, 'We shall commend ourselves to God and pray that we may have perfect contrition, so that if we die we may save our souls.' And then I prayed; for I thought we were about to die and I had doubts as to the justice of our cause. And I thought all our people were dead and that our small party were all that remained. But Delorme did me good when he said to me, 'We must pray to God to take us out of this.' And almost immediately they again commenced firing, not many rifle shots, but four cannon shots, and two or three out of the four seemed to me to burst over our heads. And all the balls seemed to fall like hail. And after these four cannon shots all became quiet, and we heard a man from among the police shout to us, speaking in the Cree tongue.

He said, 'His name was Borie,' and, it seemed to me, 'that we must be hungry,' and he asked to be allowed to visit us. He also asked us to tell him how many we were. And some of the others answered him, but I do not remember what they said to him. But they would not let him come. I was inclined to let him come, and felt tempted to tell him to come, but I thought it better to say nothing for fear of making a mistake and being blamed afterwards. It occurred to me that while he was with us the police would not fire, and meantime night would set in and we should be able to get away. But almost immediately afterwards our people came up and the soldiers fled and did not fire again and we came away.

"We prayed all the day, and I think prayer did more than bullets. Often when the soldiers appeared on the hillcocks our people fired and that made them fall back and others came to remove them."

Such was the religious spirit, largely by virtue of which a handful of ignorant Halfbreed peasants withstood so long and so successfully Canada's bravest soldiery. It is the same spirit that sustained the Covenanters, hunted to the death by Claverhouse on the bleak hillsides of Scotland; that made Cromwell's Ironsides invincible; and that has inspired with heroism ten thousand humble hearts in every land where men have truly believed themselves in immediate contact with the Divine. Poor, simple, mistaken fanatics! In the failure of their plans, the sacrifice of their lives, liberty or property, and the ruin of their hopes for the establishment through their prowess of the Kingdom of God upon earth, the rebel Halfbreeds in Saskatchewan learned the same lesson that many others, wiser and better instructed than they, have had to learn before and since.

CHAPTER XXX

LIFE, CHARACTER AND FATE OF RIEL

PARENTAGE OF RIEL—BEFRIENDED BY TACHÉ—EDUCATED IN MONTREAL—EARLY DELUSIONS—DISTURBANCES OF 1869, 1870—EXCITING CAREER PRIOR TO BANISHMENT, 1875—CONFINEMENT FOR INSANITY—SETTLES IN WESTERN STATES—INVITATION FROM SASKATCHEWAN HALFBREEDS AND THEIR SYMPATHIZERS—REPORT ON RIEL'S MANNER OF LIFE—GRADUAL RELAPSE INTO PARANOIA—OBSERVATIONS AND OPINIONS OF DR. DANIEL CLARKE—EVIDENCE FROM RIEL'S COMMONPLACE BOOK—RIEL'S LETTER ACCEPTING INVITATION OF CANADIAN AGITATORS—TRIAL—RIEL'S ADDRESS TO THE COURT—HONORABLE MR. JUSTICE RICHARDSON'S SENTENCE AND COMMENTS—APPEALS—LETTER ADDRESSED TO RICHARDSON BY RIEL—CANADA SWEEPED BY WHIRLWIND OF POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ANIMOSITIES—ATTITUDE OF GOVERNMENT—CONVERSATIONS WITH FATHER ANDRÉ—PATHETIC LETTER TO RIEL'S MOTHER—EXECUTION.

Louis Riel was born at Red River in the year 1844. His Indian blood he derived from his paternal grandmother. His father was a bold and energetic defender of popular rights,—as witnessed by his successful organization of an armed force of Métis to intimidate the court into releasing Sayer in 1849, and thus overcome the Hudson Bay Company's claim to a monopoly of the fur trade. The son of such a father might well prove an uncontrollable tribute of the Halfbreed people. His mother was Julie de Lagimodière, the first white woman born in the West. According to Haydon, Riel came of a very mixed stock,—Indian, French, Irish and Scandinavian,—and Riel himself seems to have believed that he could trace his ancestors from Sweden to Germany, France, Ireland, and finally to Lower Canada. The accuracy of this genealogical tree is, I think, open to very serious doubt. At all events, his faults, virtues, manner and general appearance were those typical of the French Halfbreed.

On returning from a prolonged Episcopal tour, Archbishop Taché found in the little college attached to his See at St. Boniface, three Métis lads of special promise: MacDougal, Scotch; Schmidt, German; and Riel, French. The Archbishop took strong personal interest in the young students and also interested in them a wealthy and pious French lady, while in Montreal

in 1858. Accordingly, the young men were given an opportunity to attend colleges in Lower Canada. Nine years later, while in Montreal on a visit, the Archbishop again met Riel and told him that as he had now secured an education, he must endeavor to carve out for himself a respectable career.

It had been intended that the lad should become a priest, but Taché had already realized that he was unfitted for holy orders. The erratic nature of the boy's disposition was already evident. He was subject to delusions which led him into some astounding escapades. On one occasion he entered the home of a wealthy citizen of Montreal and demanded ten thousand dollars, with which to carry on some Quixotic crusade. This request was, of course, refused. On another occasion during his school days, he induced his feeble minded old mother to sell her effects in order to supply him with the funds necessary for his plans. The poor old woman did as she was bid and set out on a three weeks' journey of four hundred miles in a Red River cart to meet an appointment with her son, in 1867. On reaching her destination she found waiting her only a letter from young Riel, explaining that still another important mission had presented itself which required him to remain in Montreal. This same year, however, he returned to Manitoba where his unquestionable ability, superior schooling, fervid imagination and oratorical powers soon won him a position of leadership among the Métis.

The part which he played in the disturbance of 1869 and 1870 has already been related. His apologists have made numerous but unconvincing attempts to palliate his conduct in connection with the execution of Scott, but it seems probable that that tragedy was simply the product of homicidal mania.

In 1871, on the occasion of the threatened Fenian invasion, it will be remembered that Riel responded to the summons of Lieutenant-Governor Archibald by raising and placing at his disposal an armed force of some two hundred and fifty mounted Halfbreeds. In the following year, Riel was a candidate for the Dominion Parliament in the constituency of Provencher, which he could certainly have carried. However, through Taché's influence, he was induced to retire in favor of Sir George Cartier, and at the request and with the financial assistance of the Ottawa Cabinet, he left the country for a time. Sir George Cartier died in 1873 and Riel, who had now returned, was elected by acclamation. He went to Ottawa, but found Ontario then too hot for him, as on November 15th, Henry J. Clarke obtained from a grand jury a true bill against him for the murder of Scott. He was never placed upon trial, however, and in the general elections of 1874 he was again returned for Provencher. He attempted to take his seat, but on a vote of 144 to 68 he was expelled from the House. On February 15, 1875, he was banished for a period of five years.

Nevertheless, he returned to Quebec, where his mental condition again caused his friends great anxiety. In 1876, at Montreal, he on one occasion

made a noisy interruption during mass. He declared himself the superior of any of the dignitaries present and demanded permission to conduct the service. Official inquiry into his mental condition then resulted in his being committed to the asylum at Longue Point, from which he was presently transferred to Beauport Asylum. Being released after a year and a half he went to Washington, where his insanity again manifested itself. He was placed under arrest, but was liberated shortly afterwards and allowed to return to his family.

In 1878 he was for a time in Minnesota and in the following year he settled in Montana. There he followed various occupations with but indifferent financial success. His unsettled habits and erratic character made him the object of much well founded suspicion on the part of the authorities of that State, with whom in 1879 we find him in serious trouble. However, after his marriage with a French Canadian Halfbreed, he settled down to the useful if prosaic career of a school teacher. In this capacity he was employed at the St. Pierre Mission when he unfortunately was visited by the delegation representing the Halfbreeds of Batoche and its vicinity, and received the letter elsewhere quoted,¹ in which his old friend, the venerable missionary, Father André, urged him to come to Saskatchewan. The conditions under which Riel was then living are interestingly portrayed in the following report presented by the delegates upon their return:

"We have travelled the long journey of about seven hundred miles to seek an interview with Mr. Riel.

"We had to go to the Territory of Montana, as far as St. Peter's Mission, situated in the County of Louis and Clark, beyond Sun River, at the foot of the Great Rockies.

"We found him humbly and respectably employed as a teacher in the Industrial College of the Jesuit Fathers of that place. After having acquainted him with the object of our mission, we handed him our credentials and the six resolutions on which we had to consult with him, also the document whereby our public invites him to the North West. We asked him to come with us if he could and to aid us. This interview took place on the 4th of June. Mr. Riel read our papers of trust, and begged to be allowed twenty-four hours to think the matter over before giving an answer.

"We were received by Mr. and Mrs. Riel in a very friendly manner; their courtesy was sincere, simple and true. Generally when one enters the house of a very poor man the feeling of the visitor is more or less painful, but, entering Mr. Riel's house, our impression was different. The humble condition of his home reminded us of the opportunities he had for several years to become rich, and even to make an exceptional fortune, and how at all risks he stood firm by the confidence of his people. We know how much he wrought for Manitoba, and how much he struggled for the whole North West, and seeing how little he worked for himself, we came

¹ See Chapter XIX.

back after a long trip of some fourteen hundred miles, with twice as much confidence in him as we had on leaving to go and seek him in a foreign land."

Had Riel remained amid the quiet and wholesome influences surrounding him in his home at St. Pierre he would probably not again have suffered from the mental disease that had clouded his youth. Indeed, for a considerable time after his return to Canada his conduct was entirely rational. The long months of excitement and disappointment, the adulation of his followers and the flattering enmity of his opponents then again unhinged his brilliant but unstable intellect. He again commenced to see visions. In season and out of season, night and day, he devoted himself to religious observances, though not many months had elapsed before he had established himself at the head of a religious crusade directed against Roman hierarchy. He himself assumed sacerdotal functions, administering baptism, hearing confession, granting absolution and publicly celebrating confirmation at the altar. In order to transmit to the congregation the breath of the Holy Spirit, he uttered three long and penetrating cries.² In brief, he developed all the marked evidence of religious mania and his old dreams of a special divine mission took entire possession of his mind.

To quote from Riel's speech at his trial:

"Some persons," he said, "had known beforehand of my supernatural power, but I only knew it myself on the 18th of December, 1874. The late Archbishop of Montreal, Monseigneur Bourget, was the first to inform me of this favor of the Saviour. This learned prelate wrote to me and I have his letter still in my possession, that I had a mission to fulfill. At first I was inclined to doubt it, but later on I recognized my error.

"On the 18th of December, 1874, while I was seated on the top of a mountain near Washington, in Dakota, the same spirit who showed himself to Moses in the midst of the fire and cloud appeared to me in the same manner. I was stupefied; I was confused. He said to me, 'Rise up, Louis David Riel, you have a mission to fulfill.' Stretching out my arms and bending my head, I received this heavenly message. I have worked for men, and with what success the world already knows. Events are not finished in a few days or in a few hours. A century is but a spoke in the wheel of eternity. I have obtained practical results, but much more still remains to do."

When the actual outbreak occurred, Riel was, in point of fact, so insane that the real work of leadership had to be assumed by Dumont and his associates.

Dr. Daniel Clarke says: "I spoke to some of the Halfbreeds who were in all the engagements with Riel, and they uniformly said he was not the same man after the first fight. He seemed to have changed entirely, and became frenzied. He organized no opposition after that time, did no fight-

² Authority: Dr. Daniel Clarke.

ing, but was looked on as inspired by his deluded followers, and ran about from pit to pit holding aloft a crucifix and calling on the Trinity for aid."

Dr. Daniel Clarke
On July 28, 1885, the distinguished alienist to whom we have just referred visited Riel in his prison at Regina and subsequently reported as follows:

"He was very talkative, and his egotism made itself manifest, not only in his movements, but also in his expressed pleasure in being the central figure of a State trial, which was likely to become historic. The writer stated to him that his lawyers were trying to save his life by proving that he had been insane. At this statement he got very much excited, and paced up and down his cell like a chained animal, until his irons rattled, saying with great vehemence and gesticulation, 'My lawyers do wrong to try and prove I am insane. I scorn to put in that plea. I, the leader of my people, the centre of a national movement, a priest and prophet, to be proved an idiot! As a prophet I know beforehand the jury will acquit me. They will not ignore my rights. I was put in Longue Point and Beauport Asylums by my persecutors, and was arrested without cause when discharging my duty. The Lord delivered me out of their hands.'

"I questioned him very closely as to his plans in the past, but he did not seem to be communicative on these points. He said he would insist on examining the witnesses for himself. He did not feel disposed to allow his lawyers to do it for him, if they were determined to try to prove he was insane. During the trial he made several attempts to take the case into his own hands, as in questioning the witnesses his importance seemed to be ignored by his counsel. I asked him if he thought he could elicit more on his own behalf than men expert in law could. He proudly said, 'I will show you as the case develops.' He walked about a good deal as he talked, at the same time putting on his hat and taking it off in a nervous way. His fidgety way, his swagger, his egotistic attitudes, his evident delight at such a trying hour in being so conspicuous a personage impressed me very strongly as being so like the insane with delusions of greatness, whether paretics or not. A hundred and one little things in appearance, movement and conversation, which cannot be described in writing, are matters of everyday observation by asylum medical officers. I may say they are almost intuitions in this respect. Such knowledge as this which we acquire by everyday acquaintance of the insane would be laughed out of court by the legal profession, who cannot discern any valid evidence that does not tally with a metaphysical and obsolete definition.

"It was evident to me that Riel was concealing to some extent the inner workings of his mind, and that he had an object in view in hiding his thoughts. I endeavored to make him angry by speaking contemptuously of his pretensions. He only shrugged his shoulders and gave me a smile of pity at my ignorance. I touched upon his selfishness in asking thirty-five thousand dollars from the Government, and on receipt of it to cease agitation. He smiled at my charge and said that the money had been promised to him and was due to him. Had he received it he would have established a newspaper to advocate the rights of his kindred. It would have been a glorious work for him to be able to control a newspaper, and to promulgate in print his mission to the world.

"Dr. Roy and myself had a second examination of Riel at the Police Barracks on the evening of the 28th of July. He was closely catechized by Dr. Roy in French and by me in English. The insanity plea was abhorrent to him and he scorned to take that ground, even to save his life. Friends and foes were convinced of his honesty and candor in his repudiation of this defense. He would rather die as a deliverer than live as a lunatic.

"Suddenly he calmed down and with great self-possession said, 'His legal friends had mistaken his mission. At present he was an important State prisoner and he was suffering not only for himself but also for others.' He also told me that he wrote a book, which was still in existence. In it he clearly proved that he was a great prophet, and as a prophet he knew beforehand that a verdict would be given in his favor. I closely questioned him as to why he thought so, but his only reply was in putting his hand to his heart and saying, pathetically, 'It is revealed to me.' I informed him that there was a bitter feeling hostile to him outside, and that so far the evidence was strongly against him and that he would probably be hanged as a felon. He smiled cynically at my ignorance, but the alternative did not seem to affect him. I told him the feeling had not subsided for the murder of Scott in 1870. In reply he said the North West Council sentenced Scott to death for treason. He was only one of the thirteen. He suddenly broke away from this subject and began to pour out a torrent of vigorous language on the head of Dr. Schultz, of Winnipeg, whom he associated in some way with Scott and the rebellion of 1870. Before I left he came back to the fulcrum idea that he was yet to be a great political and religious leader, who would revolutionize the world."

In dealing with so obscure a subject as the evidence of insanity lay opinions are of little value. To the Queen's Quarterly of April and July, 1905, however, another well known authority on mental disease, Doctor C. K. Clarke, contributed a "Critic Study of the Case of Louis Riel," to which I am already indebted. Says he:

"Riel was simply a case of evolutionary insanity, which would, in the modern school, no doubt, be classed as one of the paranoiac forms of dementia. The first manifestations, as were to be expected, were observed when he was at a critical period of his boyhood, and even then the egotism, which is so characteristic of the paranoiac, was apparent. . . .

"Among well-educated people his mental defect would, early in the day, have led to his confinement in an institution, but among the ignorant Métis, suffering from wrongs they thought unbearable, Riel, with his education, prophetic and inspired pretensions, naturally became a leader.

"Those of us familiar with paranoia do not for one moment think that nineteen months' residence in Longue Point and Beauport in 1876 resulted in a cure, but no doubt there was a favourable remission, and a lapse into a condition of comparative quiet, such as we are accustomed to see every day. If Riel could have been left quiet in the Jesuit school in Montana the chances are that he would never again have been heard of, as in the monotony of that humdrum life there was enough to keep his mind employed in safe directions, but there was no incentive to let his delusions

and hallucinations carry him and others to destruction. It was certainly an evil hour when Dumont and his associates planned their visit to Montana.

"Before the Duck Lake fight Riel was a mental weakling; after that event a maniacal paranoiac beyond the reach of human control, useless as a leader and a menace to the lives of friends and foes alike. The contention that he was posing simply to excite his countrymen who believed in his inspiration to carry on the rebellion is without force. The successful charlatan is built on very different lines from Louis Riel; his mission was no trumped up affair to him, and his consistency was the consistency of the insane enthusiast. What of it if he did resort to trickery, deception and intrigue at times? Surely sanity has not the monopoly of these things."

The pages of the *Commonplace Book*, seized at Batoche, are filled with the incoherent outpourings of a disordered mind. Take the following extracts for example:

"The Spirit of God showed me that I had a piece of wood of some length under my feet. I gave it several strokes with an axe. I suppose four, and it seemed to me that these four strokes had no more force than if I had only given two. I had scarcely perceived this, yet I had made formidable notches on the long piece from the aspen tree of good size, which I had under my feet. I shall hold it under my right foot and remain, axe in hand."

"The Spirit of God has made me see a shadow which passed. It disappeared from before my view almost before I had time to look at it."

"When I close my eyes I see a light greater than that of the sun."

On May 6th he addressed a frenzied appeal "To the Citizens of the United States of America," through the *Irish World*. Nevertheless, during the same period of distress and alarm, we find him confiding to his diary columns of bitter vituperation against America and the Americans:

"The Spirit of God put me into a conveyance with Michael Dumas. We set out for the United States. I accompanied him for a certain distance. We talked of the United States. I don't remember the words of the ideas I expressed, but I finished by saying, 'Look on me as an example to thee.'"

"I parted from him. I returned. He went on. As I was looking at him proceeding on his way I perceived a large red colored serpent, which went after him. This serpent, however, had no attendants. But it was large. I did not attach much importance to it. I turned back in order to go to the place from which I had come. There was a certain space of the land around me clear and clean. All the rest swarmed with serpents. There were more serpents than I could tell you of. Oh, the invitation of American help is a dangerous one. Take care of adventurers from the United States, for I assure you that they are to be feared. They have neither manners, faith nor heart. They are dirty dogs, foul jackals, raving wolves, furious tigers."

"O, my God, preserve us from the misfortune of having anything to do

with the United States. Let the United States protect us indirectly, spontaneously, and by the arrangement of Thy Holy Providence, but never by a direct engagement, or by any understanding on our part."

"I have lived miserably in the United States among serpents, in the very midst of poisonous vipers. I was there so surrounded that whenever I wished to place my feet I saw them swarming. The ground was positively alive with them. The United States are, in a sense, a perfect hell for an honest man. The virtuous, respectable family is there held in discredit; it is turned into ridicule; it is made a jest of. O, it is an awful misfortune to be obliged to seek a refuge in the United States."

A fact that subsequently told heavily against Riel was that during the period of agitation prior to the rebellion he expressed his willingness to withdraw from the country if a sufficient financial consideration was offered by the Dominion authorities. Even this serious misstep was perhaps not entirely in conflict with his grandiloquent claims to be engaged in a great public mission. As has already been indicated, it was part of his dream to establish a great paper which would be the organ of Halfbreed interests in the United States and Canada and it is not improbable that in the suggestion of obtaining a large sum of money from Ottawa he thought he saw the means ultimately of righting his people's wrongs by constitutional methods. Moreover, he had long cherished the idea that the Dominion Government actually owed him a large sum of money and when he came over from Montana it seems quite evident that he expected to return thither. Much additional evidence could be quoted in this connection, but the following letter³ addressed to delegates will suffice for our present purposes:

"To Messrs. James Isbister, Gabriel Dumont, Moise Ouellette, and Michel Dumas.

"Gentlemen:—You have travelled more than seven hundred miles from the Saskatchewan country, across the international line, to make me a visit. The communities in the midst of which you live have sent you as their delegate to ask my advice on various difficulties which have rendered the British North West as yet unhappy under the Ottawa Government. Moreover, you invite me to go and stay amongst you, your hope being that I, for one, could help to better in some respects your condition. Cordial and pressing is your invitation. You want me and my family to accompany you. I am at liberty to excuse myself and say no. Yet, you are waiting for me, so that I have only to get ready, and your letters of delegation give me the assurance that a family welcome awaits me in the midst of those who have sent you. Gentlemen, your personal visit does me honor, and causes great pleasure, but on account of its representative character, your coming to me has the proportions of a remarkable fact; I record it as one of the gratifications of my life. It is a good event which my family will remember, and I pray to God that your delegation may become a blessing amongst the blessings of this my fortieth year.

³ The italics are mine. N. F. B.

"To be frank is the shortest. I doubt whether my advice, given to you on this soil concerning affairs on Canadian territory, could cross the borders and retain any influence. But here is another view. *The Canadian Government owe me two hundred and fifty acres of land, according to the thirty-first clause of the Manitoba treaty. They owe me also five lots, valuable on account of hay, timber and river frontage.* These lots were mine according to the different paragraphs of the same thirty-first clause of the above mentioned Manitoba treaty. It is the Canadian Government which has deprived me, directly or indirectly, of those properties. *Besides, if they only pay attention to it a minute, they will easily find out that they owe me something else.*

"Those, my claims against them, are such as to hold good notwithstanding the fact that I have become an American citizen. *Considering then, your interest and mine, I accept your very kind invitation. I will go and spend some time amongst you.* By petitioning the Government with you, perhaps we will all have the good fortune of obtaining something. *But my intention is to come back early this Fall.*

"Montana has a pretty numerous Halfbreed element. If we count with them the white men interested in the Halfbreed welfare, by being themselves heads of Halfbreed families, or related to them in any other way, I believe it safe to assert that the Halfbreed element of Montana is a pretty strong one. I am just getting acquainted with that element. I am one of these who would like to unite and direct its vote so as to make it profitable to themselves and useful to their friends. Moreover, I have made acquaintance and friends amongst whom I like to live. *I start with you but to come back here some time in September.*

"I have the honor to be, gentlemen delegated to me,

"Your humble servant,

"LOUIS RIEL."

With the public mind still agitated by the great loss of life and property which the rebellion entailed, and especially by the Indian atrocities which had threatened to be the prelude of a general massacre of the white population, the issue of Riel's trial, if it were to take place before an English jury at Regina, was a foregone conclusion. Moreover, the fact that a capital charge was, in accordance with the laws of the Territories, to be conducted merely by a Stipendiary Magistrate assisted by a Justice of the Peace with a jury of only six persons, excited general alarm among his sympathizers, especially in Lower Canada. A considerable fund was raised for his defense by popular subscription and Messrs. Charles Fitzpatrick and F. X. Lemieux, of Quebec, were employed as his counsel, and with them were associated Messrs. J. M. Greenshields and T. C. Johnson. Earnest efforts were made to secure his trial before the Supreme Court, and in Lower Canada, but without avail, and on the First of August the jury of Regina brought in a verdict of guilty, with a recommendation to mercy.

Before sentence was passed, Riel made a long and passionate oration,

in self-justification, prefacing his speech by prayer for himself, the Magistrate, the jury and all others concerned in his trial. Those who heard this address speak of it as very impressive, but it is not so in cold print. It is evidence not of the reasonableness of Riel's conduct, but of the persistent and malign influence of an *idée fixe*.

In pronouncing sentence, Mr. Justice Richardson spoke as follows:

"Louis Riel, after a long consideration of your case, in which you have been defended with as great ability as I think counsel could have defended you with, you have been found, by a jury who have shown I might almost say unexampled patience, guilty of a crime the most pernicious and the greatest that man can commit. You have been found guilty of high treason. You have been proved to have let loose the flood gates of rapine and bloodshed. You have, with such assistance as you had in the Saskatchewan country, managed to arouse the Indians, and have brought ruin and misery to many families, who, if you had simply left them alone, were in comfort, and many of them were on the road to affluence.

"For what you did, the remarks you have made form no excuse whatever. For what you have done the law requires you to answer. It is true that the jury, in merciful consideration, have asked Her Majesty to give your case such merciful consideration as she can bestow upon it. I had almost forgotten that those who are defending you have placed in my hands a notice that the objection which they raised at the opening of the court must not be forgotten from the record, in order that if they see fit they may raise the question in the proper place. That has been done. But, in spite of that, I cannot hold out any hope to you that you will succeed in getting entirely free, or that Her Majesty will, after what you have been the cause of doing, open her hand of clemency to you.

"For me, I have only one more duty to perform, that is to tell you what the sentence of the law is upon you. I have, as I must, given time to enable your case to be heard. All I can suggest or advise you is to prepare to meet your end. That is all the advice or suggestion I can offer."

Upon the question of the jurisdiction of the local Court, Mr. Fitzpatrick appealed for a new trial, but on September 9th, the Court of the Queen's Bench at Winnipeg confirmed the legality of his trial and sentence. Accordingly a new trial was refused. An appeal was then made to the Privy Council in England, but it failed also. Meantime an official inquiry had been made into the question of Riel's sanity, but this we would not err in characterizing as merely an idle form.

When the prisoner was informed of the brief reprieve granted to allow of this investigation he addressed to Judge Richardson a curious and touching letter of thanks. It reads as follows:

"To His Honor

"Judge Hugh Richardson,

"Sir:—God, whose mercy is great for all men, has made use of your honorable hand to sign in my favor another postponement. When the

FACSIMILE OF LETTER FROM RIEL TO JUDGE RICHARDSON ON THE
ANNOUNCEMENT OF A TEMPORARY REPRIEVE.

Regina Jail Nov. 14th 1885.

To His Honor
Judge Hugh Richardson.

Sir,

I have heard by chance some of my guards speaking in the guard room about a reporter of the globe, I think, wishing to have an interview with me and that it was left to your Honor to give such permission. In case, I have heard well, I ask your Honor to allow me to see that gentleman of the globe.

I have had the honor to state before your Honorable Court that I am the Prophet of the new world. I have revelations which coming from God are glorious to publish. And if you have the kindness to give me the permission of an interview with the globe reporter, I will try that it be not only useful to the new world but

that it be agreeable to those whom
God has appointed to take care of
me since my entering into General
Middleton's tent, on the 1st of March
in May last.

By granting the favor I ask of
you would oblige very much

Your very respectful
and obedient servant
and prisoner,

Louis David Riel

Mem?
If the prisoner desires to see the
press reporter named in this letter
and the proposed interview is not
conforming to "mison regulations" I
see no reason to refuse such
acquiescence as I am by law
authorised to give
High. Richmond
14/11/85 sm

document was being read to me, I was at the same time hearing the voice which habitually and mercifully speaks to me from above. The voice of my salvation was saying: Acknowledge most openly my help and kneel down before me and before my servants.

"Thus I knelt down, according to the word of my Lord, thanking him for his divine mercy and thanking the Empire for its clemency.

"As to you, Judge, I sincerely pray to God, through our Common Redeemer, that you may be amongst the first who will acknowledge me for the prophet of the 'New World,' and that through our God's mercy, it may be so written, to your injury nor to mine; but to your best advantage in every possible way and to my greatest happiness. For there is nothing impossible to God. What is not possible to man, is possible to Him.

"Receive with my acknowledgment, my best wishes.

"Your humble and obedient prisoner,

"LOUIS 'DAVID' RIEL.

"Nov.
12th,
1885,
Regina
Jail."

All Canada was now convulsed in the agitation for or against the execution of Riel. A careful examination of the press at that time shows, however, that his fate had become merely an incident in a general outbreak of racial, political and religious animosities. The leading newspapers of Toronto, for example, changed front from time to time with astonishing and discreditable alacrity, to defend or to decry the utterances of political leaders, swayed by the ebb and flow of popular passion. Among the extreme wings of protestant fanaticism, Riel's execution was demanded, not for his doings at Batoche, but for the murder of Scott, fifteen years before. This aspect of the case was even publicly defended in Parliament and elsewhere. The Honorable John S. D. Thompson, Minister of Justice, said on this subject:

"The policy of considering what the past history of the convict has been is one which is recognized, not only in the practice of every tribunal administering criminal justice, but is recognized by Parliament as well."

The agitation in Quebec was as unreasonable as that in Ontario, though inspired by the most contrary motives, and it continued for a long time, maintaining throughout its dangerous racial and religious character. It is an exercise making for humility for a Canadian of today to study the newspaper files of the year following the rebellion.

In spite of the storm of protest from French and Catholic quarters, the Government stood firm in its ultimate determination to let the law take its course and to refrain from any exercise of executive clemency on Riel's behalf. Consequently, on the 16th of November, 1885, the rebel chief paid

the forfeit of his life on the scaffold at Regina. Whatever his past crimes, his conduct in the trying time immediately preceding the final tragedy was calm, courageous and befitting of a Christian's last hours. "Nothing in his life became him as the leaving it."

"All the night preceding his death," said Father André in a personal letter to Mr. F. X. Lemieux, "Riel manifested not the least symptom of fear. He prayed during a great part of the night, and that with a fervor, a beauty of expression and a look which transfigured him and gave to his features an expression of celestial beauty. All night long he had not a word of complaint against his death sentence, or against his conspirators. He was happy; joyous to see his captivity about to end. He often said to me: 'I cannot tell you how glad I am to die; my heart leaps with joy!' and he would laugh *de bon coeur*. He embraced me with effusion and thanked me warmly for having remained with him to the end. . . . He said to me, emphatically, 'Do not fear. I will not shame my friends nor rejoice my enemies, nor the enemies of religion by dying like a coward. For fifteen years they have pursued me with their hatred and never yet have they made me flinch; today still less when they are leading me to the scaffold; and I am infinitely grateful to them for delivering me from this harsh captivity which is weighing upon me. I assuredly have my relatives, my wife, my children, my country and my compatriots; the prospect of being free and of living with them would have made my heart beat with joy. But the thought of passing my life in an insane asylum or in a penitentiary, mingling with all the scum of society and obliged to submit to all insults, fills me with horror. I thank God for having spared me this trial and I accept death with joy and gratitude. . . .'"

Among the letters to which Father André refers, was one to his mother. Nothing but the serious desire to arrive at a fair and rational judgment regarding the character and mental condition of the writer, can justify the reading of this sacred message; but with that motive as authority, we may properly consider this last sad communication to an aged mother, from a son awaiting his executioner.

"My Dear Mother:—I received your letter of blessing and yesterday, Sunday, I asked Father André to place it upon the altar during the celebration of mass, that its spirit might be diffused upon me. I asked him then to place his hands on my head so that I might receive it with efficacy, since I could not go to the church, and it has thus shed upon me the graces of the mass with its abundance of benefits, spiritual and temporal.

"To my wife, my children, my brothers, my sister-in-law and other relatives who are all dear to me, say farewell on my behalf.

"Dear mother, it is the desire of your eldest son that your prayers for me may mount to the throne of Jesus Christ, to Mary, to Joseph, my good protector, and that the mercy and abundant consolations of God may be shed upon you, upon my wife, my children and other relatives from generation to generation,—the plenitude of spiritual blessing in return for those you have called down upon me; and that they may rain especially upon you,

who have been for me so good a mother. May your faith, your hope, your charity and your example be as a tree laden with abundant fruit for the present and for the future. May God, when your last hour sounds, be so pleased with your piety that He will cause your spirit to be borne from the earth on the wings of angels.

"It is now two o'clock in the morning of this day, the last I am to pass upon this earth, and Father André has told me to hold myself in readiness for the great event. I have listened to him and intend to do everything according to his desires and recommendations.

"God is holding me in his hand to keep me in peace and quietness, as oil is held in a vial, so none can disturb. I am doing what I can to be ready. I am even calm, in accordance with the pious exhortations of the venerable Archbishop Bourget. Yesterday and today I prayed God to reassure you and to dispense to you all manner of consolation so that your heart may not be troubled by care and anxiety. I am brave. I embrace you with all affection.

"I embrace you as a son respectful to his duty; you, my dear wife, as a Christian husband in accordance with the spirit of Christian marriage; I embrace your children, entrusting them to the greatness of divine mercy. And you all, brothers and sisters-in-law, relatives and friends, I embrace with all the affection with which my heart is capable.

"Dear mother, I am, your son, affectionate, obedient and submissive.

"LOUIS DAVID RIEL."

At a quarter past eight in the morning, the Sheriff's assistant appeared at the door of the cell, where he stood in silence, dreading to announce the fatal order of which he was the bearer. Riel came to his relief, saying to him without the least evidence of emotion, "Mr. Gibson, you want me? I am ready."

His habitual courtesy and thoughtfulness marked his conduct to the last. At the scaffold Riel was the most self-controlled of all the party, and immediately before devoting himself to his final prayer he endeavored to comfort his revered old friend and confessor, Father André. He was praying earnestly when the fatal bolt was shot, his soul passing to its ultimate tribunal as he uttered the words "Jesu! Marie! Assistez-moi."

Upon the wisdom or justice of his execution, I do not feel called upon to express my personal opinion, but I have endeavored faithfully to portray Riel's actual character and impartially to marshal the facts of his case for the consideration of my readers.

Had Riel retained in his grasp the tiller of his mind, and, while patiently championing his people, restrained them from foolish violence, any position in the gift of the West might have been his.—Alas, the pity of it!

CHAPTER XXXI

MISCELLANEOUS REBELLION ANECDOTES

DEATH OF D'ARCY BAKER—JOHN PAUL, AND THE GUNPOWDER—"GRAND ROUNDS"—THE FORGOTTEN COUNTERSIGN—THE REFUGEES FROM POOR MAN'S RESERVE—AN AUDACIOUS FISHERMAN—FORAGING—HEROISM AT BATOUCHE—PEN PICTURE OF POUNDMAKER'S COLUMN—SUPPLIES FOR THE TAKING—LE GARÉ AND HIS SCOUTS—DENISON'S BUGLERS—AN UNLUCKY SENTINEL.

In connection with the rebellion of 1885, innumerable interesting and illuminating anecdotes might be related, illustrative of both the humorous as well as of the pathetic and tragic aspects of the insurrection. Of the many that have been brought to the writer's attention, a few have been selected for the present chapter.

One of the most inspiring is the story of the death of Private D'Arcy Baker, who was fatally injured at the battle of Fish Creek. After the engagement, poor Baker was lying in one of the hospital tents when he heard the shots of a night alarm. Staggering to his feet the heroic fellow called aloud for his horse and rifle, and then fell dead as he endeavored to make his way from the tent. This pathetic incident called forth a poem by Mr. Murdoch, of Birtle, in which occur the following verses:

"My rifle and my horse," the soldier said,
As forth with vigorous step he quickly came;
On his young brow the morning sunlight play'd
And life was centered in his active frame.

"By winding streams far o'er the plain we go,
Where dark ravines and woody bluffs appear,
Where'er a swarthy, treacherous Indian foe
May hide, to burst upon our flashing rear. . . .

"The sulphurous smoke is drifting to the sky,
And horse and rider on the plain are spread;
The ambushed foe, in sullen terror fly,
The bold and brave are now amongst the dead.

"With shattered heart, the stricken soldier lies,
The fatal wound has almost ceased to bleed,
The dying warrior vainly seeks to rise,
And begs once more, his rifle and his steed.

"Forever more the youthful limbs are still,
The young, the gallant, and impulsive brave
Now rest beside the far-off western hill,
And wild flowers blossom by his lonely grave."

A notable example of cool courage occurred at Duck Lake shortly before its evacuation by Mr. Hilliard Mitchell and his subordinates. Among these was the daring scout, John Paul, since then well known in Saskatchewan. The district was already in the hands of the enemy, and as there was in Mr. Mitchell's stores a considerable supply of ammunition, the keenest anxiety was felt lest it should fall into the hands of the Halfbreeds. Some of these dangerous supplies Paul removed to safe quarters by a courageous stratagem, a few days before the Battle of Duck Lake. He placed the ammunition in a sleigh or "jumper" and covered it with a few arm loads of hay upon which he himself sat without any attempt at concealment as he drove away. The disaffected Halfbreeds and Indians did not guess his purpose, and allowed him to escape in safety.

It is not surprising that among the local volunteers and home guards it was difficult to maintain anything approaching to strict military discipline. Indeed, the pranks of the men were often like the escapades of irresponsible school boys.

After the battle of Duck Lake, Mr. Neilson, now Sheriff of Prince Albert, was made sergeant, and in company with two of his superior officers, it was his duty to ride on tours of inspection around Prince Albert during the night, visiting the sentries on "Grand Rounds." On one occasion he and his companions went to a spot where they should have found two Halfbreed sentinels, but no one was to be seen. They stood quietly in the darkness for a few moments, listening for any sign, and presently heard heavy trampling in the snow some distance away. Sergeant Neilson challenged, "Who goes there?" and received the astonishing answer, "Grand Rounds." Fortunately, however, the party who really constituted "Grand Rounds" held their fire, and presently descried through the darkness their two delinquent Halfbreeds. They had wearied of the monotony of their duties and were making the rounds by themselves, one mounted on the other's back.

On a certain occasion, Joseph Mackay, the well-known scout and policeman, was returning to Prince Albert on a scouting expedition, when he was suddenly brought to a halt as he was crossing a culvert, by the challenge of a sentinel concealed in a ditch. Immediately after he stopped his horse, the command was repeated, the sentinel shoving his gun into the horse's face. "Can't you see that I have halted?" said Mackay. "Well, halt!" shrieked the sentinel a third time, "and give me the countersign." "Say, Bill, do you know what the countersign is yourself?" said Mackay, who by this time had recognized the man on duty. "No," said that worthy, "I don't."

"Well, then, what the devil's the use of giving it you?" said the scout, who was then allowed to pass.

Jos. Mackay's father-in-law, whose name was also Jos. Mackay, was the farm inspector of Poor Man's reserve. He and his wife and daughter were wakened up one morning at two o'clock by a wild band of Indians, who looted the house, and ordered the instructor to come out with them and unlock the stables so that they might more easily get possession of the Government horses. A Cree woman who was present whispered to Mrs. Mackay that they intended to murder her husband. Mrs. Mackay then turned on the chief, speaking to the following effect: "When I came to this reserve your children were sick and I tended them myself. I clothed them with the clothes supplied by the Government for my own children. When your baby died I myself bathed and dressed it and prepared it for its funeral. My husband has lived among you all his life. He has traded with you from the forest country down to the American border, and has never done any of you any harm. Even if he had, none of you was ever man enough to stand up before him in the daylight, and now you come to murder him by a shot in the back at night. I would never have believed you had so little manliness in you."

As Mrs. Mackay ceased speaking, her husband took the keys of the stable from his pocket and gave them to the chief, telling him to get the horses himself. The chief sent his band to the stables for this purpose, and as soon as they had left the house he cried to Mackay and the women to follow him. He ran in the opposite direction down the river bank, where he produced an old canoe from among the bushes. The river was frozen to about one-third on each side, but was open down the centre, into which he placed the canoe, imploring the white people to enter quickly and cross to the opposite side. The canoe was leaking badly, but if they made haste they would get across. He also gave Mackay his hunting knife, and ordered him to slit the canoe from end to end when he had reached the opposite bank. Having crossed the river, Mackay and the women proceeded twelve miles through the darkness and made for Bresaylor, the headquarters of Bremner, the well-known Halfbreed fur trader. Father Cuchon, of Bresaylor, warned them that they were still in imminent danger, as the Indians and Halfbreeds throughout the district were disaffected. While they stayed there the heroic French priest did guard over their tent at night. A few days afterwards Mackay found a discarded skiff near the bank. He plugged up the cracks with "hard fat," and in this boat he and his wife and daughter escaped down the river. Ultimately they landed on an island, where for nine days the party lived on tallow. At the end of this time they saw Indians signaling from the banks, at each side, and knew they were discovered. Once again, therefore, they took the desperate chance of re-entering their miserable skiff, in which, however, they ultimately reached Prince Albert in safety.

The young woman of this party afterwards became the wife of the scout and policeman, to whom we have previously referred.

Mr. R. G. MacBeth relates an amusing episode that occurred in the vicinity of Fort Victoria. The volunteers were in the midst of the enemy's country and were accordingly forbidden to leave the camp. One of the soldiers apparently failed to understand these instructions and went a-fishing. The Colonel himself witnessed the delinquent's return and commanded his arrest. The fisherman, however, insisted on bringing with him his string of fish, and when conducted before the Colonel he solemnly declared that he had intended the best of the catch for that officer's own dinner. The culprit's audacity, coupled with his previous excellent reputation and record of valuable services, won him his liberty at the expense merely of a formal reprimand, which his commanding officer had difficulty in administering with due solemnity.

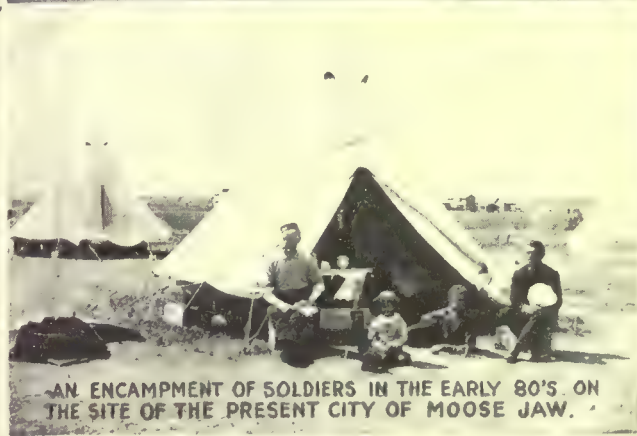
The following extract from the diary of another volunteer indicates that the officers themselves could not only appreciate a joke, but were not unnecessarily scrupulous with regard to the sources from which they obtained their own little extras:

"As soon as the men are dismissed, they begin to forage, not openly, of course, for it is forbidden. One lucky individual was seen depositing quietly in his tent a very fine looking turkey. The story of its capture he related with much glee. A sergeant of a sister corps, who had managed to make himself peculiarly obnoxious to our fellows by his overbearing manner, was observed by him to deposit the turkey in some brush outside the lines, probably fearing to be seen if he attempted to bring it in by daylight. Our man calmly marched across and boldly walked off with the bird. The wrathful sergeant had to look on in grim silence for the betrayal of himself would have been the necessary result of any outcry.

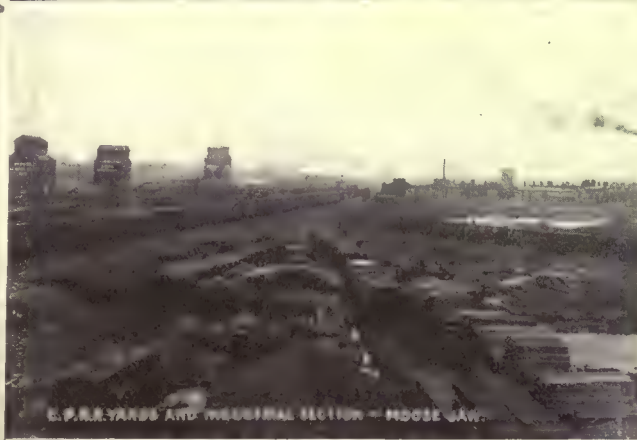
"Another case of the biter bitten was that of our worthy orderly. The good lad heard the joyful clucking of a hen at some distance from the camp, and on proceeding to investigate, found that the noise came from a little shed at the rear of the school. There he found, and immediately caught, a fine, fat fowl, and then he began to look about for the confidently expected eggs. He crawled through a small opening into a little hay bin, carrying the unfortunate hen with him. Here he was overjoyed to discover some eight or ten beautiful eggs. These he immediately put carefully, one by one, through the opening, placing them upon a shelf near by. Just as he was about to crawl out again, our gallant Major entered the shed, accompanied by a parson, the owner of the place. The Major saw the eggs at once, backed towards them, kept the attention of the parson carefully engaged, and pocketed the spoils. The original finder's rage may be imagined, but not described. Great was his difficulty in preventing the discovery of his own whereabouts by the noise occasioned by the struggles of the half-strangled hen, and trembling with anger and fear he had to witness in silence the disappearance of his treasure."



INDUSTRIAL SECTION — MOOSE JAW



AN ENCAMPMENT OF SOLDIERS IN THE EARLY 80'S ON
THE SITE OF THE PRESENT CITY OF MOOSE JAW.



C.P.R. YARDS AND INDUSTRIAL SECTION — MOOSE JAW.

Many inspiring stories might be told of the gallantry displayed on numerous occasions by non-combatants. The following extract is taken from the official report of Surgeon-General D. Bergin, M. P.:

"At Batoche I am told that during the fight a flag was thrust from a window of the church and was observed by a surgeon and a student who were under shelter from the fire, a couple of hundred yards distant. The student, immediately he perceived it, proposed that a party should at once go to the relief of the one demanding succor. No one appeared willing to second his proposal. To go to the church through the open under such a terrible fire as was being poured from the Halfbreed pits seemed to be like proceeding to certain death; but persisting, the surgeon said, 'If you are determined to go, and we can find two volunteers to assist us in carrying a stretcher, I am with you.' Two men from the grenadiers of Toronto at once stepped forward; and the four started upon their perilous journey—crawling upon their bellies, taking advantage of any little inequality of ground to cover them, and to shield them from the bullets of the Halfbreeds. They reached the church, the bullets tearing up the earth all around them, without a scratch, and breathing a short prayer for their deliverance thus far from death and danger, they looked around for him for whom they had risked, and were still risking their lives, to succor and to save. They found him in the person of a venerable priest who had been wounded in the thigh, and they at once proceeded to remove him, after administering temporary aid. To remain in the church was to court certain death. To return to their corps seemed to be no less perilous; but they chose the latter. When they sortied from the church, so astonished were the Halfbreeds at their daring that they ceased their firing for a moment. This time returning they had no cover and were obliged to march erect. Bullets flew thick and fast; but the condition of the wounded man precluded any think like hurry, and they hastened slowly. God watched over them and protected them, and they reached their comrades in safety, their wounded charge also escaping without further harm. Such conduct deserves recognition."

In May one of Otter's supply trains was captured by Poundmaker's braves. The story of this affair is contained in the following somewhat biased but picturesque report from *The Montreal Star*. It is of special interest on account of its spirited description of an Indian caravan on the march:

"About nine o'clock on Thursday, the 14th instant, the forage trains were passing through a piece of open ground surrounded by wooded bluffs, about eight miles from Battleford, when the teamster in front observed mounted men closing in upon them from all sides. At first they were inclined to think that the newcomers were friends, but a few piercing war-whoops, uttered from a place of cover, convinced them that they had been ambushed. Notwithstanding the utter suddenness of the attack, many of the drivers did not lose their wits, but made a hastily improvised laager. By this time the Indians, who numbered about a hundred, led by paint-bedaubed Halfbreeds, approached, gesticulating and shouting at the same

moment, without firing a single shot. The rear was not well guarded, and while the excitement continued in front, six or seven teamsters, who owned horses, cut loose and made their escape, amid a heavy fusilade. Meantime, the Indians approached nearer and nearer the laager, while twenty of their number went in pursuit of the retreating horsemen. The enemy finally sent a Halfbreed towards the wagons. Throwing down his weapon to show his good intentions, the man advanced within fifty yards, and called for one of their number. The head teamster responded, and walked towards him. A brief discussion followed, the Breed promising that their lives would be spared if they would quietly surrender. The teamsters immediately gave up their arms, consisting of sixteen Winchesters, two Sniders, and three shot-guns. After robbing each prisoner of every valuable, the Indians, who were overjoyed at their success, began to examine the contents of the various wagons, and in a few minutes a start was made for the Indian camp, which was pitched in a ravine about four miles west of the Swift Current trail. The prisoner-teamsters were compelled to drive the oxen. Soon the warlike 'Stoney,' who had not been present at the capture, galloped up and attempted to shoot the prisoners. The Halfbreeds, however, proved themselves to be endowed with some redeeming traits, and frustrated this cruel design. Rifles were levelled by both parties, and the determined stand taken by the Halfbreeds alone saved the teamsters from a cruel death.

"As the train approached the Indian camp, squaws, and toddling papooses poured out from every tepee, and advanced with cheers of joy to greet the returning braves. The females, at the sight of the prisoners, were especially boisterous, and shouted to the braves to put them to death. Through the jeering, howling, yelling mass, the frightened drivers were hustled, every moment expecting to be struck down from behind. Finally they were conducted to a ravine close to the camp, and after receiving a parting shout from the ugly squaws, they were left to their own reflections. A strong guard surrounded them, precluding all possibility of escape. The Indians held a formal council to discuss the propriety of shooting the teamsters, but decided not to do so. Shortly afterwards, Poundmaker put in an appearance in the ravine. After shaking hands with each man in turn, the redoubtable chief assured them, through a Halfbreed interpreter, that their lives would be spared. He added that he was aware there was a Manitou above, and that he could not permit them to be slain without cause. Poundmaker then left, and shortly afterwards the Indians struck camp. Tepee-poles were thrown down in a twinkling by squaws, who, assisted by young boys and girls, rapidly packed everything away in carts and wagons, already in line for the start. Braves lolled about, whiffing 'kinee-kinick' (tobacco) from long-stemmed pipes, or attended to the trappings of their horses, while youngsters, scarcely able to crawl about, drove in the cattle. Finally a start was made, and preceded by twenty-five or thirty scouts riding a mile ahead, the disorganized mob moved eastwards on their way to reinforce Riel. Instead of proceeding in column, the Indians moved along in extended order, leaving a trail behind them over two miles wide. First came about three hundred and sixty war-painted braves, mounted on wiry ponies, or on more powerful animals, stolen in the early raids. Next came Red River carts, wagons, and every other variety of vehicle

ever manufactured. Each was loaded with plunder, or tepee-poles, while perched on top were seated old men, armed with bows and arrows. Behind, followed a chaotic mass of wagons and carts, surrounded by lowing cattle and little boys on foot. Other Indian lads added to the grotesqueness of the scene, and, mounted on young colts, kept up to the moving outfit. Further in the rear, at a distance of half a mile, came other herds of cattle, while bringing up the whole, came another herd of horses. Young girls and squaws were mounted, several of the females riding along on oxen. In this manner the followers of Poundmaker covered three miles an hour with ease."

The surprising way in which valuable supplies were sometimes lost and found is illustrated in the following anecdote communicated to the writer by Mr. Horace C. Adams, of Fenton, Saskatchewan:

"During the rebellion, flour was very scarce and expensive at Prince Albert, and I was sent by my father to Troy to buy some. I started with a cousin, Robert Foulds, with a good yoke of oxen, and a wagon. We reached a place called 'The Salt Plains,' and leaving the main trail a short distance, we came upon three hundred sacks of flour, many firkins of butter and lard, canned beef, barrels of hard tack, and sacks upon sacks of oats. We emptied one sack of flour, cleaned out the caked flour from the inside, opened another sack and took from it the good flour and so on, until we had the quantity we required. We cached this, and then went on to Qu'Appelle, where we secured freight for Prince Albert at five dollars a hundred weight. We made considerable profit from our freight, and took home nearly all our money, besides the flour we needed. These supplies were in a deep ravine where, as we subsequently found, they had been unloaded by Hudson's Bay Company freighters when they heard that the rebels were up in arms. The Hudson's Bay Company put in a claim to the Government afterwards and got paid for it all. I remember that there was no selfishness manifested by anybody in connection with the find. Every one took enough to do him and his dependents, informed his neighbors and let them get their share also. In this way a great many of the hard pressed settlers were greatly benefited and nobody was the loser."

Here is a story of another kind: Lieutenant-Colonel George T. Denison was in charge of the post of Humboldt during the campaign. On the way to Winnipeg his trumpeter was taken ill and he was obliged to secure another. A retired Major of the Imperial army, an experienced veteran of the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny, was in Winnipeg and so anxious to get to the front in any capacity that he induced Colonel Denison to take him as trumpeter. An infantry regiment was passing Humboldt, and its Bugle Major, a youngster of twelve or thirteen years, called on Colonel Denison's trumpeter, inquired his rank and pay, and the amused veteran informed him that he was a simple trumpeter drawing fifty cents a day. The boy drew himself up with great dignity and announced that he, on the contrary, was a Bugle Major, drawing eighty cents a day. When Colonel Denison heard

of the absurd incident he solemnly issued orders promoting the old soldier to the same exalted rank and remuneration, much to the amused satisfaction of all concerned.

While the focus of Halfbreed discontent was in the Batoche district, it is a mistake to suppose it confined to that locality. For example, the Métis of Wood Mountain and Willow Bunch were in a half-starving condition, owing to the recent collapse of the trade in buffalo skins, and to their inability as yet to adapt themselves to consequent social and industrial changes; and many of these unfortunate people became very restless during the rebellion. Indeed, a considerable number of them trekked northward in the direction of the actual disturbance. Accordingly the people of the little town of Moose Jaw were presently perturbed to see on the outskirts of the settlement a number of encampments of disaffected Halfbreeds.

Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney accordingly came to Moose Jaw and telegraphed for the famous trader and sturdy loyalist, Mr. Louis LeGaré, to come in from Willow Bunch to induce the Halfbreeds to return south. LeGaré told the Governor that it would be useless to argue with men with empty stomachs, and advised that the Halfbreeds be given employment, or, at all events, pay, on some pretext or other. Objection was raised on the score of expense, to which the trader shrewdly replied, "There are eighty men at the Bunch that can carry arms. That might cost a good deal." Accordingly the proposal was referred to Ottawa and Sir John A. Macdonald authorized the employment of forty men.

A plausible pretext was at hand in the fact that the authorities had received advices warning them that a force of American sympathizers was likely to come to Riel's support. Accordingly steps were taken to organize a corps of scouts under the supervision of the Mounted Police, and Mr. LeGaré was entrusted with the task of turning the budding rebels among the Halfbreeds of his district into supporters of the Government.

The first thing necessary was to induce them to return to their homes, eighty to a hundred miles away. This was accomplished by means of an ingenious and courageous stratagem. The Halfbreeds causing the immediate anxiety were scattered, as we have said, in isolated encampments about Moose Jaw. Mr. LeGaré visited one of the camps, and with a great show of secrecy told the Halfbreeds that he wanted them to take something back to Willow Bunch for him. There would be good pay in it, and it was very important but secret; so that they were not to let anyone else know of their departure. They were to start at twelve o'clock that night. He then visited another encampment and told the same story. They were to break camp at one o'clock. The next camp he similarly induced to move south at two o'clock, and so on, until he had arranged for all the struggling parties to be moving southward before daybreak, one hour apart. He then started off

himself for the Bunch to be there to receive them. As one party after another arrived, and realized what had occurred, their excitement and rage grew, until they were apparently on the point of burning the trader's store and murdering LeGaré himself. He, however, kept his head, and convinced the Halfbreeds of the folly and hopelessness of any rising, backing his argument by the announcement that he would give them work at two dollars a day as scouts. In the course of the next ten days he enlisted forty men so selected as to represent practically all the Halfbreed families in that part of the country, and scattered them over the district at such a distance apart as to render them harmless. For his services in this connection the shrewd and plucky trader received the munificent sum of two and a half dollars a day as special constable. This body of scouts was placed under command of Inspector Macdonnell from Medicine Hat. Mr. LeGaré's experience in connection with this episode and that of the surrender and maintenance of Sitting Bull's warriors, the story of which we have related elsewhere, has not been of a character to strengthen his faith in the gratitude of governments. His services in 1885 received some slight mention in the police reports, but the details have never been printed before, so far as the writer knows.

With an account of one other curious incident this miscellaneous collection of Rebellion Anecdotes must close. The members of a certain column were subjected to considerable annoyance by sentries whose nerves betrayed their eyesight into seeing intruders that were not there. Shots would be fired and the slumber and temper of the soldiers equally disturbed. Accordingly one officer announced that the man who gave the next such needless alarm would get three days' "knapsack drill." That night, however, the usual occurred. The sentinel vigorously protested that he had distinctly seen a spy, but no trace of the latter was discovered, and for the next three days this discomfited volunteer carried his outfit on his back as a nerve sedative. At the end of this time scouts came into camp, who announced having found the body of an Indian spy whom the sentinel had shot. The unlucky soldier had got three days "knapsack drill" for efficiently performing his responsible and, in this case, sanguinary duties! This is the kind of story that does not get into official reports.

CHAPTER XXXII

ROYAL'S ADMINISTRATION: POLITICAL HISTORY, 1888-1893

CRUCIAL NATURE OF ROYAL'S REGIME—FIRST LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1888—ROYAL'S CONFIDENTIAL ADVISERS—CONSOLIDATION OF ORDINANCES UNDERTAKEN—LEGISLATIVE DISABILITIES IN NORTH WEST ASSEMBLY—HALFBREED CLAIMS, 1894—DUAL LANGUAGE SYSTEM ABOLISHED—LIQUOR QUESTION—DESIRED TERRITORIAL CONTROL OF TERRITORIAL EXPENDITURES—FIRST FINANCE BILL—CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE—RESIGNATION OF HAULTAIN AND HIS COLLEAGUES, 1889—BRETT CALLED TO THE PREMIERSHIP—HIS RESIGNATION—ASSEMBLY'S MEMORIALS—BRETT'S REAPPOINTMENT DURING RECESS—ASSEMBLY'S PROTEST, 1890—DEBATE ON REPLY TO SPEECH FROM THE THRONE—ROYAL'S STATEMENT OF HIS CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION—ASSEMBLY'S REPLY—REITERATION OF REPRESENTATIONS TO OTTAWA—ATTITUDE OF WESTERN MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT—DID THE ASSEMBLY REPRESENT PUBLIC OPINION?—"ADVISORY COUNCIL" REPLACED BY "EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE"—INCREASED FINANCIAL CONTROL BY THE ASSEMBLY—HAULTAIN'S ADMINISTRATION DEFEATED, 1892—DEADLOCK CAUSED BY RESIGNATION OF SPEAKER ROSS—HAULTAIN'S MANIFESTO—NEWSPAPER COMMENTS—EXTRAORDINARY FINANCIAL POSITION PRODUCED BY DEADLOCK—DISALLOWANCE OF ORDINANCE RESPECTING EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—VICTORY FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT—STRUGGLE FOR BETTER FINANCIAL TERMS—PERSONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN ROYAL AND THE ASSEMBLY—ROYAL'S FAREWELL SPEECH.

The five years during which the Honorable Joseph Royal, formerly of Manitoba—journalist, lawyer, legislator and historian—occupied the Lieutenant-Governor's chair in the North West Territories constitutes a period of exceptional political interest. The era immediately preceding it had seen the Legislative Council gradually changing in character from an appointive to an elective body. With Royal's regime we meet the first Legislative

Assembly proper.¹ Nevertheless, many traces of the former quasi-Crown Colony system still survived, as complete responsible Government was not established for some time. It may be that a certain transitional period from Crown Colony to responsible Government is practically unavoidable; but the universal experience of other parts of the Empire was duplicated in the North West in that this period was marked by bitter controversy and unfortunate deadlocks, until the Legislative Assembly established its control over the executive.

The first elections under the new North West Territories Act were held on June 27, 1888. Mr. Royal took the oath of office on July 4th, and in the autumn issued the following proclamation, summoning the First Legislative Assembly of the North West Territories, which sat till December 11th:

PROCLAMATION

CANADA. NORTH WEST TERRITORIES

Victoria, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, etc.

JOSEPH ROYAL,
Lieutenant-Governor.

(Seal.)

Greeting:

Know ye that we, being desirous and resolved to meet our people of our North West Territories, do hereby summon and call together the Legislative Assembly of the North West Territories, to meet in Legis-

¹ In view of the important constitutional battles which occurred during Lieutenant Governor Royal's administration, it may be well for the reader to devote special attention to the personnel of the First Legislative Assembly. Mr. F. W. G. Haultain, who had sat in the Council of 1887 as member for MacLeod, was returned to the First Assembly by acclamation. Messrs. Thomas Tweed and James Ryerson Neff* were also elected by acclamation by the electoral districts of Medicine Hat and Moosomin respectively. The other members were the following gentlemen: Messrs. Joel Reaman,* for Wallace; Alexander Gillin Thornburn,* for Whitewood; John Gillanders Turriff (who had sat for Moose' Mountain in the Council since 1884), for Souris; Benjamin Parkin Richardson* for Wolesley; William Sutherland (elected to the Council in 1887), for Qu'Appelle; David Finley Jelly* (elected 1885), for North Regina; John Secord,* for South Regina; James Hamilton Ross* (elected 1883) for Moose Jaw; Hugh St. Quentin Cayley (elected 1886), and John Lineham, for Calgary; Robert George Brett, M. D., for Red Deer; Frank Oliver (first elected in 1883), and Herbert Charles Wilson, M. D., for Edmonton; James Clinkskill,* for Battleford; William Plaxton* and John F. Betts,* for Prince Albert; Hillyard Mitchell,* for Batoche and James Hoey,* for Kinistino.

(The names marked with an asterisk are those of members representing constituencies in what is now the Province of Saskatchewan.)

In addition to the twenty-two elected members of the First Assembly, the North West Territories Act of 1888 provided for the appointment of three legal experts with authority to take part in debate, but not to vote. The gentlemen summoned to these positions were the Honourable Mr. Justice Richardson, Honourable Mr. Justice MacLeod, and the Honourable Mr. Justice Rouleau, the three chiefs of the Supreme Court of the North West Territories who had already played so important a part in Western legislation and administration.

lative Session at our town of Regina, in our said Territories, on Wednesday, the thirty-first day of October, instant.

In testimony whereof we have caused the Seal of the North West Territories to be hereunto affixed. Witness His Honor Joseph Royal, Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories, this tenth day of October, in the year of Our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight, in the fifty-second year of Her Majesty's reign.

By Command.

R. B. GORDON,
Clerk of the Legislative Assembly.

The first meeting of the Legislature was marked by the numerous quaint forms and ceremonies associated with such bodies under the British Constitution from time out of mind. The members having been sworn, and having taken their places, the clerk, in the Governor's name, called upon them to elect a Speaker. Whereupon Herbert Charles Wilson was duly chosen and elected to the chair. The Lieutenant-Governor then entered the House and took his place upon the throne, and after approving of the election of Mr. Wilson as Speaker he delivered his inaugural address.

In his speech from the throne the Lieutenant-Governor announced his appointment of Mr. Justice Richardson and Mr. A. E. Forget, late clerk of the North West Council, as a Committee to prepare for the consolidation of the ordinances. This most important matter engrossed much of the attention of the first Legislature. Consequently the fact that, in addition to the supply bill, only seven ordinances were passed this session is not to be taken as evidence of indolence or indifference on the part of the newly created Legislative Assembly. Ordinance No. 1 is a voluminous document, consolidating numerous enactments of the North West Council.

The Assembly found itself continually hampered by the limitations placed upon its lawmaking powers by Dominion legislation. This resulted in the continual disallowance of important measures by the Governor-General in Council. In various instances, however, subsequent action on the part of the Dominion authorities rendered practicable the reforms aimed at even in the bills that were declared *ultra vires*.

Numerous memorials were from time to time forwarded by the Assembly to Ottawa. These had to do not only with the great problem of responsible Government but with recommended changes in the land regulations, with the providing of a special bonus for the destruction of gophers and with the old question of Halfbreed claims and rebellion losses. The Assembly declared in this connection, by resolution, that numerous persons well known to be directly implicated in the rebellion had had their claims allowed by the Dominion, while those of certain loyal Halfbreeds living along the Saskatchewan River were unjustly disallowed.

In April, 1892, a notice was accordingly published calling upon all

Halfbreeds or original white settlers entitled to scrip to file their claims, together with the necessary proof, on or before May 1, 1894. With the investigation of these claims it was intended that this long outstanding question should reach its final settlement.

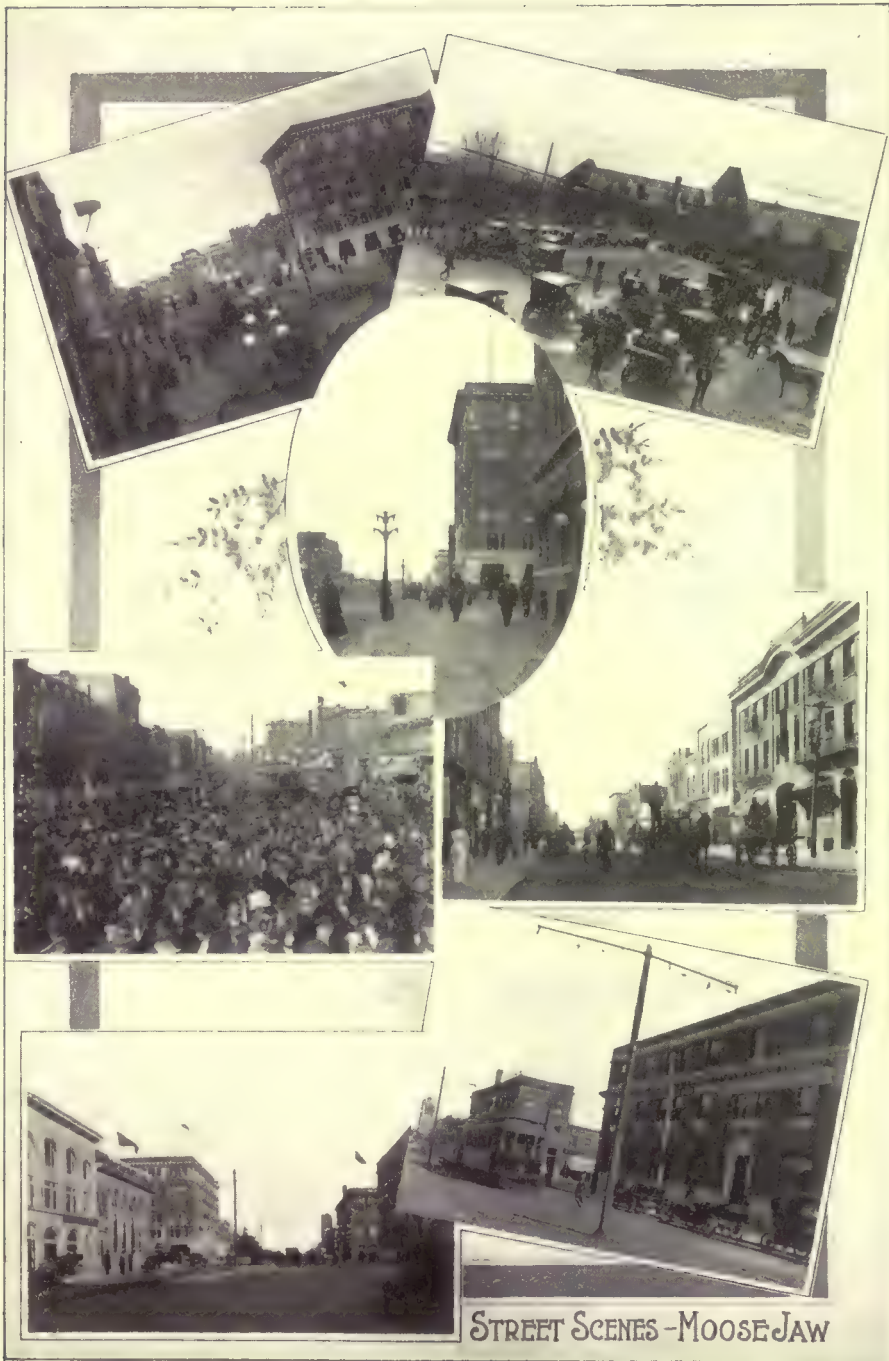
The local House also secured, by petition, the repeal of Section 110 of the North West Territories Act, which provided for the printing of Territorial public documents in the French language. The resolution recommending the discontinuance of the dual system in the North West, as opposed to sound public policy and the sentiment of the people, was passed on October 28, 1889, by a vote of seventeen to two.

One of the first important topics considered by the House during Royal's administration was the better control of the liquor traffic. This subject was debated at great length through several sessions, and ultimately, upon receiving the necessary authority from the Federal Government, the second Legislature passed a license ordinance, under which intoxicants might be sold by hotels or liquor shops if the majority of the residents in the district concerned did not oppose the issue of the given license and certain other conditions were complied with.

The most interesting political events of Royal's administration were those associated with the attempt of the Assembly to establish control over the Territorial expenditures, either directly or through a Council or Committee. The North West Territories Act did not clearly provide for such a system. The following were the provisions of the Federal Statute in this regard:

"The Lieutenant-Governor shall select from among the elected members of the Legislative Assembly, four persons to act as an Advisory Council on matter of finance, who shall severally hold office during pleasure; and the Lieutenant-Governor shall preside at all sittings of such Advisory Council and have a right to vote as a member thereof, and shall also have a casting vote in case of a tie."

The first Advisory Council appointed under the act consisted of Messrs. Haultain, Jelly, Sutherland and Mitchell. The Governor was manifestly bound to submit to the Legislature a report of the use made of funds supplied him by the local Assembly; but a very large part of the public expenses were defrayed by Dominion subsidies, over which the Assembly was long denied any right or control. In the first session, however, Mr. Royal, perhaps inadvertently, established a precedent of which Mr. Haultain and his supporters took the utmost advantage. The supply bill for that year was allowed to include funds not only of Territorial but Dominion origin, and in assenting to the bill Mr. Royal did so in the special formula used only wherever responsible Government is in vogue. After the Royal assent to the other bills of the session had been announced in the following words.



STREET SCENES - MOOSE JAW

"In Her Majesty's name, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor doth assent to these bills," Mr. Speaker then addressed him as follows:

"May it please Your Honour:

"We Her Majesty's most faithful and dutiful subjects, the Legislative Assembly of the North West Territories in session assembled, approach Your Honour at the close of our labours with sentiments of unfeigned devotion and loyalty to Her Majesty's person and government, and humbly beg to present for Your Honour's acceptance a bill entitled 'An ordinance for granting to Her Majesty certain sums of money to defray the expenses of the public service of the Territories for the financial year ending June 30, 1889, and for other purposes relating thereto,' thus placing at the disposal of the Crown the means by which the Government can be made efficient for the service and welfare of the Territories."

Thereupon the Royal assent was announced in the following words:

"His Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor doth thank Her Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, accepts their benevolence and assents to this bill in Her Majesty's name."

It is difficult to suppose that at least some members of the Legislature did not recognize the fact that hidden in this time-honoured mass of verbiage was the formal acknowledgment of the Assembly's financial autonomy and right of control over all public expenditures.

The second session of the first Legislature was held in the autumn of 1889. Early in the session signs of disagreement between the Advisory Council and His Honour were evidenced by Mr. Haultain's replies to various questions with regard to estimates that were to be laid before the House, and on the 29th of October Mr. Haultain announced on behalf of the Advisory Council that they had tendered their resignations, which had been accepted by the Lieutenant-Governor. Thus was precipitated a constitutional struggle marked by much bitterness and extending over several years. This whole episode is so important that the reader will be interested in perusing the letter of resignation:

"Legislative Assembly, Regina, N. W. T., October 29, 1889.

"To His Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories.

"Sir:—We have the honour to tender our resignations as members of your Advisory Council. We have come to this decision reluctantly and only after serious consideration.

"While recognizing that Your Honour has, on the whole, carried out the position which was accepted last year, there have been some departures from that position which we cannot accept responsibility for. These matters do not involve serious departures from the general principles adopted by us, but they do, in our opinion, involve the Council and lay us open to censure for at least grave faults of administration.

"We fully appreciate the practical difficulties in the way of carrying out an anomalous system like the present, and have always been ready to make

the best of an imperfect machinery. The attitude of the Assembly has not helped to lighten the burden imposed upon us. Ever ready to criticize and always prone to judge us by the standard of the ideal system, which they wished for, they have not given us that support that in the nature of things we might reasonably have hoped for. Knowing this feeling of the Assembly, and being with the rest of our fellow members jealous of the rights which were granted to us, we are naturally more sensitive to criticism than under a more completely responsible system there would be any necessity for.

"The constant discussion at Council meetings on the general theory of our Constitution showed us plainly that Your Honour only conceded what we claimed as a right. While differing from Your Honour in this matter, we are ready to acknowledge the generous spirit in which Your Honour yielded control in matters which you believed within your own personal province. But in so important a matter as the construction of the Act under which we have our existence as a Council, such a grave difference of opinion can only lead to friction, which must inevitably destroy our usefulness.

"We, therefore, tender our resignation because we cannot continue to work under a system in which our most important powers are only granted to us in the form of concessions, and because we are unwilling to accept responsibility without a corresponding right of control. We believe that our withdrawal from the Council will tend to bring about a more definite understanding with regard to the various powers and authorities of the Territories, and we can assure Your Honour that our successors, if true to the policy outlined by yourself last year, will always receive from us a loyal and generous support.

"In conclusion, let us assure Your Honour of our most grateful appreciation of Your Honour's personal kindness to all of us, and of the continuance of loyalty and attachment on our part.

"We are,

"Your Honour's obedient Servants.

"F. W. G. HAULTAIN,

"W. SUTHERLAND,

"D. F. JELLY,

"HILLYARD MITCHELL."

In reply to this communication Lieutenant-Governor Royal wrote a brief and rather caustic letter to Mr. Haultain, in which he confessed his failure to remember exactly what the "grave faults of administration" were of which his Council had complained, and requested Mr. Haultain to assist in refreshing his memory. As far as the Assembly's journals show this communication does not seem to have called forth any reply.

On November 5th the Speaker announced the formation of a new Advisory Council, including Mr. Jelly, of the last Council, together with Messrs. R. G. Brett, J. F. Betts and B. P. Richardson. Dr. Brett, from the new Advisory Council, then made a statement, in part as follows:

"The Council of His Honour's Advisers, formed under the law, will exercise the functions of an executive in matters affecting the Territorial

finances only, as well as in the discharge of the duties assigned by ordinances to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council."

The phrase of Dr. Brett, whereby he announced his intention to deal, in financial matters, *only* with the Territorial finances, involved a surrender with which the House was very far from satisfied. Consequently, on November 9th, the Assembly passed a vote of non-confidence. Thereupon Mr. Brett, on behalf of himself and his colleagues, tendered his resignation to the Lieutenant-Governor, but in an interesting letter of considerable length His Honour refused to accept it. He considered that the question at issue was distinctly one of law, and that, having selected his Council in accordance with the conditions embodied in the North West Territories Act, he could not accept its resignation in the absence of any act showing that its members had proved themselves unworthy of the trust reposed in them.

On the 15th of November, however, when the House went into Committee of Supply, it was determined at the end of a long debate that the House would not consider a further supply until the funds of the preceding year had been fully accounted for, and an address was ordered to be presented to His Honour, praying him to accept the resignation of the present Advisory Council and to select successors possessing the confidence of the Assembly. This action called forth the following letter from Dr. Brett:

"Legislative Assembly, Regina, N. W. T., November 11, 1889.
"To His Honour, the Lieutenant Governor of the North West Territories.

"Sir:—In consequence of the House having adopted at its last sitting the following resolution, *viz.*: That the position assumed by the Advisory Council, as set out in the statement of their leader, when announcing same, was assumed contrary to the wishes of the House, and the Advisory Council do not possess the confidence of the Assembly, I beg leave to tender Your Honour my resignation and that of my colleagues.

"While believing that the position we have taken on this matter was in strict accordance with the law and interest of the Territories, at the same time we feel you are entitled to this action on our part.

"I have the honour to be,

"Your obedient servant,
"R. G. BRETT."

His Honour now deemed it his duty to accept the resignation of the Council, as it had failed to secure the support of the Assembly in defending the action of the executive and in its efforts to secure supplies. His Honour Mr. Royal then entered into negotiations with Messrs. Tweed, Clinkskill, Cayley and Neff with a view to forming an Advisory Council in accordance with a majority of the Assembly. Mr. Tweed, however, speaking for his proposed colleagues, refused to accept office unless the Government could accede to the demands of the Assembly, and on the 20th

of November, in accordance with a motion of Mr. Haultain and Mr. Cayley, the Governor transmitted to Ottawa the following telegram:

"1. That whereas on Saturday, November 9th, a vote of want of confidence in the Advisory Council was passed by this House on a division of thirteen to eight;

"2. And whereas in consequence of such vote the Advisory Council tendered their resignation to the Lieutenant-Governor.

"3. And whereas, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor refused to accept the resignation of his Council and the Council persisted in retaining office;

"4. And whereas a full account of the money voted to Her Majesty by this Assembly at its last session for the public uses of the Territories has not yet been rendered to this Assembly by the Advisory Council, selected by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to assist him in matters of finance;

"5. And whereas at the last session of this Assembly \$105,484.90 was voted (see Ordinance No. 8 of 1888) and the statement of Public Accounts brought before the Assembly only accounts for \$18,078.74;

"6. And whereas on Thursday, November 16th, on motion made by the leader of the Advisory Council to consider of the supply of the current year, an amendment was moved to the effect that this House do not consider any further supply, until an account has been rendered of the sums voted last session;

"7. And whereas this amendment was opposed by the members of the Advisory Council and was carried by a vote of twelve to seven;

"8. And whereas the result of the vote proved that the advice tendered by the Advisory Council to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor was not in accordance with the wish of this Assembly;

"9. And whereas the estimates laid on the table of this House do not meet with the approval of the House, inasmuch as they do not include the amounts voted by the Parliament of Canada at its last session for expense of Government, etc., in the North West Territories;

"10. And whereas on Friday, November 15th, an humble address was adopted by the Assembly requesting that His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor be pleased to accept the resignation of the present Advisory Council and select another Council;

"11. And whereas the continuance in office of a Council not possessing the confidence of the Assembly was a gross violation of the rights and privileges of the Assembly;

"12. And whereas the Advisory Council have since then resigned and His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor has been pleased to accept their resignation;

"13. And whereas no new Advisory Council can be formed which will have the confidence of the Assembly, until His Honour has signified his intention to accede to the just demand of the Assembly;

"14. And whereas in consequence of the position taken up by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, no estimates can be laid before the Assembly, and the business of the Territories is seriously impeded;

"15. Therefore, be it resolved that an humble address be presented to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor praying that he will cause this resolution to be transmitted today by telegram to the Right Honourable the President of the Privy Council of Canada."

The Assembly subsequently memorialized the Dominion Government for a declaration that the Dominion grant should be expended on vote of the Assembly. It was also recommended that the Lieutenant-Governor should himself not be a member of the Council, and that the sitting of the legal experts with the Assembly should be dispensed with. Furthermore, it was pointed out in this memorandum that the existing Territorial Constitution did not provide for any permanent responsible body to prepare legislation for the Assembly's consideration, and that in consequence its legislative functions were much hampered. The Assembly has indeed felt compelled to withdraw from the Advisory Council, as at present constituted, even those powers previously granted to it by ordinance and after a trial reaching well into the second year had been forced to the conviction that the present system of Government in the Territories was radically defective and should be amended by the Dominion Government at the earliest possible moment.

In his speech relieving the members from further attendance upon the session the Lieutenant-Governor, on the 2nd of November, spoke as follows:

"The various incidents which followed the resignation of my first Advisory Council, the attitude assumed by the majority of the members, and the earnest desire of all that the business of the country should not suffer in consequence, are circumstances which will tend to mark this session as an historical one. I earnestly hope that the proceedings of the Assembly may result favourably for the peace, order and prosperity of the North West Territories."

On the prorogation of the House the Lieutenant-Governor had not yet succeeded in securing an Advisory Council. However, during the recess, his efforts were more successful, and Messrs. Brett, Betts, Richardson and Secord agreed to cooperate with Mr. Royal.

When the third session opened on the 29th of October, 1890, the constitutional battle was resumed upon the reply to the speech from the throne:

"The Assembly regrets that Your Honour has not seen fit to allude to the circumstances which have led to Your Honour's selection and retention in office of an Advisory Council not in accord with nor possessing the confidence of the majority of this Assembly. It appears to us to be necessary to the good government of the country, that the measure of control, if any, possessed by the Legislature over the acts of the Executive should be clearly defined. Having been left without guidance of Your Honour in this matter, the Assembly can do no less than assume its rights

to be such as the North West Territories Acts and constitutional usage having the force of law appear to give. They are therefore compelled to believe in the right of the majority not only to pass legislation, but to advise and control in the matter of its being given effect; that the North West Territories Acts interpreted in the light of constitutional usage, provide for control of the Executive by an Advisory Council having the confidence of a majority of the House; that the assumption of such control by any Members of this House not possessing its confidence is a violation of the spirit and intent of the North West Territories Acts, and an infringement upon the rights of the House, against which it feels compelled to enter its most solemn protest and to take such measures to protect itself as best it may.

"The disregard for and violation of all constitutional rules, the infringement upon the rights and privileges of the House and usurpation of its prerogatives by its Members composing the Advisory Council, in our opinion, renders those Members unworthy of taking any part in the business of the Assembly. As the only means in our power of vindicating in our case the common rights of majorities in representative Assemblies, *it is our duty to refuse all legislation and motions offered by these members.*²

"To further mark its disapproval of the course of the Advisory Council in ignoring its rights, *the House has seen fit not to allow the several members of the Council to serve on any of its Standing Committees* as long as they maintain their present attitude of defiance."

As indicated in this rather startling ultimatum, Messrs. Brett, Betts, Richardson and Secord were ostentatiously excluded from all committees; their resolution of protest was negatived on a vote of thirteen to seven. Messrs. Reaman, Plaxton, Hoey and Jelly voted with the Governor's party. Mr. Richardson seems to have been absent.

The entire reply to the speech from the throne was very critical in character. The House commented upon the "cold response" of the Dominion authorities to the yearly appeals made for assistance in the work of populating the many million acres of Dominion lands in the Territories, and upon the scant attention paid by the authorities at Ottawa to the memorials forwarded them by the Assembly, the disallowance of certain Territorial ordinances, and the Lieutenant-Governor's omission of all mention of the unhappy differences which had existed and which still existed between an overwhelming majority of the Assembly and His Honour's Advisory Council.

This address was voted at half-past three in the morning on Tuesday, November 11th, after thirteen hours' debate.

Three days later the Honourable Mr. Royal, through the Speaker, conveyed to the Assembly a written message explaining his understanding of the legal position in which he found himself in the matter under dispute.

² The italics are mine. N. F. B.

He pointed out, furthermore, that a recent ruling of the Minister of Justice, in his opinion, sustained his position, and that he was the more bound to abide by his original position in that the Minister was the legal adviser to the Governor-General in Council, under whose instructions the Lieutenant-Governor administered the Government to the Territories. He had accordingly been obliged to select a Council from among those members of the Assembly who were willing to comply with the law, and it was evident that no such Advisory Council could be formed which would command the confidence of the House.

During the remainder of the session the Assembly maintained its attitude of hostility towards the administration and severely criticised the executive in many regards, especially as the means taken to promote immigration. Unavailing attempts were made by Dr. Brett and Mr. Betts to induce the House to go into Committee of Supply, and on the 27th of November, after a long and stormy debate, a lengthy and extraordinary reply was passed in answer to His Honour's message of explanation, to which we have already referred. In the course of this address the Assembly offered the following observations with regard to the opinions expressed by the Minister of Justice for the Dominion Government:

"The Assembly feels bound to point out to Your Honour that the words of the Honourable Minister of Justice quoted . . . did not relate to or purport to be an expression of opinion regarding the position which Your Honour takes—that control of the Territorial Revenues rests with Your Honour and such Advisors as Your Honour may choose, and not with this Assembly—and that therefore the ruling of the Minister of Justice, quoted by Your Honour, does not apply to the case.

"The Assembly feels also further bound to inform Your Honour of its belief that the North West Territories Act, calling it into existence and defining its constitution and powers, is for the information and guidance of its several members and for that of the House as a whole, as well as for that of Your Honour or of the Minister of Justice, and that the members of this Assembly are severally responsible to the people of the Territories for their own interpretation of the Act, and the course they take based upon that interpretation; which responsibility they are not relieved from by an expression of opinion on the part of anyone, or by anything short of a declaration from a superior authority. The Assembly regrets that Your Honour has not seen fit to point out the section of the Act which invests Your Honour and your Advisors with what appears to us to be the very extraordinary and exceptional measure of financial control which Your Honour assumes to possess."

The Assembly furthermore declared that "Government by the minority against the expressed wish of the majority is a violation of the intent of the act. . . . Your Honour may govern under instructions from Ottawa (in cases when for any reason you cannot act with the House), or by and

with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly, but we can find nothing to show that your Honour is empowered to govern with advisers responsible only to yourself." The House based its claims to control moneys voted from year to year by the Parliament of Canada for Territorial Government, on the fact that these appropriations were voted in general terms for the purposes of local Government, which local Government must be carried on by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly, and that, moreover, these grants were apportioned to purposes controlled by or depending upon the action of the local House. If the Territorial legislation were to be of full benefit to the people of the Territories, the Assembly must be made aware from year to year of the amount of funds which could be depended upon. Moreover, these funds they considered quite as much the property of the people of the North West Territories as that part of the local revenues derived directly from the issue of licenses. The Governor's attention was called to the fact that on December 11, 1888, he had given, as we have noted above, his assent to a Supply Bill in which the Assembly had actually voted upon the sums derived from Dominion sources, and that thus an inviolable precedent had been established. In view of His Honour's announcement that "His Excellency the Governor in Council for many years past had assumed without question the control of the expenditure of the moneys annually voted by the Parliament of Canada for school purposes in the Territories, the House would henceforth consider itself entirely relieved from any responsibility in regard to school expenses." Whether inadvertently or otherwise, it appears from the records of the House that no special person was designated to convey this indignant reply to the Lieutenant-Governor. Consequently, we read in a footnote of the Journal:

"This address was not presented to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor."

On November 28th the House adopted still another address to the Governor for transmission to the Ottawa authorities, stating that in the preceding session it had presented a memorial with regard to the present form of local Government in the Territories, the finances of the Territories and other matters; and that as no action with reference to many of these matters having been taken by His Excellency's Government the Assembly humbly reiterated the representations then made and prayed that action be taken thereon.

This stormy session terminated on the 29th of November, 1890.

In the following May, Messrs. Brett and Betts visited Ottawa with a view to securing for the Territories a fully responsible system of government, and thus relieve the extraordinarily complicated situation in which the Governor, his Advisory Council and the Assembly found themselves

entangled. In the Dominion general elections of the preceding March Messrs. D. W. Davis, Honourable E. Dewdney, N. F. Davin and D. H. MacDowall, all of them supporters of the party in power, had been the members elected by the Territorial constituencies to represent the North West in the House of Commons. These gentlemen, together with the North West senators, Messrs. Loughead and Perley, were consulted by the cabinet in connection with Dr. Brett's proposition. The majority of them, however, believed that the proposed change should be postponed until the Territories were divided into provinces. The agitation for a form of Government modelled after that of the existing provinces was, they believed, not the product of a general popular demand, but merely of the personal wishes and ambitions of members of the Territorial Assembly. Furthermore, it was urged that the premature establishment of any form of cabinet government, with its associated departmentalization, would involve the Territories in unnecessary expense.

To understand this clash of opinion between members of the Assembly and Territorial representatives in Parliament it is necessary to recall the social and political conditions of the times. Railways, telegraph lines and newspapers were few, postal facilities were inadequate, and the overwhelming majority of the people of the West were struggling with stern poverty, such as newcomers who have been in the country for only the last decade can scarcely realize. Moreover, the population was exceedingly small and scattered in isolated groups over a country of vast extent. When it is said that there was no very definitely organized force of the public favourable to or eagerly demanding responsible government the assertion is true, but it is true simply because under the circumstances there could be no very definitely organized force of public opinion on any subject. In so far as any public opinion on political subjects existed at all, it seems generally to have been favourable to the principle of Territorial control of local financial interests. An impartial examination of available evidence leads me to the opinion that the members of the Assembly more truly represented local sentiment than did the Federal members. Moreover, these were the days of open voting, and when the majority of the people were still dependent on the reports of government officials for the issue of the titles for their land it was not easy to get a free expression of opinion in Dominion elections. It required some courage and force of character to run the risk of alienating the good-will of the Federal Government; and the expressed opinions of Dominion members for the Territories were too frequently mere echoes of the opinions held by a cabinet at Ottawa astonishingly ill-informed regarding every Western interest and desire.

However, during the Dominion session of this year, 1891, the Honourable Mr. Dewdney introduced a new North West Territories Act which was duly

passed. It gave the Lieutenant-Governor authority to dissolve his Assembly and cause a general election when such action seemed necessary in the public interest. The powers of the Assembly were somewhat increased, perhaps, but a portion of the Dominion subsidy was still left under the immediate control of the Lieutenant-Governor. The new constitution eliminated from this assembly the appointed "legal experts" provided for in the Act of 1888. The Advisory Council was not formally and definitely abolished, but provision was made, though very obscurely, for a Committee of the Assembly, that came to be looked upon as rightfully inheriting the special functions of the Advisory Council and exercising others as well.³ Provision was made for the establishment of a ballot system by the local Government, and the number of members was raised to twenty-six.

The first Assembly elected under this act met in the following December, the election having taken place the preceding month. Mr. James H. Ross, of Moose Jaw, was chosen as Speaker. The new constitution left the Assembly with considerable latitude as to the details of administration and for some time the members devoted themselves to the discussion of the best form of government for them to adopt. As a result of these deliberations they passed "An Ordinance Respecting the Executive Government of the Territories." This provided for an Executive Committee consisting of four members of the Assembly appointed by and holding office during the Lieutenant-Governor's pleasure.

Mr. Haultain, as Premier, together with Messrs. Clinkskill, Neff and Tweed, were now appointed to the Territorial Executive Committee. However, Mr. Clinkskill withdrew very shortly, owing to a difference in opinion with regard to school matters. He favoured having separate inspectors for Protestant and Catholic schools, and his views having met with disapproval, he resigned from the Executive Committee, being succeeded by Mr. Cayley, of Calgary. The school controversies of this era and the important legislation associated therewith will be treated of at some length in a future chapter.

Meantime, in pursuance of the new North West Territories Act, the Governor-General in Council had passed an order assigning to the Lieutenant-Governor, acting by and with the advice of the Assembly or a committee thereof, the control of certain specified portions of the Dominion subsidy, totalling over \$143,000. This constituted a distinct advance toward

³ The relevant passages in the Amending Act of 1891 are as follows:

"The Legislative Assembly shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, or of any other Act of the Parliament of Canada, at any time in force in the Territories, have power to make ordinances for the Government of the Territories in relation . . . to the expenditure of Territorial funds and such portion of any moneys appropriated by Parliament for the Territories, as the Lieutenant-Governor is authorized to expend by and with the advice of the Legislative Assembly or of any committee thereof."

In practice the Assembly elected an Executive Committee under this clause, and the Lieutenant-Governor accepted its members as his Advisory Council.



PROMINENT BUILDINGS
MOOSE JAW

Territorial control of Territorial finances. The following year the corresponding amount was one-third greater.

In August, 1892, during the second session of the Second Legislature, Mr. Cayley headed a revolt against Mr. Haultain, and by a vote of thirteen to twelve carried through the Assembly a resolution of non-confidence. The next day Mr. Haultain informed the House that the resignation of the Executive Committee had been tendered to and accepted by the Lieutenant-Governor. Mr. Cayley was selected by His Honour, and associated with himself Messrs. MacKay, Mowatt and Reaman; but the new administration was rendered helpless by the unexpected resignation of Mr. Speaker Ross, who had been an ardent supporter of Mr. Haultain in his efforts to establish responsible government.

Mr. Ross has been severely criticised for his action in this regard on this occasion by his political opponents and by others who hold uncompromisingly to the principle that, by accepting his office, the Speaker of a British Legislature precludes himself entirely from, with propriety, participating in any partisan dispute. In judging Mr. Ross's action it should be viewed in its relation to the constitutional history of the preceding five years, and to the part he himself had played therein. Accordingly it is but fair to give his reasons in his own words, spoken from the floor of the House:

"In resigning the chair of this House, I desire to make the following statement: I was elected Speaker of a House, to which a large majority of those who for two years previously had been struggling for Responsible Government, had been returned, as one of the party which had been engaged in that struggle, and had been unsuccessful in the late general election. I reasonably expected that any Advisory Council or Committee which might be formed would be composed of those, and those only, that belonged to that party. In view of the defeat of the Executive advocating the principles which I had struggled for longer than any other member of the House, and the success of a party evidently, indeed necessarily, opposed to those principles, I feel that in duty to myself and my constituents I must place myself in such a position as to be able by voice and vote to advocate those principles and protect the interest of those who elected me to this House."

Mr. Cayley insisted on nominating Mr. Sutherland, despite that gentleman's protests, but as the proposed Speaker voted against his own election a tie resulted, and the business of the House was thus brought to a standstill. The record in the Journal of the House accordingly ends with the following abrupt announcement:

"The question having been put by the Clerk, the members divided, and, the votes being equal, the Clerk declared that no election had been held; and the Clerk having left his seat at the table, the members then dispersed."

On the following day the comedy was reenacted. Mr. Cayley was still impotently determined to put Mr. Sutherland in the chair and he and Mr. Haultain's other supporters were equally determined not to submit. As the members again dispersed, Mr. Cayley announced that the House would be prorogued.

Mr. Haultain was accordingly deputed by his adherents to interview the Lieutenant-Governor that evening to protest against this threatened prorogation. Mr. Haultain pointed out to His Honour the futility of attempting to compel any member to be Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, willy nilly. At the same time it was the manifest duty of the leader of the Executive Committee to secure the organization of the House so as to prevent paralysis of the business of the country. If Mr. Cayley could not end the deadlock, it did not follow that it was therefore irremediable. If the Government simply left matters alone the situation would soon be relieved in the natural course of events. As a matter of fact, though he could not tell the Lieutenant-Governor in so many words, Mr. Haultain had already been approached by some of his former supporters who had joined the Cayley faction, who felt that things had now gone far enough and were prepared to cooperate with their former leader in the choice of a Speaker. Mr. Royal, however, was very indignant over the turn affairs had taken and determined to maintain Mr. Cayley in power.

Next morning Messrs. Haultain, Tweed and Magrath waited upon the Lieutenant-Governor, and informed him that the opposition was willing that Mr. Magrath be elected Speaker in order that legislation before the House might be completed, but the Lieutenant-Governor had already signed a proclamation proroguing the Assembly. Mr. Haultain and his supporters then issued a manifesto protesting against the Governor's conduct, and specifically charging him "with having taken the position of a political partisan in thus unnecessarily and unjustifiably proroguing the House to the injury of public business and in defiance of constitutional law and usage." This indignant accusation was signed by half the members of the Assembly, and telegraphed to the Dominion Government.

In the *Leader* of August 25th Mr. Davin expressed editorially the following views upon the situation that had arisen, and his opinion may be taken as representative of that of many others:

"Shortly after three o'clock in the afternoon of the 24th, Mr. Haultain, leader of the Executive, rose to move the House into the Committee of Supply, and delivered his budget special. Messrs. Betts and Mowatt introduced a motion of non-confidence, which was followed by a debate of more than seven hours. Then Haultain's administration was defeated by a majority of one.

"The affairs of last night we cannot but regard as unfortunate. Its effect on the public business and on the eastern mind cannot be otherwise

than bad. With regard to who is to blame, the public will quickly judge. It needs no great discernment to see faults in both parties. Mr. Haultain is an able man, young, cultured and intellectually strong, and the country gives him credit for having, to the best of his rights, attempted to carry on the Government. But he is young in statesmanship, and, like the rest of erring mortals, makes mistakes. He has committed errors of judgment; he has sometimes been deficient in tact; he has perhaps gone on the idea that Haultain and the Executive were synonymous terms; this is the rock on which he has stranded. He is too wise a man not to profit by his present experience and not to see that perpetual watchfulness will alone save him from splitting on that rock. At the same time, it must be remembered that he was the choice of the country for position of Leader of the Executive, and that he was given the unanimous support of the Assembly. He and his colleagues had got well into harness and the business of the country was going on with complete satisfaction."

In September Mr. Royal went to Ottawa to consult with his Federal advisers regarding the deadlock. It is well known that they disapproved of his action in proroguing the Assembly. The situation of the Territories was certainly extraordinary, from a constitutional standpoint. Under the law of the land, unless the money at the disposal of the North West Government was appropriated by ordinance, by act of the Parliament of Canada, or by order of the Governor-General in Council, the Lieutenant-Governor in Council had authority to appropriate it for purposes of public services, reporting in detail such expenditure to the Assembly at its next session. This meant that Mr. Royal and Mr. Cayley, with their three colleagues, were left in absolute control of public money to the amount of three hundred thousand dollars. During the recess Mr. Cayley and the other members of the Executive Committee proceeded with the conducting of public affairs, but the death of Mr. Reaman, being followed by the election of Mr. F. R. Insinger, a supporter of Mr. Haultain, the executive manifestly faced defeat, when the third session of the Second Legislature met in December of the same year, from the 7th to the 31st. Accordingly, the day before the session commenced, Mr. Cayley and the other members of the executive resigned, and with the approval of the House by a vote of fourteen to eleven they were succeeded by Messrs. Haultain, Neff, Tweed and Mitchell. Messrs. Ross and Sutherland were unanimously elected Speaker and Deputy Speaker.

Several important bills passed by the Assembly in recent sessions, notably that defining the composition and duties of the Executive, had been criticised as *ultra vires* by Sir John Thompson, Minister of Justice. Indeed, this was the ostensible reason for Mr. Cayley's resignation. Accordingly, the objectionable clause in the ordinance relating to the executive was eliminated and terms were substituted corresponding literally to the provisions of the Dominion Act. This involved an apparent surrender of the demand that the Lieutenant-Governor should administer the Government as to all matters

according to the advice of his Executive Committee, but such it was not. The ordinances of Mr. Royal's administration embody the persistent efforts of Mr. Haultain and his supporters to secure the maximum degree of territorial independence practicable under existing Federal laws. No loophole was surrendered by the western insurgents unless rendered untenable by further Federal enactment or the decision of the Governor-General in Council. When checked in one direction, moreover, Mr. Haultain and his friends simply changed their weapons or their mode of attack. In the present instance, upon amending its ordinance regarding the Executive Committee to conform with the Federal law, the House passed the following resolution and telegraphed it to Ottawa:

"That the House claims the right of the House through its committee to advise the Lieutenant-Governor in relation to all executive acts and appointments made necessary by Territorial Ordinances."

In point of fact the Governor and his Ottawa advisers had all but receded from the uncompromising attitude they had hitherto assumed, and the battle for responsible government was nearly won. Mr. Royal's present attitude was indicated in his speech of December 31, 1892, when he prorogued the House:

"I feel confident that my relations with the representatives appointed by you to advise me in matters of finance will be of the most cordial nature. I shall deem it my duty to give careful consideration to their advice in relation to the expenditure of public moneys in the manner determined by you for the carrying on of public service."

It is also interesting to read in the Journals of the 31st of December, 1892, that the Supply Bill was again presented and assented to in the constitutional terms that had been in disuse since 1888.

On August 17, 1903, the last session of the Legislative Assembly for Royal's administration was convened and sat for one month. This session was, upon the whole, relatively peaceable, but, when moving to go into supply, Mr. Haultain made an explanation and registered a protest regarding what may be considered as practically the last manifestation of the autocratic attitude hitherto adopted by North West Territorial Governors, or imposed upon them by the law of the land. Lieutenant-Governor Royal had framed his estimates and forwarded them to Ottawa without the knowledge or consent of his Executive Committee. Indeed the estimates so submitted were in important regards disapproved of by Mr. Haultain and his colleagues and were contrary to a memorial recently passed by the House praying that the Federal Government should grant a lump sum rather than detailed amounts for specific objects. Nowadays, if a Lieutenant-Gov-

ernor were thus to ignore his responsible advisers, a very serious crisis would be precipitated; but Mr. Haultain evidently thought that on this occasion a memorial to the Dominion Government and an explanation to the Legislature were sufficient to clear him from responsibility for the Governor's act and to prevent the repetition of such arbitrary methods. He knew, and the House knew, that the probability was so small as to be negligible that a future Governor would attempt seriously to thwart the wishes of his Legislature.

In addition to controversies with the Dominion authorities regarding the legislative powers of the Territorial Assembly, the establishment of responsible institutions and the determination of the special forms under which a constitutional government should be administered in the Territories, and numerous memorials as regards multifarious other grievances and requests, a struggle for better financial terms in the matter of a Dominion subsidy engaged the Territories throughout Royal's regime. From the first the Territorial subsidy was found insufficient to supply the public service required in the growing West. Moreover, as the Crown lands were still retained by the Federal Government, and as the Territorial Legislature was precluded from borrowing money, it was justly argued that the Territories were entitled to special consideration in the matter of subsidies. A memorial on this subject was presented in 1899 and thereafter from session to session. Hitherto an indefinite sum had been voted from year to year by the Parliament of Canada for the expenses of the Government in the North West, but its limited amount and uncertainty seriously hampered the Territorial Assembly and Executive. Consequently a fixed payment in the nature of a provincial subsidy was asked for. Owing to the rapid increase in population, the amount of such subsidy, it was concluded, should be revised at least every five years, but even in 1889 the population of the Territories was estimated at one hundred thousand, and would, in all probability, so increase during the next five years as to justify basing the subsidy on an estimated average population of one hundred and fifty thousand. The regular allowance to the Provinces was eighty cents per head, and if the Territories received a similar grant on the estimated population aforesaid it would amount to one hundred and twenty thousand dollars. Manitoba was in receipt of fifty thousand dollars as a specific grant for governmental purposes, and the Territories petitioned for a like sum, as well as for one hundred thousand dollars on account of the Crown lands remaining vested with the Federal Government. Other claims were also advanced, including which the Territorial Legislature felt that they were entitled to an annual subsidy of slightly over four hundred thousand dollars, which was considerably more than twice what they were getting.⁴

⁴ Journal of November 21, 1889.

In 1890 these representations were repeated, as no action had been taken on the matter by the Federal Government. Many needed public utilities had to be starved or postponed for lack of funds, and when the estimates for the year ending December 31, 1891, were brought down the Government nevertheless faced a deficit. Even if the mean population of the next four years were estimated only at one hundred and twenty-five thousand an ordinary provincial subsidy of eighty cents per head would yield one hundred thousand dollars, and the other grants corresponding to those previously asked for would make a total of more than three hundred and sixty-eight thousand dollars.

As a result of these representations Mr. Haultain was requested by the Government of Canada to go to Ottawa, March, 1892, to confer with regard to the financial claims of the Territories. A sub-committee of the Privy Council, consisting of the Ministers of Finance and the Interior, were appointed to confer with him and reported favourably with regard to his requests. This report, however, was not accepted by the Council, and Mr. Haultain was requested to make alternative propositions. He, however, insisted upon the terms as set forth in the Assembly's memorial, and the Premier and his Minister of Justice were added to the sub-committee to consider the matter. Again the Privy Council was obdurate, and Mr. Haultain then suggested that instead of an itemized vote, Parliament should vote a lump sum for the expenses of government in the North West Territories. Accordingly, by order in Council the bulk sum of \$193,200 was placed under the control of the Assembly—an advance of some fifty thousand dollars. A supplementary vote of twenty-six thousand seven hundred dollars was also allowed to cover a deficit in school moneys.

The circumstances under which this deficit had arisen require some explanation. The estimate for schools in 1891 to 1892 was over one hundred and eighteen dollars, but Parliament actually granted only one hundred dollars. Under the Governor-General's order in Council of July 18, 1890, the expenditure of this vote, according to the terms of the Territorial ordinance, was authorized, but on the 22nd of June, 1891, this order in Council was cancelled. Meantime trustees had engaged teachers and had incurred various expenses in their reasonable expectation that the grants mentioned in the ordinance would be available, and great public inconvenience resulted. Moreover, \$5,752.55 of a supplementary vote from a preceding year had lapsed, because circumstances rendered it impossible to expend it within the time it was available. The result was that for more than a year the Legislative held out grants which could not be paid, and so was involuntarily obliged to break faith. The Assembly felt so keenly the invidious position in which it was thus placed that it set apart ten thousand dollars of the local revenue to reduce the deficit in the school grants. It had accordingly requested that

moneys voted by Parliament for the Territories should hereafter be in a lump sum and not lapsable.

Mr. Haultain's efforts to secure better terms had met with at least a measure of success, but he was very far from being satisfied. Accordingly, in the last year of Royal's administration the Premier renewed his financial negotiations with the Dominion authorities. He had several conferences at Ottawa and obtained the time-worn promises that the Territorial claims would receive due consideration. However, for the time being, he had to be content with nothing more tangible than a mere promise.

We have seen that the regime of the Honourable Mr. Royal was from first to last marked by keen political battles and that in many of these the Governor himself stood for political principles very objectionable to the elected representatives of his people. Nevertheless, he always enjoyed a high degree of personal good-will and he should not be blamed for having been called upon to administer government under an impossible constitution. At all events friction between him and his Legislative had ceased before the expiration of his term of office, and this review of the political history of his administration may conclude by the quoting of the amicable address with which Mr. Royal bade farewell to his last Assembly:

"As this is the last public occasion upon which I may expect to meet you, allow me to say that, in resigning the Administration of the Government of the Territories into the hands of my successor, I shall do so with mingled feelings of regret and satisfaction.

"I shall regret to leave you because I have never failed, even under trying circumstances, to receive at your hands the loyal treatment due to the Representative of Her Majesty, notwithstanding the fact that at times our duty assumed to lie in opposite directions.

"It was mine to carry into effect what I considered to be the law, as laid down by the Parliament of Canada, for regulating your share in the responsibility in the administration of public affairs, and, whilst you claimed to exercise a more complete control over the expenditure, that Law placed me in a somewhat invidious position of appearing to oppose the popular interests. Notwithstanding this controversy, no unpleasantness ever arose between me and the Assembly.

"When on the 4th of July, 1888, I was sworn in as Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories, the functions of that office were as totally different from those of the Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces, as they will be from those to be performed by my successor. I was responsible to the Privy Council alone for all executive acts done in the Territories. The Assembly had hardly a voice in the Government of the country and the Lieutenant-Governor was practically a Political Commissioner under whose direct supervision and authority the affairs of the Territories were conducted and administered.

"Now all this had been materially changed, and hence my satisfaction.

"The Legislature today practically enjoys the rights and privileges of self-government. Let me congratulate you sincerely upon the wisdom and

discretion you have displayed in undertaking your new and important duties.

"My satisfaction is further derived from the fact that these Territories are at the present time enjoying a measure of peace and prosperity unsurpassed, if not unequalled, by any other portion of the Dominion of Canada. In this happy condition of affairs for which we have to thank the Divine Providence, I now take my leave of this Assembly."

CHAPTER XXXIII

ROYAL'S ADMINISTRATION: SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

DROUGHT AND AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION—CONDITION OF THE RANCHING INDUSTRY—RISE OF DAIRYING—BURDENSOME LAND REGULATIONS—RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT—IMMIGRATION PROPAGANDA—CONTINENTAL IMMIGRATION—EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT—TERRITORIAL BOARD OF EDUCATION CREATED—FIRST SASKATCHEWAN UNIVERSITY ACT.

During the later eighties and early nineties the North West Territories saw considerable development along many lines, but during this time the farmers suffered from many depressing circumstances. In 1889 an unprecedented drought prevailed practically all over the Territories, and in consequence prairie and forest fires were reported by the Governor as more extensive and disastrous than ever. The Mounted Police were unwavering in their endeavors to enforce the provisions of the fire ordinances, and very many persons guilty of criminal carelessness were brought to justice. Nevertheless it can easily be seen that in the conditions then prevailing it was a very easy thing to start a conflagration which, despite all efforts for its suppression, would in a few hours spread over many townships, causing much loss and distress.

On the whole, ranching proved more remunerative and encouraging than grain farming—yet the cattle men had their troubles. These arose in part from the spread of settlement both on the part of regular homesteaders and of numerous squatters, and in 1892 a large deputation of western ranchers interviewed the Minister of the Interior to explain their grievances and difficulties. In the spring of the following year a settlement was made with the cattle men on a new basis: the outstanding leases were cancelled and the ranchers were given the privilege of purchasing one-tenth of their holdings at one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre. This gave them the needed security and at the same time threw open large areas for settlement by grain growers. Moreover, in that year almost three million acres were surveyed—nearly twice as much as in the preceding year.

In the American states south of the Territorial border a serious epidemic of cattle disease occurred, and it was therefore necessary to rigidly enforce



TYPICAL CATTLE ROUND UP IN SOUTH WESTERN SASKATCHEWAN

quarantine regulations. Many Canadian ranchers complained that, though their herds were free from disease, they suffered much loss from the restrictions under which they were compelled to conduct their business. This was especially so during the last years of Royal's administration.

In the ~~n~~early nineties dairying developed into an important industry, and in 1892 a dairymen's association for the Territories was organized at Regina, which did much to stimulate this important industry. The association received substantial aid from the Legislature.

Much dissatisfaction manifested itself from time to time with regard to land regulations. Under the existing system a very large proportion of the land in the settlement districts was not available for homesteading. This seriously interfered with the organization of school districts and with various improvements, but the protests of the Assembly and the general public bore little fruit. Efforts were made to have the registration of land titles vested in the Territorial Government, but with no success. Under the regulations enforced in the Territories the settlers found themselves at a considerable disadvantage as compared with those of Manitoba. In a memorial passed by the Assembly, September 13, 1893, it was declared that the Homestead Commission's Estate Act had proved so unworkable and generally objectionable that under it only one registration had taken place in the Territories, although the act had been in force for a period of sixteen years.

In 1889 there was much agitation for the completion of railway lines to connect Saskatchewan with the south and for extensions in various directions. In this year the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake & Saskatchewan Railway between Regina and Prince Albert came into operation. Before the end of 1891 an important line was opened from Calgary to Edmonton and another from Calgary to MacLeod. This last named enterprise was associated with the attempt on the part of the authorities of the Canadian Pacific Railway to establish a new town to the detriment of MacLeod, but happily for the latter the prospect failed. In 1892 the Canadian Pacific Railway built a line through the Souris district to where the new town of Estevan was rapidly developing into a coal-mining centre of importance. Work was also progressing upon a road entering the Territories in the southeast, which would join the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway and thus open up a new and highly important route between the Mississippi Valley and Western Canada.

From the first, Royal and his Territorial advisors gave serious attention to the task of bringing before the European public the natural advantages of the West, and the opportunities it afforded intending immigrants. These endeavors were supported by the Assembly in so far as the local revenue would permit and the matter was persistently brought to the attention of the Dominion authorities. The Canadian Pacific Railway was also devoting considerable attention to the problem and, largely through its efforts, foreign

colonies were established before the end of 1888 in many parts of the North West on lands controlled by the railway company. The Scandinavian settlement of New Stockholm was established north of Whitewood. A Roumanian colony settled at New Toulecha, near the village of Balgonia. Germans and Galicians in considerable numbers founded homes at Rosenthal and Josephburg. Swedish immigrants settled at Fleming; Hungarians at Esterhazy; Finns at New Finnland; Icelanders at Medicine River; Russian Jews at Wapella, and Poles and Danes near Yorkton. By 1892 there had been a considerable immigration from the Dakotas. The settlers from that quarter were especially welcome, as to a large extent they were former Canadians from the East.

The World's Fair at Chicago in 1892-3 was an event of much interest throughout the Territories. Active measures were taken by the authorities in coöperation with agricultural and other societies to secure an exhibition of a suitable collection of Western Canada products, including timbers, cereals, minerals, grasses, fruits and vegetables, and the Hon. Senator Perley was appointed commissioner to represent the Territories at the Exposition.

Perhaps the best test of development throughout the Territories is supplied by the records of the growth of the school system. In 1889 it was very widely discussed in the newspapers of the Territories. There was already a widespread conviction that the schools should be rendered entirely non-sectarian. This opinion was voiced by the *Prince Albert Times*, the *Regina Journal*, the *Moosomin Courier*, the *Vidette* and the *Progress* of Qu'Appelle, and by various journals in what is now Alberta.

In his speech from the throne, October, 1889, Mr. Royal reported the existence of 164 schools attended by 4,574 children, an increase of 33 schools and 1,121 pupils over 1888. Provisions had been made for instruction of a more advanced character than that hitherto available, and under them Union Schools were established at Regina and Calgary, in which high school work was carried on. In the following year similar schools were established at Moosomin, Moose Jaw, Prince Albert and Lacombe. Parents in these districts were now afforded an opportunity of obtaining for their children a high class education within easy reach of their homes. The Territorial enrollment for 1890 showed an increase of well over 800 pupils. In the following year fifteen new schools were opened and the enrollment was further increased by over one thousand.

In 1892 some important changes were introduced in the school system. The new Territorial Board of Education was to hold office "during pleasure" instead of for two years, and was to meet whenever called by the Executive Committee of the Territories. The agitation adverse to sectarian schools resulted in the appointment of inspectors, who were under the control of the

executive, to inspect all schools under one system, whether Protestant or Catholic.

Provision was also made for examinations for teachers' certificates under a general board of examiners appointed by the executive. School grants were increased to \$420 and provision was made for the establishment of the single tax system as far as rural schools were concerned if three-fourths of the rate payers so decided. Unimproved lands were to bear the same taxation as improved lands, and all buildings and other improvements were to be exempt from assessment.

During 1892 fifty-three new school districts were established and the attendance continued to show a marked improvement. In this year a Council of Public Instruction was organized, being composed of the members of the Executive Committee and four appointed members, two Protestants and two Roman Catholics. The Lieutenant-Governor was chairman. Messrs. John Secord and Charles Marshallsay were the Protestant representatives and Messrs. C. B. Rouleau and A. E. Forget represented the Catholics. Mr. James Brown was the first secretary of the board.

An interesting evidence of the increased interest in education is found in the fact that on November 20, 1889, a resolution was adopted whereby the Assembly petitioned the House of Commons, suggesting the advisability of selecting and setting apart lands for university purposes, so that the same might be available when the country was divided into separate provinces.

A convention was also called in Regina in January, 1891, to which all university graduates residing in the Territories were invited for the purpose of discussing the formation of a university. The upshot of this movement was the passing of the Saskatchewan University Act by the Dominion Government.

It will be seen that the social and industrial progress of the Territories during Royal's regime was not rapid, but upon the whole steady and healthy. All Canada was suffering from commercial depression and the stringency of the money market, and this was especially felt in the new settlements of the West. European emigration was still directed almost exclusively to the United States, but the farseeing recognized the fact that the long era of tardy development in the Territories was nearing an end and that better things were in store in the near future.

CHAPTER XXXIV

MACKINTOSH'S ADMINISTRATION: POLITICAL HISTORY, 1893-1898

APPOINTMENT OF MACKINTOSH—THE FIRST ELECTION BY BALLOT IN THE NORTH WEST—SCHOOL CONTROVERSY—RECOGNITION OF JUSTICE MACLEOD'S SERVICES—LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR WITHHOLDS ASSENT TO SCHOOL ORDINANCE—BOWELL'S COMMENT—NEWSPAPER CRITICISMS—DIFFICULTIES OF THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR'S POSITION—HIS DEFENSE—MACKINTOSH EXONERATED—AGITATION FOR BETTER TERMS—FINAL VICTORY FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT—MACKINTOSH'S FAREWELL TO THE ASSEMBLY.

On the 11th of November, 1893, Mr. Royal's term of office having expired, Mr. Charles Herbert Mackintosh, well-known Ottawa journalist and politician, arrived at Regina to undertake his duties as the newly appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories.

On the 16th of January following, a by-election occurred in the constituency of Whitewood, which is of special historical importance as the first Territorial election in which use was made of the secret ballot. Upon the suggestion of the Honourable Frank Oliver, territorial ballot papers were at first perfectly blank. The voter's choice was indicated by the color of the lead in the pencil he selected, each candidate having a distinctive color. The aim of this curious system was to enable the numerous immigrants, who were now exercising the franchise but could not read English, to register their wishes in an indisputable way. A somewhat amusing incident in this by-election, however, showed that complications might arise even under a variegated lead pencil system. Mr. Joseph Clementson, of Broadview, was the most popular candidate. Voters favoring him marked their ballot with a green pencil. At one polling station the supply of green pencils ran short and to procure another forthwith necessitated a thirty-mile ride through a January-snowstorm.

Lieutenant-Governor Mackintosh assembled the fifth session of the Second Legislature on August 2, 1894. A prominent feature of this session was the receipt by the House of a very large number of petitions for the suppression of the liquor traffic. Messrs. Oliver and Dill were the leaders

of a small group who favored a prohibition measure, but the majority of the members considered it undesirable that any legislation should be passed for the suppression of the traffic until the views of the country had been ascertained by a plebiscite.

Very interesting and important debates upon the school system occupied much of this session. At the request of the Governor-General in Council the Lieutenant-Governor laid before the Assembly copies of various memorials and other documents by Roman Catholic citizens of the Territories, including a memorial of His Grace the late Archbishop Taché, of St. Boniface. The Governor in Council expressed the earnest hope that the Assembly would take into consideration the various complaints and adopt speedy measures for the redress of any genuine grievance that might be found to exist. Numerous representative Catholics claimed the right to have under their control the general management of their schools, the arrangement for the examining and licensing of their teachers, the selection of their textbooks and the inspection of their schools by qualified persons of their own faith. They also claimed the right of establishing separate schools with boundaries irrespective of those of public school districts, the right of using the French language as a medium of instruction and the right of opening their schools with prayer.

On September 6th a lengthy report was tendered to the House by its Standing Committee on Education, which recommended that it should be permissible to open school with the Lord's Prayer and that no general regulations respecting (a) the management and discipline of schools, (b) the examination, grading and licensing of teachers, (c) selection of text books, (d) inspection of school, or (e) normal training should be adopted or amended except at general meetings of the Council of Public Instruction duly convened for the purpose. Otherwise the committee deemed it inadvisable to recommend any important change with regard to the matters under consideration. A report to this general effect was concurred in by a vote of nineteen to three.

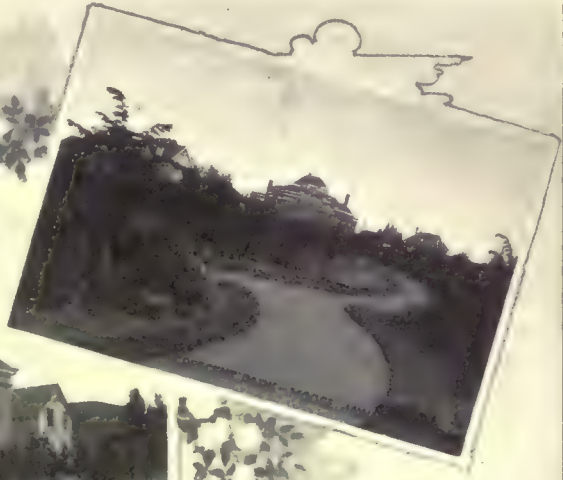
Subsequent debates also occurred upon the best means of meeting the situation created by recent serious crop failures. This topic, however, will be treated of in another place.

The House adjourned on September 7, 1894, having passed a very large number of important ordinances.

Among the resolutions transmitted by the Assembly to the Governor-General in Council was one called forth by the death of Mr. Justice Macleod, whose services to Canada had been of so important a character. Having joined the North West Mounted Police in 1873, he became Assistant Commissioner in 1874 and Commissioner in 1877. Three years later he was made a Stipendiary Magistrate and in 1887 a judge of the Supreme Court



FIRE HALL - MOOSE JAW



COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE - MOOSE JAW



ZION METHODIST CHURCH - MOOSE JAW



LAND TITLES OFFICE - MOOSE JAW



COURT HOUSE - MOOSE JAW

of the North West Territories. The House was of the opinion that the services rendered by him in the fearless enforcement of the authority of the Canadian Government in the Territories in early days merited special recognition, and it was therefore recommended that a suitable annuity be conferred by the Dominion Government to make provision for his widow and children.

On October 31, 1894, a general election was held in the Territories and on August 29, 1895, the Third Legislature of the North West Territories opened its first session. Mr. James H. Ross becoming a member of Mr. Haultain's Executive in place of Mr. Tweed, who had resigned, Mr. G. F. Betts, of Prince Albert, was elected to the Speakership, an office which he filled with much credit. Mr. Samuel Spencer Page was elected Deputy Speaker.

In his speech from the throne, Lieutenant-Governor Mackintosh referred to the death of Sir John Thompson, K. C. M. G., K. C., P. C., the Prime Minister of Canada, which had occurred in London on the thirteenth of the preceding December, and was the occasion of universal mourning. He also mentioned Sir Mackenzie Bowell, Honourable T. M. Daly, Minister of the Interior, and Lord Aberdeen, Governor-General, as having recently paid important official visits to the Territories.

After the regularly recurring debate on the liquor question, the House this year passed by a vote of fifteen to thirteen a memorial praying the Parliament of Canada to cause a prebiscite on the question to be taken at the time of voting at the next Dominion general elections.

The most interesting political event of this session and, indeed, of Lieutenant-Governor Mackintosh's whole administration, was his reserving, for the signification of His Excellency's pleasure, two bills, one of them being a bill to amend and consolidate the School Ordinance, to which the Assembly had devoted a great deal of consideration throughout the session. The action of Mr. Mackintosh in this connection is of sufficient constitutional concern to demand a careful review of the controversy growing out of it.

In the Senate on January 21st, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, replying to a question by Senator Perley, said the Government was aware that Lieutenant-Governor Mackintosh had refused to give his assent to the School Ordinance passed last session by the Legislative Assembly of the Territories, but that in so doing he was not acting on the advice of the Dominion Government. The Premier also read a report of the late Minister of Justice, which had been adopted by the Council. The report stated that the Minister had under consideration the School Ordinance passed by the Legislative Assembly of the Territories at its last session, which was reserved by the Lieutenant-Governor for the assent of the Governor-General. In his report Lieutenant-Governor Mackintosh had given as his reason for withholding his assent

that the bill had been passed by the Assembly on the last day of the session, and that he, consequently, had not an opportunity of examining its provisions. The Minister had pointed out that the Lieutenant-Governor had stated no question for consideration, with regard to the constitutionality of the measure, and no representations had been made to His Excellency from any other quarter that the Assembly had, by its enactment, exceeded its authority. The Minister was therefore of the opinion that the Lieutenant-Governor ought not to have reserved the bill for His Excellency's assent. For the reasons stated, he had therefore recommended that the Lieutenant-Governor be informed that His Excellency did not propose to signify his pleasure with respect to the reserved bill or to take any action upon it.

The *Regina Leader* was among the western papers most outspoken in criticism of the Lieutenant-Governor's action.

On January 16, 1896, the following comment upon it appeared in its columns:

"That act was the gravest offence of which His Honour has been guilty since the inauguration of his administration. It was as incomprehensible as it was unreasonable. No principle of the former school law had been infringed in the drafting of the new Ordinance. The changes made were merely changes of detail. Some of the changes were important in the direction of perfecting the feasibility and satisfactory working of the law, but none were of any constitutional significance. In the old law there were some incongruities and anomalies. Some of the clauses regulating the money grants to schools were contradictory. The only intrinsically important changes proposed to be made were changes in the method of apportioning the grants. These changes involved no constitutional question, and were entirely within the power and prerogative of the Assembly. Then why was assent withheld? Echo answers 'Why?' His Honour vouchsafed no reason to the Assembly. He did, we learn, privately state that he had adopted the course because he had not had time to review the Ordinance, and that he would give assent by proclamation later. His reason was not good, because on the morning prior to the prorogation of the House, his legal adviser, who is paid to relieve the Lieutenant-Governor of the burden of personally reviewing the legislation, informed His Honour that the new law was good. His reason therefore was subterfuge, and his promise was either subterfuge or ignorance. He possessed not the power to assent to the law by proclamation during the Assembly recess."

On the other hand, Mr. Mackintosh very vigorously defended the course he had followed. He visited Ottawa in this connection and withheld his resignation only because he believed himself vindicated by subsequent events from the charge of unconstitutional conduct.

It is to be remembered that school legislation is a matter which, though primarily of local concern, is of exceptional seriousness from the point of view of the Dominion authorities, upon whom may devolve, under the pro-

visions of the British North America Act, the delicate duty of passing remedial legislation in defense of the educational rights of an offended minority. At the time when Lieutenant-Governor Mackintosh disallowed the North West School Bill of 1895, quasi-religious issues were prominent at Ottawa, owing to the alleged grievances of the Catholics of Manitoba, and a special moral and constitutional responsibility consequently devolved upon the Lieutenant-Governor to keep himself so informed, and exercise such precautions, as would prevent any serious sectarian dispute in connection with the educational affairs of the Territories.

The following is a copy of the Lieutenant-Governor's letter of defense and explanation:

Ottawa, Ontario, 31st January, 1896.

To the Honourable the Secretary of State,

Ottawa, Ontario.

Sir:

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a copy of the report made by the Honourable the Minister of Justice, dated December 20, 1895, and approved by the Governor in Council, upon an enactment passed by the Legislature of the North West Territories at its last session in September, 1895, and entitled "An Ordinance to amend and consolidate, as amended, the Ordinance respecting Schools."

As the above-mentioned report involves issues directly constitutional, I venture to give my reasons for the actions taken by me, and the authorities which, in my estimation, justified such procedure.

Section four (54-55 Vic., chap. 22), "An Act to amend the Acts respecting the North West Territories," provides: "There shall be a session of the Legislative Assembly convened by the Lieutenant-Governor at least once in every year, so that twelve months shall not intervene between the last sitting of the Assembly in one session and its first sitting in another session: and such Assembly shall sit separately from the Lieutenant-Governor and shall present bills passed by it to the Lieutenant-Governor for his assent, who may approve or reserve the same for the assent of the Governor-General."

The list of bills submitted for assent included "The Ordinance to amend and consolidate, as amended, the Ordinance respecting Schools," the provisions of which had in no form been submitted to me, as mentioned in my communication to the Honourable the Secretary of State under date October the 24th, 1895, as follows:

"The passing of this bill by the Assembly took place on the last day of the session, and almost immediately before the prorogation of the legislature, consequently, as I had no opportunity to examine its provisions, I reserved my assent thereto."

Being informed by the clerk of the Assembly that the measure was incomplete and not ready for inspection¹ (a large number of amendments having been passed immediately prior to prorogation), my natural inclination was to withhold assent; but this would have been to assume a serious

¹ The Bill had not yet been printed. N. F. B.

responsibility, in view of the fact that the North West Territories Act limited by jurisdiction to "approval" or "reservation." Thus I had either to assent to an Ordinance, the purpose of which, save and except the title, I was in utter ignorance of, or adopt the only remaining alternative under the statute, namely, to "reserve assent." To have rejected the Ordinance would, it seemed to me, have been rather a delicate proceeding from a constitutional standpoint, in view of the provisions of the Territorial Act, and prorogation of the Assembly, being then in active progress, I was far from convinced that I would be justified in staying proceedings, in order that the Bill might be arranged in such form as permitted a consideration of its provisions. Under these circumstances I deemed it wiser to reserve assent, quite aware that the Ordinance was a nullity, unless the federal machinery could be invoked to provide a process of legalization. I realized further that the matter would be submitted to the Minister of Justice, for it certainly appeared to be an anomaly to state that the Bill was not ready for assent, and yet be obliged to "reserve assent."

I would further respectfully call attention to the difference between the authority vested in a Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories, and a Lieutenant-Governor of provinces having a responsible executive. Todd in his work *Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies* thus defines these powers: "It equally devolves upon these high officers of the state (Lieutenant-Governors) in the Queen's name to open and to close these assemblies, and, in conformity with their instructions, or with the usage of Parliament, and pursuant to their constitutional discretion, to give or to withhold the assent of the Crown to the bills enacted therein, or to reserve the same for the consideration of their superior officer, His Excellency the Governor-General." And further (page 586), The British North America Act, 1867, section fifty-five as applied to the provincial constitutions, by section ninety, expressly empowers a Lieutenant-Governor, in his discretion, to withhold the royal assent from any bill presented to him.

The same authority points out that, in Nova Scotia, Lieutenant-Governor Archibald from 1874 to 1883 withheld his assent to bills. In New Brunswick the same course was taken by Lieutenant-Governor Wilmot in 1870 and 1872; by Lieutenant-Governor Tilley in 1875-77; and by Lieutenant-Governor Wilmot in 1882. In Ontario the Crown has never refused to withhold the assent to any bill passed by the provincial Legislature. Hence, while the Lieutenant-Governors of the other provinces have this power, a special enactment deprives and limits the representative of the Crown in the Territories.

I, therefore, venture respectfully to suggest that the attention of His Excellency's advisers may not have been directly called to the closing paragraph of my letter of the 27th October, 1895, or to the manifest difference between the powers with which the provincial Lieutenant-Governors are vested and the restricted jurisdiction of a Lieutenant-Governor of the Territories when called upon to deal with legislation presented for assent.

I remain, &c.,

C. H. MACKINTOSH,
Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories,

Upon consideration of his communication, the new Minister of Justice,

the Honourable A. R. Dickey, admitted the justice of Mr. Mackintosh's representations, and practically cancelled the official criticism previously passed on His Honour's action. The salient portion of the following document I have italicised.

Report of the Honourable The Minister of Justice, approved by His Excellency, the Governor in Council, on the 11th day of March, 1896.

Department of Justice, Ottawa, 10th February, 1896.

To His Excellency the Governor-General in Council:

The undersigned has the honour to report that he has considered a despatch from His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories to the Honourable the Secretary of State, dated 31st January, last, copy of which has been referred to the undersigned by Your Excellency in Council.

The despatch relates to a copy of the approved report of the predecessor of the undersigned, by which Your Excellency declined to give effect to a bill, passed by the Legislature of the North West Territories, entitled "An Ordinance to amend and consolidate, as amended, the Ordinance respecting schools," which bill was reserved by the Lieutenant-Governor for Your Excellency's assent.

His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor states in effect, that the constitution of the North West Territories differs from the constitution of the several provinces, in that no power is conferred upon the Lieutenant-Governor of the Territories to withhold assent to any measure which, having passed the legislative assembly, is presented to him; that he is required by the statute either to approve or reserve the measure for Your Excellency's assent; that the bill was not presented to him by the assembly in such form as to enable him to consider its provisions, nor until the proceedings for the prorogation of the assembly had so far advanced as to render delay inexpedient; that his inclination would have been to withhold assent had authority to do so been vested in him, but that having no such authority he pursued the only course which he regarded as open, in reserving the bill.

"The undersigned agrees with His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor in the view that he could not constitutionally withhold assent; also that the constitution does not contemplate that a Lieutenant-Governor should be called upon to exercise the discretion which is vested in him, with regard to any bill which may be presented, without having had a reasonable opportunity of informing himself as to the nature of its provisions." As to the question whether, in view of the circumstances, it would be justifiable to postpone prorogation of the assembly, the undersigned observes that the Lieutenant-Governor had authority to postpone the prorogation and, if the balance of the convenience stood against the exercise of such authority, that circumstance ought not to cast upon Your Excellency a responsibility which should otherwise be borne by the Territorial authorities; nor do any of the other observations of the Lieutenant-Governor appear to affect the view already stated, that a bill of the character in question should not receive effect under authority vested in Your Excellency. In future, arrangement will doubtless be made by the legislative assembly to

inform His Honour as to the provisions of the several bills which are to be presented for assent, and the undersigned does not consider it necessary at present to advise any amendment to the North West Territories Act.

The undersigned recommends that a copy of this report if approved be transmitted to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor for his information.

Respectfully submitted,

A. R. DICKEY,
Minister of Justice.

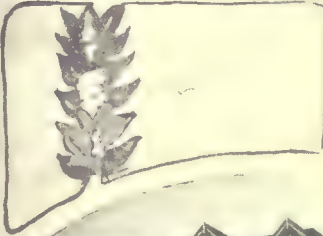
The second session of the third legislature sat from September 27 to October 30, 1896. On the 25th of the preceding May, Mr. Oliver had addressed to the Speaker his resignation as member for Edmonton. The general regret with which his loss to the local House was viewed, was accompanied with confident hope that in the arena of Dominion politics which he was entering, his usefulness would be even greater than it could be in the Territorial House. Few men of the Canadian West have enjoyed so high a measure of esteem and respect from political foes and political friends alike. Mr. Oliver was succeeded by Mr. Mathew McCauley, who was elected on August 6, 1896.

The most interesting and important business of this session had to do with a memorial praying for certain amendments to the North West Territories Act, (a) with respect to the basis upon which the subsidy should be determined; (b) with respect to the powers and organization of the Territorial Government. Mr. Ross and Mr. Haultain were once more the principal powers in this matter. The memorial reminded His Excellency in Council of the numerous kindred representations made by the Territories in times gone by. Satisfaction was expressed at the advances that had been granted from time to time with the result that the Legislature now exercised control over certain funds placed by the Dominion at the disposal of the Lieutenant-Governor, and enjoyed much larger legislative powers than formerly. However, under existing conditions the Assembly was not in a position to exercise to the best advantage even those powers which it already possessed. The legislation of the Assembly not only was subject to the right of disallowance which was possessed by the Governor-in-Council over the Provinces as well, but was also subject to any act of the Parliament of Canada. Consequently it frequently happened that Dominion acts were passed, over-riding ordinances and otherwise interfering with the legislative power of the Assembly. Such concurrent powers necessarily produced insecurity and conflict. The Assembly therefore petitioned for exclusive authority within the defined field of its legislative activity.

It was further requested that the Executive Government be put on a firmer basis by substituting an Executive Council or Cabinet proper for the present Executive Committee, elected by the Assembly. The North



C.P.R.R. GARDENS - MOOSE JAW



RIVER DRIVE AND PARK - MOOSE JAW



RESIDENCE W.E. GRAYSON - MOOSE JAW



RESIDENTIAL SCENE - MOOSE JAW



CITY HALL SQUARE - MOOSE JAW



West Territories Act made no provision for any responsible body whose business it definitely was to advise the Lieutenant-Governor in executive matters in general, but only with relation to expenditure. In practice the Assembly had, in point of fact, been obliged to make provision in their several ordinances entrusting the administration of their laws to the Lieutenant-Governor, acting by and with the advice and consent of this Committee, created by Federal law simply as a Board of Financial Advisers. This course, while under the circumstances unavoidable, was questionable constitutionally. Moreover, the Executive Committee of the House was manifestly not authorised to advise the Lieutenant-Governor in matters not governed by the Territorial ordinances,—such, for example, as the appointment of Justices of the Peace, the convening of the Assembly, *et cetera*. The nature of the Executive Committee was not such as to admit of the organization of departments with responsible heads,—a reform that it was felt would soon be absolutely necessary; and, finally, a permanent committee of the House was a creation without precedent to guide it, and lacked the well defined constitutional status of British Executive Councils.

Regarding the financial position of the Territories the Assembly reiterated, in part, its memorial of four years earlier, asking that a fixed amount in the nature of a subsidy be substituted for an indefinite and variable annual grant. It was pointed out that while the financial resources had always been inadequate, they were steadily growing more so, as the grant was not being increased in proportion to the growth of the population. During the preceding five years, the population had increased by fifty-six per centum, and during the four years that a separate amount had been put at the disposal of the Assembly, this grant had increased only sixteen per centum.

On October 27th, Mr. Sutherland, member for the electoral district of North Qu'Appelle, from his place in the House declared his wish to vacate his seat as member for that district.

On October 29th, the School Bill, which had failed to obtain the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor, was read a third time and passed again. At the same time Mr. Speaker read to the House a special message from His Honour calling attention to the desirability of correcting what he declared to be an error in the Journals of the former session. With reference to the School Ordinance, the Journals stated that His Honour did "withhold his assent to this bill." This, he said, was incorrect, as the right to withhold assent was beyond his jurisdiction. What he had done was to "reserve assent." Upon this distinction, the House does not seem to have passed any judgment or based any action relating to the proposed correction.

Before the House reassembled on October 28, 1897, important changes had been made by the Dominion Parliament in the constitution of the Territories. In accordance with certain clauses of the recent memorial, the Execu-

tive Committee had been replaced by an Executive Council, and the offices of the Government had been reorganized, and public departments created for the more efficient carrying on of the public service. Accordingly, in his speech from the Throne, Lieutenant-Governor Mackintosh was able to congratulate the Territories upon the ultimate attainment of a completely responsible system of government.

The vacancy created by the resignation of William Sutherland for North Qu'Appelle had been filled by the election of Mr. Donald H. McDonald. Mr. J. L. Reid, of Prince Albert, and Mr. F. R. Insigner, of Yorkton, had also retired and been succeeded by Mr. Thomas James Agnew, and Mr. T. A. Patrick. The members of the new Executive Council were Messrs. F. W. G. Haultain, James Hamilton Ross, Hillyard Mitchell, Charles Alexander Magrath and George H. V. Bulyea. These gentlemen, in accordance with constitutional practice, had vacated their seats by accepting appointment to the Cabinet, but were reelected by acclamation.

While much important work, especially in connection with the consolidation of Territorial ordinances, occupied the attention of the members during this session, which was of unusual length, nothing of a very startling nature occurred, and lack of space obliges us to pass over their work without further comment. In proroguing the House on December 15th, Lieutenant-Governor Mackintosh spoke in part as follows:

"During no session since the creation of the Legislative Assembly has so much and so important legislation been passed. The consolidation of the Ordinances for which you have provided, and towards the completion of which a large portion of your labour has been devoted, will, I trust, prove of great benefit and convenience. The legislation for establishing and organizing the public service will, I am sure, enable the business of the Territories to be administered in keeping with the larger duties and responsibilities that have been imposed upon you. . . . The year about to close with your labours is a memorable one, not only in Territorial constitutional history, but in the larger history of the Empire itself, as having witnessed the completion of Her Majesty's sixtieth year of her reign. . . . In bringing this session to a close, I am for the last time meeting you in my present official capacity. During the four years in which I have had the honour of being Her Majesty's representative in the Territories, the Legislative Assembly has always displayed an assiduity and sense of responsibility in keeping with the important duties devolving upon it, and in now taking leave of you, I desire to express my best wishes for your personal happiness and my earnest hope and belief that your work will always result in the greatest possible benefit to the vast Territories whose interests and welfare are entrusted to your keeping."

CHAPTER XXXV

MACKINTOSH'S ADMINISTRATION: SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

PERIOD OF DEPRESSION CONTINUES—IMPROVEMENT IN 1895 AND 1896—
TERRITORIAL EXHIBITION—EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

In the corresponding chapter dealing with the periods covered by Royal's administration, we noted the signs of the dawn of an era of greater prosperity and more rapid development throughout the Territories, but the end of the long period of depression had not yet arrived. Indeed, in 1894, as a result of crop failures, owing to draught, especially in the Moose Jaw, Regina and Qu'Appelle districts, a very large number of settlers were reduced to such destitution as to require Government aid.

On August 21st, the Assembly passed a resolution that Mr. Speaker Ross and a member of the Executive Committee to be named by that Committee¹ be a deputation to proceed forthwith to the East to bring the matter forcibly to the attention of the Minister of the Interior. On the 31st the delegation reported having gone immediately to Winnipeg, and having there interviewed the Honourable Mr. Daly. That gentleman promised to urge upon his Government the necessity of supplying the money to meet the difficulty promptly, and agreed that it should be dealt with through the Executive of the North West. In consequence of these steps, Mr. Haultain was enabled to alleviate the conditions of those most in need by employing them upon the road work and other useful public labor.

In the following year there was a noticeable improvement in agricultural circles. Live stock was in demand at very fair prices, the sale of cattle being fully one-third greater than in the preceding year. There was also a promising increase in the amount of products of mixed farming marketed, and the general harvest was much more bountiful than it had often been in recent years. Indeed, the wheat crop was nearly double that of the preceding year, and the harvest of barley and oats was equally plentiful. Damage was done by frost in some portions of Northern Alberta, but it was not general. The records of this period are consequently marked by a distinctly increased feeling of hopefulness and contentment in most quarters. Nevertheless the hard times were not over. In 1895 the best grade of wheat in the Regina district sold for from thirty-five to forty cents a bushel and we read in the

¹ Mr. Neff was chosen.

reports of Superintendent Perry, N.W.M.P., that "some districts which were once well settled are now deserted, and in others there are only two or three settlers left."

However, in 1896 the farmers' returns were better in almost all parts of the Territories. Cheese and dairy associations became numerous, and, under the auspices of Professor Robertson, the Dominion Agriculture and Dairy Commissioner, Government creameries were established at Moose Jaw, Indian Head, Prince Albert and Regina. The question of irrigation had at last been seriously taken in hand with very promising results. The condition of the people continued steadily to improve throughout the balance of Lieutenant-Governor Mackintosh's administration. Even horse ranching, which for a long time had been depressed, again revived and indeed showed gratifying progress.

Despite legislative measures adopted by the Territorial Assembly there appeared to be no diminution in the number and area of prairie fires until 1896. By that date it was at last realized that a principal source of disaster of this character was sparks from locomotives, and the railway companies vigorously undertook the ploughing of fire guards along their right-of-way. This had an excellent result.

The most important event falling within the scope of this chapter was the Territorial Exhibition of 1895. This undertaking was due to the initiative of the Lieutenant-Governor himself. He had urged its desirability from the moment of his arrival, and as a result of his representations, vigorously supported by the Territorial Legislature, the Parliament of Canada voted for this purpose the sum of \$25,000. It was considered advisable that this initial object lesson on the resources of the North West should take place at the capital, provided a suitable site could be procured. Accordingly, the little town of Regina voted \$10,000 towards erecting suitable buildings, while the townsite trustees, representing the Canada and North West Land Company, the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the Dominion Government, agreed to give a site whereon to erect the necessary structures; the result being that a well located and commodious plot of ground, a little west of the Territorial Assembly building, north of the railway track and immediately upon the main trail, comprising fifty acres, was secured. Great satisfaction was expressed when His Excellency Lord Aberdeen, the Governor-General, consented to open the proceedings, and many leading public men, both from Canada and the United States, promised to be present.

The Territorial Exhibition was not unmarked by mismanagement in some respects, and the newspapers of the day give evidence of abundant heart-burning and bickering, but there is no doubt regarding its general success and the valuable results attending it, and for these Mr. Mackintosh deserves the permanent gratitude of the West.

The exhibition proved the vast resources of the Territories, the vigor and industry of their farming population, and their ability to compete with the world in all things appertaining to intelligent husbandry.

The entries in the various classes were double the number anticipated, and each of the districts manifested patriotic interest in the enterprise. The stock parade was admittedly the finest ever held in any part of the Dominion, and this was emphasized by the fact that most of the herds of cattle were disposed of at good prices to prominent buyers. His Excellency, the Governor-General, after opening the Exhibition, remained for three days, the result being a written expression of his opinion, addressed to Lieutenant-Governor Mackintosh. From this letter I make the following extract:

"It would be difficult to overestimate the advantages, direct and indirect, which may accrue from the successful carrying out of such a display of the capabilities of the vast districts which have been represented at the Exhibition, and from the incentive and encouragement that is thus offered to all who are interested in their development. Your Honour and your friends will always have the satisfaction of feeling that you, and those who have assisted you in this work, have given a definite impulse to the increased recognition by the inhabitants of the Territories of the important fact that they are not, as it were, scattered units, but that they are bound together by common interests and aims, with all the great possibilities which may be attained by judicious cooperation and combined action."

The presence on this occasion of Sir Mackenzie Bowell, Premier of the Dominion, was greatly appreciated.

The Committee had arranged to accommodate entries for between three thousand and four thousand exhibits, but ten days before the Exhibition opened it became apparent that almost double the building capacity would be requisite. Removed from any large business centre where it would have been possible to engage numerous extra employees and workmen, generally, it was deemed advisable to assume the responsibility of meeting the emergency as best the local authorities could; hence, builders and mechanics worked overtime; fast freight was arranged to convey tents and other necessities; and the advisory committee was thus able to protect all exhibits, and to ask His Excellency, the Earl of Aberdeen, Governor-General of Canada, to open the first Canadian North West Territorial Exhibition promptly at two o'clock on Tuesday, the 30th of July. The total number of entries in the various classes were as follows:

Horses	505
Cattle	712
Sheep	557
Swine	373
Poultry	1,007
Rabbits	32

Dairy Products	683
Field Grains, Etc.....	400
Roots and Vegetables.....	1,319
Plants and Flowers.....	370
Canary Birds	14
Bees and Honey.....	7
Manufacturers, Manitoba, and N. W. T.....	122
Fruit, Preserves, Etc.....	154
Leather and Leather Work.....	27
Preserved Meats and Fish.....	8
Ladies' Work	774
Fine Arts	334
Natural History	64
School Work	246
Indian Products	85

Total7,793

A comparison of the entries in cattle, sheep, swine, etc., at Regina and at large eastern exhibitions, established for many years, is certainly significant, demonstrating, as it did, the great resources of this then sparsely populated country.

	Horses.	Cattle.	Sheep.	Swine.
Regina (1895)	505	712	557	373
Ottawa	254	408	201	112

School development may again be taken as affording a valuable index to conditions in the Territories. On August 2, 1894, there were 376 schools and 8,926 pupils. In the following year the enrollment increased by over 1,000, as the first report of the Commissioner of Education, covering the last year of the period under review, showed.

Mr. Mackintosh's first official act was to confirm the incorporation of Calgary as the first city of the Territories, December, 1893. In the following year, Saltcoat, Greenfell, Gainsborough, Medicine Hat and Yorkton became incorporated towns, and the growth in population throughout the Territories was steady and considerably more rapid than formerly. The efforts of the new Minister of the Interior, the Honourable Clifford Sifton, to bring before the people of Europe and the United States the advantages of the Canadian West were immensely more successful than had been those of any of his predecessors. In consequence the last years of Mr. Mackintosh's regime mark the real beginning of the phenomenal tide of immigration that since that time has transformed the Canadian West. In the optimism, enterprise and prosperity of the new era, the citizens of the Territories put behind them all memory of the dismal days gone by, never, it is hoped and believed, to return. The lessons of failure had been learned. New and better methods in agriculture and other lines of activity had been adopted that were bound to bring with them a secure prosperity.

CHAPTER XXXVI

CAMERON'S ADMINISTRATION

MR. CAMERON'S APPOINTMENT—JUDGE RICHARDSON ADMINISTRATOR DURING CAMERON'S ILLNESS—BULYEA'S MISSION TO THE YUKON—LIQUOR PERMITS FOR THE UNORGANIZED TERRITORIES—YUKON DISTRICT CUT OFF FROM NORTH WEST TERRITORIES—COMMENT OF THE ASSEMBLY—INCREASED REVENUE—UNTAXABLE LANDS—CONSOLIDATION OF TERRITORIAL ORDINANCES—INCREASING PROSPERITY—DEATH OF MR. CAMERON.

In June, 1898, Malcolm Colin Cameron became Lieutenant-Governor of the North West, arriving at Regina on July 1. Throughout his long political career he had manifested the keenest interest in western affairs, and it will be remembered from our discussion of Parliamentary debates of the early eighties that if his views had at that time been supported by a majority in the House of Commons, the grievances of the West might have been settled without the costly sacrifice of the year 1885. Unfortunately, Mr. Cameron's regime as Governor of the Territories was exceedingly short. During the first session of the Assembly the Lieutenant-Governor was taken seriously ill, and the duties of his office had to be performed chiefly by an Administrator.

This officer was the Honourable Hugh Richardson, with whose name the readers of this History are already so familiar. From 1876 to 1887 he had been a Stipendiary Magistrate and official legal advisor of Lieutenant-Governors Laird and Dewdney, and since that date he had with dignity and efficiency occupied the position of Senior Judge of the Supreme Court of the North West Territories.

The Third Legislature assembled for its fourth session August 16, 1898. Since the last session, Mr. Bulyea, representing the Executive Council, had spent several months in the Yukon District, where the recent discovery of gold and a consequent influx of miners required that those responsible for the Territories should take steps for the security of law and order. One of the most important duties devolving upon the Territorial Government in connection with its administration of affairs in the Yukon District arose from the imperative necessity of regulating and restricting the import and sale of intoxicating liquors.

The difficult task was very satisfactorily performed. Satisfactorily especially from the standpoint of the citizens of Alberta, Assiniboia and Saskatchewan. There were distinctly humorous features in connection with this expedition of Mr. Bulyea's. By a whim of fortune the Yukon had suddenly become a gateway through which teeming multitudes of thirsty miners were crowding into the interior of the North West. The West shuddered at the thought that there was nobody there to collect funds payable in licenses for the sale of the spirituous liquors those miners would require for the efficient prosecution of their trade. Moreover, unless the collector of this revenue, acting on behalf of the North West Government, retreated to some inaccessible point forthwith, word might reach him at any time that he no longer had authority to take the money. The rumour was already in the air that the Dominion Government was on the point of separating, for administrative purposes, the Yukon District from the rest of the North West, so there was no time to lose. Mr. Bulyea was despatched in hot haste to turn to the best possible financial advantage the waning hours of Territorial jurisdiction in the far North. On the last day of 1907 he left Regina upon his long and arduous journey to the Yukon. He, of course, travelled *via* Vancouver and Skagway, from which latter point he set out for the Canadian Yukon in February. March 15th saw him at Lake Bennett, and on April 12th he arrived at Dawson. The race was won. In spite of friction with certain representatives of the Federal Government, Mr. Bulyea collected for the benefit of the Territorial Exchequer some one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, the reward of promptitude, before announcement was made by the Dominion authorities of the severance of the Yukon District from the North West Territories. The Territorial Commissioner on August 25th left Dawson on his return journey, arriving at Regina on the last day of the session, September 18th. Indeed, the members had deliberately remained at the Capital in order to welcome home their successful envoy, with his sorely needed contribution to the funds available for the roads and bridges of the prairies.

In connection with this amusing passage at arms between the Federal and Territorial Governments, Mr. Bulyea's colleagues had been far from inactive during his absence. The whole circumstance is interesting enough to call for review.

Under the North West Constitution as amended in 1891, the control of the liquor trade, in that portion of the Territories that was organized into electoral districts, was vested in the Lieutenant-Governor and his Assembly and Council, but in the unorganized districts it was controlled by the Lieutenant-Governor, acting under the instructions of the Minister of the Interior at Ottawa. In 1897, however, full Cabinet Government was accorded, an Executive Council being created. Henceforth, all the official acts of the



WEYBURN—PANORAMIC VIEW OF NORTH SIDE, 1912



WEYBURN—PANORAMIC VIEW OF SOUTH SIDE, 1912

Lieutenant-Governor required the advice and consent of the North West Cabinet. The new provisions came into force on October 1st. A number of large permits approved by Mr. Mackintosh were objected to by Mr. Haultain. The Premier agreed to recommend all permits that had been promised prior to October 1st, but required the production of the correspondence antecedent to that date by which the Government was committed to the issue. Mr. Haultain carried his point and enforced the payment into the North West Treasury of a considerable sum that, but for his determined action, would have been lost. A serious conflict between the Federal and Territorial authorities was now precipitated. After Mr. Bulyea's departure for the Yukon, to regulate the sale of intoxicants and vindicate the jurisdiction of the Territorial Government, the Secretary of State advised the Honourable Mr. Justice Richardson, who was acting as Administrator in the absence of Mr. Mackintosh from the Territories, that henceforth he was to issue no permits for taking liquor into the unorganized districts, except on the recommendation of the Minister of the Interior, the Honourable Clifford Sifton. Mr. Haultain considered this an unconstitutional curtailment of the jurisdiction of his Government, and presently advanced a test case by recommending for approval a specific application. In accordance with his instructions from Ottawa, Mr. Richardson refused to grant the permit and the North West Premier had the case, with his protests, referred to Ottawa. A deadlock now ensued as Mr. Haultain would not countersign and thus make legally valid permits approved by the Lieutenant-Governor and his Administrator, and that official would not countersign the permits supported by Mr. Haultain. Consequently, from early in the winter until the end of May, 1898, no permits whatever were issued. A spirited correspondence took place, Mr. Ross vigorously supporting his chief. Ultimately the Ottawa authorities realized that their position was constitutionally untenable and the obnoxious instructions were rescinded.

It was not intended, however, that this should work to the financial advantage of the North West government. Parliament had passed an act cutting off the Yukon District from the North West Territories for the purposes of separate administration and it was evidently intended that this act should come into force before Mr. Haultain could exercise the powers remitted to him by the cancellation of the former instructions. It so happened, however, that Parliament sat a fortnight longer than had been expected, so that this Yukon Act was not signed by the Governor-General till June 13th.

This respite offered an opportunity, which Mr. Haultain and his colleagues did not fail to grasp. Applications for permits had been pouring in and an indefinitely large sum might have been realized on permit fees. However, Mr. Haultain governed himself by Mr. Sifton's public statement

that the population of the Yukon was 40,000, mostly adult males, and by the statistics showing the average consumption of liquor throughout the Dominion to be two gallons per head. Accordingly permits were issued within the remaining two weeks of the Territorial Government's authority for the import into the Yukon District of 80,000 gallons. Upon this quantity Mr. Haultain collected the sum of \$160,000 in fees at \$2.00 a gallon.

The action of the Parliament of Canada in cutting off the Yukon District from the Territories did not meet with the entire approval of the Assembly, and the following resolution was incorporated in the reply to the speech from the Throne :

"While the cutting off of the Yukon official district may have been done in the general interests of the country, we cannot but view with apprehension any indication of the disintegration of the Territories as they are at the present constituted, and we note with satisfaction that your Government took the necessary steps to exercise their jurisdiction in the Yukon District, and we will await with interest the report of the member of the Executive Council entrusted with that duty."

On September 12th, the House passed a resolution affirming the desirability of an early and final determination of the boundary lines between the North West Territories and other Provinces and Territories, but denying the right of the Parliament of Canada to alter the limits of the North West Territories without the consent of the Territorial Government. The Assembly, on behalf of the people it represented, laid claim to equal rights with the people of the Provinces in this respect. However, the Legislature expressed its consent to such revision of boundaries as would separate from the North West Territories those regions lying North of the boundaries of British Columbia and Manitoba, respectively. At the same time, the Legislature declared itself firmly of the opinion that the political unity of the Territories should not be disturbed. After a lengthy debate this resolution was carried by a vote of eleven to ten.

As a result of the windfall arising from the policy of the Territorial Cabinet with regard to the importation and sale of liquor, the Lieutenant-Governor was this year in a position to make unprecedented announcement that the revenue of the past year had considerably exceeded the estimates. Moreover, as result of negotiations between the Government and the Minister of the Interior, a bill had been passed at the last session of the Federal Parliament relegating the North West Irrigation Act to the administration of the Territorial Commissioner of Public Works.

The old question of untaxable lands again came up for discussion. On motion of Mr. Haultain, seconded by Mr. Ross, it was resolved that in the opinion of the Assembly immediate action should be taken by the Federal Government to compel the location and patenting of all lands to which rail-

way and colonization companies were entitled. The failure of the Federal authorities to act upon this suggestion long enabled great speculating corporations to avoid their share of taxes for schools, local improvements and other purposes. It was the custom of the companies to make formal choice of a parcel of land within the reserve covered by their option, only when a purchaser had been secured. This anomalous privilege worked great hardship in many quarters for very many years. For example, in one school district known to the writer less than half the land was available for taxation, though the remainder was being offered in the market by a great land company which paid no taxes. In consequence, though the ratepayers allowed themselves to be taxed for school purposes at the highest rate permitted under the law, they were unable to maintain a yearly school without steadily going deeper and deeper into debt.

The task of the Commissioners who had so long been engaged in consolidating the Territorial Ordinances still occupied to a considerable extent the attention of the authorities, though it was now nearing completion. Among the numerous new Ordinances passed at this session was one amending the Irrigation Districts Law. This considerably simplified the procedure with regard to irrigation enterprises and rendered it much less expensive, to the great advantage of the south western portion of the Territories. The House was prorogued by his Honour the Administrator, on September 17th.

The records of the year evidenced substantial prosperity and offered bright prospects for the future. Immigration was rapidly increasing and it was evident that the Territories had entered upon a period of unprecedented growth and development.

Owing to his continued ill health, Mr. Cameron had been compelled to return to Ontario, and on the 26th day of September, 1898, the people of the West and of Canada generally were grieved to learn of the fatal issue of his illness.

CHAPTER XXXVII

FORGET'S ADMINISTRATION: POLITICAL HISTORY, 1898-1905

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR FORGET'S PREVIOUS CAREER—FIRST SESSION OF FOURTH ASSEMBLY, 1899—SCRIP COMMISSION—THE "STRATHCONA HORSE"—THE ASSEMBLY OF 1900—APPARENT DISCREPANCIES IN PUBLIC ACCOUNTS—ROSS APPOINTED COMMISSIONER OF THE YUKON—DEBATES ON LIQUOR TRAFFIC—NEGOTIATIONS FOR PROVINCIAL STATUS—PROPOSED WESTERN EXTENSION OF MANITOBA—ELECTIONS OF 1902—FINANCIAL DISABILITIES OF THE TERRITORIES—INCREASED REPRESENTATION IN HOUSE OF COMMONS—DOMINION ELECTIONS OF 1903—AUTONOMY BILL INTRODUCED; RESIGNATION OF CLIFFORD SIFTON—HAULTAIN REPUDIATES PROPOSED CONSTITUTION—CONFLICTING OPINION REGARDING SCHOOL CLAUSES—CREATION OF PROVINCE OF SASKATCHEWAN—FIRST PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS.

The Honourable Amedée Emmanuel Forget was already a well known lawyer in Montreal when in 1876 he removed to the North West Territories as Clerk of the Council and Private Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor. When the Council was transformed into an Assembly he became its clerk. In 1888 he was appointed Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs for Manitoba and the North West Territories, and from 1895 to 1898 he was Indian Commissioner. He had also been prominently connected with educational matters, having been a member of the Council of Public Instruction in the Territories. When, therefore, Mr. Forget was chosen to succeed the late Mr. Cameron as Lieutenant-Governor, in 1898, he undertook his duties with most exceptional qualifications. His regime was of unusual length. On April 2, 1904, his appointment to a second term was gazetted, and when in 1905 the Territories were divided into Provinces, he still remained in Regina in the capacity of Lieutenant-Governor until 1910. The last five years of this period, however, we will treat as a distinct administration.

A general election having recently occurred in the Territories, Mr. Forget summoned the first session of the Fourth Legislative Assembly to meet on April 4, 1899.

Mr. William Eakin was elected Speaker. The personnel of the House had been considerably altered by recent events; Mr. Oliver was now a mem-

ber of the Dominion Parliament, Mr. Turriff had in 1890 retired from active Territorial politics and in 1896 he became Dominion Land Commissioner. Of the outstanding figures of earlier days the most prominent remaining were Mr. Haultain, Mr. Ross and Dr. Brett.

The Speech from the Throne dealt in fitting terms with the lamented death of the late Lieutenant-Governor at London, Ontario, and with the departure of Lord Aberdeen owing to the completion of his term of office as Governor-General. The Honourable F. W. G. Haultain, Premier and Territorial Treasurer, reported to the House the details of a lengthy correspondence with the Dominion Government in which he had endeavored to obtain better financial terms and increased constitutional authority for the Legislature. This report sounded the keynote of the political history of the next six years. That the Assembly had as yet not very definitely made up its mind as to just how much power it should ask for was indicated by a resolution introduced by the Premier on April 24th. This resolution claimed that the power to make ordinances in relation to the issue of land titles should be vested in the Assembly, and the House divided, fourteen to fourteen, so that Mr. Haultain's proposal was carried merely by the Speaker's vote. The most interesting and important debates of this session were probably those dealing with the necessity of opening up the Saskatchewan and Qu'Appelle valleys by railway lines, and of compelling the railways to give better facilities for the loading of grain. The House was prorogued on April 29th.

In the same year Colonel James Walker, a former distinguished member of the Mounted Police, was appointed Scrip Commissioner to deal with the Halfbreeds of Athabasca, and in 1900 he held the same office in the provincial districts of Alberta and Saskatchewan. The Halfbreed title to western land was now at last finally extinguished by the issue of scrip in full settlement of all remaining claims.

On October 11, 1899, a state of war commenced between the British Government and the Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Britishers will never forget with what disasters the early stages of the long struggle were marked. When the seriousness of the situation was realized, the various colonies, and prominent among them Canada, rose unanimously to defend the interests of the Empire. Even most of those citizens who disapproved of the ante-bellum policy of the Imperial Government felt that after Magersfontein the time had come for all Britishers to present a united front to the world. A Canadian regiment was promptly placed at the disposal of the British military authorities and proceeded to Africa.

In January, 1900, a second contingent was organized, almost wholly in the Territories, through the munificence of Lord Stratcona and Mount

Royal. This was the famous "Strathcona Horse," a unique cavalry regiment, six hundred strong. It was enlisted chiefly from among the western cowboys,—men inured to hardship, incomparable as riders, famous as marksmen, and characterized by dare-devil courage and with all other qualifications that especially adapted them for guerilla warfare. It was precisely the kind of force most needed in South Africa and performed services that won for it and the land it represented the profound gratitude of the Mother Country.

The second session of the Fourth Assembly dated from March 29 to May 4, 1900. A new member was Mr. A. L. Sifton, who was elected for Banff and who was subsequently to rise to such prominence in Alberta.

The most interesting political events of this session arose out of the publication in the *Regina Standard* of evidence which had been taken before a Select Committee appointed in 1899, to inquire into certain apparent discrepancies in the Public Accounts. The *Standard's* version reflected very seriously on the Government. Moreover, though no one seemed to know just how the newspaper came by its alleged information, a breach of confidence had apparently occurred somewhere. Mr. Haultain demanded that the charge and all the circumstances attending it should be investigated by the House and the matter was referred to a Select Committee consisting of Messrs. MacDonald, MacKay, Villeneuve, Lake, Cross, Sifton, Prince, Elliot and Patrick. Six days later, on April 25th, the Committee reported that Mr. Richard Bedford Bennett, who was Mr. Haultain's chief opponent, had refused to appear before it, and an order by the House was issued to compel his attendance. The scope of the Committee's inquiry was also extended.

On May 3rd, the Committee reported that the account in the *Regina Standard* was an incomplete report of the evidence, and had been supplied to the press by Mr. R. B. Bennett. The whole misunderstanding arose out of the fact that, a couple of years earlier, Mr. Haultain had obtained for the Territories a supplementary Federal grant of \$20,000, which, though it had not yet become available for use by the end of the Territorial fiscal year, had been included in the year's receipts, by the North West Auditor. The Committee explained that by this error in bookkeeping, an item of \$45,000, estimated receipts from the Dominion, had been inserted instead of one of \$25,000, the sum actually received, and that all this had already been duly communicated to the Assembly. Accordingly, the Government was exonerated from any attempt to mislead the public. This report was confirmed by a vote of thirteen to three.

Early in 1901, Mr. Ross was offered, and accepted, the Commissionership of the Yukon, and was accordingly lost to the Territorial Assembly in which, for the preceding seventeen years, he had been so conspicuous a champion of



SEVEN OAKS MONUMENT

MONUMENT TO STRATHCONA
HORSE, MONTREAL

OFFICERS OF STRATHCONA HORSE

popular rights. His place, as member for Moose Jaw, in the third session of the Fourth Assembly (May 2 to June 12, 1901), was taken by Mr. Arthur Hitchcock, but on a recount the seat was assigned to Mr. George M. Annable.

The death of Queen Victoria had occurred on January 22, 1902, and one of the duties of the Assembly in its third session was the presentation of a loyal address to King Edward VII.

Perhaps the most noteworthy debate of the session was that arising on the perennial liquor question. A resolution was ultimately passed that, in the opinion of the Assembly, the interests of temperance would be promoted by a system of state monopoly of the liquor traffic. Accordingly, this troublesome problem was, for the time being, safely shelved by a resolution calling upon the Government to inquire into this system in other countries where it had been adopted.

Meanwhile the most important topic of serious political debate and negotiation with the Federal authorities had to do with the establishment of full provincial status in the Territories, an end for which Mr. Haultain had so long been agitating.

This, indeed, was the special object of consideration throughout the Fourth and last session, which was held from March 20 to April 19, 1902. As, however, a special chapter is to be devoted to the agitation for provincial autonomy, this important topic need here be mentioned only in passing. It may be remarked that the crux of the question was the dispute as to whether the Territories should be divided into two Provinces or remain intact as Mr. Haultain advised.

During this period, Mr. Roblin, the Premier of Manitoba, was pressing for the annexation of a portion of the North West Territory to his Province. His propaganda was received with popular disfavor and aroused a resolution of protest in the Territorial Assembly.

The Assembly was dissolved on April 25th, and the elections occurred on the 21st of the following month. It is to be remembered that Dominion party lines were not as yet recognized in Territorial politics. The Premier was a Conservative, but his two lieutenants, Mr. Sifton and Mr. Bulyea, were Liberals, and Messrs. MacDonald and Bennett, the leaders of the opposition, were Conservatives. The result of the contest was the election of twenty-four supporters of the Haultain Government, five Independents and six members definitely opposed to the Government platform.

Shortly after the election, Mr. Haultain left to attend the coronation of King Edward VII, and did not return until nearly the end of the year.

The first session of the Fifth and last Legislative Assembly of the North West Territories met in April, 1903. As a result of the rapid increase in population and general industrial expansion throughout the West, the necessary expenses of the public service were growing at a rate which the citizens

of the older Provinces of the Dominion seemed entirely unable to understand. In consequence, Mr. Haultain had not been able to secure an adequate financial grant from the Dominion Government, and the administration of Territorial affairs was seriously hampered. Indeed, the Territorial Legislature seems to have grown weary of legislating under such a handicap and relatively little was accomplished in this session.

However, the West derived encouragement from the introduction at Ottawa of a Redistribution Bill, increasing the number of Territorial representatives at the House of Commons from six to ten. There was, moreover, much discussion on the Provincial autonomy in the Federal Parliament this year, but a dissolution was impending, and the political leaders were manifestly hesitant about boldly committing themselves at present on the vexed questions sure to be raised in the creation of new Provinces, of majority and minority rights on matters political, educational and religious.

In the Dominion election, in the Autumn, 1904, Sir Wilfred Laurier's Government was handsomely sustained. In what is now the Province of Alberta, Mr. Frank Oliver and Dr. McIntyre were the successful Liberal candidates, and with them were sent to Ottawa two Conservative members, Messrs. M. S. McCarthy and J. Herron. In what is now Saskatchewan, the Liberals carried every constituency. The members elected were Messrs. Walter Scott, R. S. Lake, A. J. Adamson, J. H. Lamont and Dr. Cash.

When the Territorial Assembly met this year on September 22nd, their Excellencies, the Earl and Countess of Minto were among the guests and spectators. The Speech from the Throne commented on the recent more liberal response of Canada to the financial representations of the Territories, expressed regret that the advocacy of the Provincial autonomy had not produced more tangible results and intimated that no legislation dealing with large public questions would be introduced during the session.

On September 10, 1904, Earl Grey was installed at Halifax as the new Governor-General of Canada. As we have previously seen, Mr. Forget's first term of office as Lieutenant-Governor was completed this year and he was reappointed.

On February 21, 1905, Sir Wilfred Laurier introduced his bill for the creation of the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, the famous "Autonomy Bill."

The pathway of the sponsors of the bills was a very thorny one. Many stalwart Liberals considered that the bill involved an unjustifiable surrender to the wishes of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Even within the Cabinet itself, unanimity was manifestly lacking, and on March 1st, the Honourable Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, resigned his post by way of protest.

The Government now called to confidential conference the western Liberals,—Messrs. Greenway, J. D. Turriff, Walter Scott and Frank Oliver—

to consider certain proposed modifications in the contentious clauses regarding Separate Schools. Other caucuses were also held, with some of the Ministers present, and on the seventh of March a sub-committee of the Cabinet was appointed to deal with the matter. On the twelfth, Mr. Haultain, at the sacrifice of the certain prospect of being called to the Premiership of which ever of the new Provinces he would choose, came out uncompromisingly against the bill in a remarkable open letter addressed to Sir Wilfred Laurier. The details of this communication will be found in another chapter. On March 20th, the Premier announced a compromise embodied in a revision of the obnoxious cause, and two days afterwards he proposed the second reading of the bill. The Premier's friends considered him vindicated of the charge of undue bias by the fact that the new clause was equally distasteful to the extreme wings of both the Protestant and Catholic parties. Both of these sections deluged the Government with petitions condemnatory of the educational clauses in the bill and various amendments of most contradictory character were introduced and vigorously defended in the House.

Meantime, Mr. Frank Oliver had succeeded the Honourable Clifford Sifton as Minister of the Interior, and his reelection by acclamation at Edmonton was interpreted as indicating western approval of the Government's attitude. As a matter of fact, the Territories themselves were much less excited over the controversy than was Eastern Canada. In the North West the term "Separate Schools" connoted very different ideas from those associated with it in Ontario.

On the second reading, the amendment introduced by Mr. R. L. Borden, leader of the opposition, was defeated by a majority of eighty-one, and shortly afterwards the bill became a law.

On the first of September, 1905, the Province of Alberta, and three days later the Province of Saskatchewan, were formally inaugurated. Mr. Rutherdale led the Liberals to overwhelming victory in Alberta in the first Provincial election, November 9th, and on December 13th, the Honourable Walter Scott, who, in view of Mr. Haultain's hostile attitude towards the new constitution, had been called to the first Premiership of Saskatchewan, won a victory only less decisive over Mr. Haultain and his followers, who entitled themselves the "Provincial Rights" party.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

FORGET'S ADMINISTRATION: SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS (1898-1905)

PEACE RIVER COUNTRY OPENED—TREATY NO. 9—SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE
INDIANS CONCERNED—ORGANIZATION OF LOCAL IMPROVEMENT DIS-
TRICTS—EXCESSIVE RAIN FALL—FIRST SERIOUS GRAIN BLOCKADE—
VISIT OF THE DUKE OF CORNWALL—EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS—RAIL-
WAY DEVELOPMENT.

The opening up of the district of Athabasca by Indian Treaty Number Nine in the first year of Mr. Forget's administration is indicative of the continued advance of settlement throughout the West.

It will be remembered that 1897 and 1898 were the years of the first great stampede for the Yukon. The desirability and possibility of opening up an all-Canadian overland route was widely discussed, and this enterprise was made the occasion of establishing colonization roads in far away Athabasca. Mr. James Ross was entrusted with these important public works and upon his return he also presented a noteworthy report in reference to the resources of the Peace River country and its suitability for settlement. As a preliminary to this settlement and as a preventative of friction with the Indians, another great Treaty was vigorously advocated by Mr. Ross. In the following year its consummation was entrusted to a commission of three, consisting of Mr. Laird, the former Lieutenant-Governor; Mr. Ross and Mr. James McKenna. The work of treaty-making among the Indians of Athabasca was very different in many respects from the task that had been faced in dealing with the tribes of the South. The northern Indians can scarcely be said to have any definite tribal organization, and there were therefore no powerful chiefs to deal with as the representatives of their tribes. The forest hunters lived in isolated small groups of families, rarely brought into contact with other Indians or with white men, except when marketing their furs. Each of these miniature clans of families held in hereditary possession a well defined tract of country, which constituted their hunting preserve, and they rarely moved beyond its narrow limits. There were, however, in every community, some hunters of special distinction, and Mr. Ross did preparatory work of special impor-

tance in securing the selection of some of these more prominent Indians to act as the spokesmen of the rest in the negotiations of the Treaty.

The territory ceded by Treaty Number Nine was enormous. The boundaries were extremely irregular, but it extended from about 105° to 130° West Longitude and from 52° North Latitude to MacLeod Bay on Lake Chipewayan. The Indians included several tribes of the Chipewayan Indians, as well as Crees and Iroquois.

Mr. Charles Mair, one of the Dominion Commissioners subsequently appointed for the issue of scrip to Halfbreeds in Athabasca, in his work entitled "Through the Mackenzie Basin," has given a striking picture of the conditions that hitherto had existed in these remote regions:

"It was a region," said he, "in which a primitive people, not without faults or depravities, lived on Nature's food and thrived on her unfailing harvest of fur; a region in which they often left their beaver, silver-fox or martin packs—the envy of Fashion—lying by the dog trail, or hanging to some sheltering tree, because no one stole, and each took his fellow's word without question, because no one lied. A very simple people indeed, in whose language profanity was unknown and who had no desire to leave congenial solitudes for any spot on earth. Solitudes which so charmed the educated minds who brought the white man's religion or traffic to their doors, that, like the Lotus-eaters, they, too, felt little inclined to depart. Yet they were not regions of sloth or idleness, but of necessary toil; of the labourous chase and the endless activities of aboriginal life; the region of a people familiar with its fauna and flora, of skilled but unconscious naturalists who knew no science.

"Such was the state of society in that remote land in its golden age, before the enterprising 'free trader' brought with him the first fruits of the Tree of Knowledge; long before the half-crazed gold hunters rushed upon the scene, the 'Klondikers' from the saloons and music halls of New York and Chicago, to whom the incredible honesty of the natives, the absence of money and the strange barter in skins (the wyan or aghti of the Indians) seemed a phantasmagoria, an existence utterly removed from 'real life'—that ostentatious and vulgar world in which they longed to play a part. It was this inroad which led to the entrance of the authority of the Queen—the Kitchi Okemasquay—not so much to preserve order, where, without the law, the natives had not unwisely governed themselves, as to prepare them for the incoming world, and to protect them from a new aggressor with whom their rude tribunals were incompetent to deal. To this end the Expedition of 1899 was sent by the Government to treat for the transfer of their Territorial rights, to ascertain, as well, the numbers and holdings of a few whites, or other settlers, who had made a start at farming or stock raising within its borders, and to clear the way for the incoming tide of settlement when the time became ripe for its extension to the North."

In his first speech from the Throne, Mr. Forget announced that the work of organizing the settled portion of the country into "local improvement districts"—rudimentary rural municipalities—was nearly completed,

four hundred and fifty districts being ready to commence work. Throughout his regime the social and industrial history was one of steady progress. Immigration continued to flow rapidly into the country, and upon the whole, agriculture, its fundamental industry, was distinctly prosperous.

As illustrating the nature of the stream of immigration flowing into the Territories at this time, the following figures, taken from the records of the Prince Albert Lands Office for the twelve months ending October 31, 1904, are of interest. One thousand seven hundred and twenty homestead entries were registered. The homesteaders and their families included 1,200 Americans (of whom many were former Canadians); 1,000 Germans from the United States; 700 Scandinavians, also from the American Republic; 500 Eastern Canadians; 300 Mennonites; 200 from the British Isles; 104 German-Russians, and 86 Hungarians.

It is noteworthy that where serious loss of crops occurred during this period, it was as a rule resultant from a cause far removed from that usually responsible for such disaster in earlier years. The country now suffered, not from drought, but from excessive rainfall. Great floods had marked the Spring of 1897, especially in Alberta. These caused the destruction of many bridges along the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, drove many settlers from their dwellings and entailed heavy financial loss upon the country. In the records of the Assembly and the newspapers of the day one finds frequent reference to unprecedented rains and disastrous floods until about 1903.

In 1902 a new source of vexation presented itself, which ever since has been a serious grievance among the farmers of the West. This, however, arose in reality from the increased prosperity and rapid development of the country as it consisted in a grain blockade. In 1902 it was considerably relieved by the extensive shipment of grain to Duluth *via* North Portal.

This same year was marked by the visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall, who were destined a few years later to become the King and Queen of the United Kingdom.

A deplorable calamity occurred in the Territories on April 29, 1903. This was the memorable landslide by which the lower portion of the town of Frank was obliterated. In this sad disaster sixty-three men, women and children lost their lives.

During the period under review the school system of the Territories continued to show marked growth and to attract increasing numbers of highly qualified teachers from Eastern Canada. In a considerable number of districts in which the settlers were Halfbreeds or newly arrived Europeans, the local interest in education was not satisfactory, however, and in a number of cases it was found necessary to remove the schools from the control of local trustees and to appoint commissioners to administer them under

direct government supervision. This involved increased expense, but was amply justified in the interests of both parents and children. Partly as the result of the ingenious system of school grants,—based upon regularity of attendance, the equipment, the length of the school term and the grade of the teacher's certificate,—a most encouraging improvement is recorded in all these respects. In 1898 there were in the Territories four hundred and twenty-six schools in operation, with sixteen thousand, seven hundred and fifty-four pupils. In 1904 there were five hundred and forty-five schools, including six hundred and thirty-three departments, and between January 1st and September 1st, when the new Provinces were inaugurated, two hundred and thirty-one school districts were added.

An event of special importance to western Canada was the passing of a measure by the Dominion Parliament in 1904 providing for the building of a second transcontinental railway, the Grand Trunk Pacific. The measure was severely criticised by the Opposition, but it passed its third reading by a majority of forty-six. The Canadian Northern Railway System was also rapidly developing into a third transcontinental line, and on April 3, 1905, the first through train on this railway left Winnipeg for the Saskatchewan Valley. The Pasqua or Souris branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway, giving direct communication with St. Paul, was opened for traffic on September 25, 1893, an event of great importance in the development of Southern Saskatchewan.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE AGITATION FOR PROVINCIAL STATUS

MEMORIALS OF 1900 AND 1901—SIFTON'S ARGUMENTS FOR DELAY, MARCH, 1902—HAULTAIN'S PROTESTS—DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT HAULTAIN'S LETTER OF MAY 19, 1904—SIR WILFRID LAURIER'S REPLY—DISCUSSION IN THE PRESS—RISE OF THE SCHOOL QUESTION—SHOULD THERE BE ONE OR MORE NEW PROVINCES?—CONFERENCES AT OTTAWA—PROVINCIAL INSTITUTIONS ASSURED.

In the present chapter it will be our duty to review, in its main features, an agitation which extended over a considerable number of years and which culminated in the creation of the present Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. The limits of our space forbid the treatment of the subject in full detail, especially with regard to its initial stages. Indeed, for our present purposes, we may commence with the year 1900.

The Assembly, under the leadership of Mr. Haultain, having passed a resolution praying for provincial autonomy, Premier Haultain and Mr. J. H. Ross visited Ottawa in 1900 and in 1901 in connection with the matter. An elaborate statement of the whole case was submitted by the Territorial Premier to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, under date of December 1, 1901, and at Sir Wilfrid's request a Bill was prepared and presented to the Ottawa Government embodying the Territorial demands and requirements. The proposal was to join the four districts of Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Athabasca into a Province of the Dominion under the terms of the *British North America Act*, with four members in the Senate and ten in the Commons, and with the same local constitutional powers and rights as the other Provinces. Mr. Haultain and his colleagues recommended that the new Province should enjoy full control of its Crown Lands and subsidies of \$50,000 for legislative purposes, and of \$200,000 at the rate of eighty cents per head of its population. The Subsidy should increase at the same rate until the population reached 1,396,091. Moreover, interest at 5 per cent should be paid to the Provincial by the Federal Government on all lands previously granted for settlement by the Dominion Government within the bounds of the new Province.

Under date of March 27, 1902, the Honourable Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior at Ottawa, wrote Mr. Haultain as follows:

"It is the view of the Government that it will not be wise at the present time to pass legislation forming the North West Territories into a Province or Provinces. Some of the reasons leading to this view may be found in the fact that the population of the Territories is yet sparse; that the rapid increase in population now taking place will, in a short time, alter the conditions to be dealt with very materially; and that there is considerable divergence of opinion respecting the question whether there should be one Province only or more than one Province. Holding this view, therefore, it will not be necessary for me to discuss the details of the draft bill which you presented as embodying your views."

In his reply, dated April 2nd, the Territorial Premier concluded a vigorous protest in the following terms:

"We cannot but regret that the Government has not been able to recognize the urgent necessity for the change that has been asked, and can only trust that as you have denied us the opportunity of helping ourselves you will at least be impressed with the necessity and duty, which is now yours, of meeting the pressing necessities of these rapidly developing Territories. While we may, in your opinion, without inconvenience, mark time constitutionally, we cannot do without the transportation facilities, the roads, bridges, the schools, and the other improvements which our rapidly growing population imperatively requires—and at once. Whether we are made into a Province or not, our financial necessities are just as real, and in conclusion I can only trust that when the question of an increase to our subsidy is receiving consideration, more weight will be given to our representations in that respect than has been given to our requests for constitutional changes."

A few days later, on April 8th, Mr. Haultain moved the following resolution in the Territorial Assembly:

"Whereas, the larger powers and income incidental to the Provincial status are urgently and imperatively required to aid the development of the Territories and to meet the pressing necessities of a large and rapidly increasing population, be it resolved that this House regrets that the Federal Government has decided not to introduce legislation at the present session of Parliament with a view to granting Provincial Institutions to the Territories."

Dr. Patrick, for the opposition, proposed a 2,000 word amendment supporting the division of the Territories into two Provinces, each with about 275,000 square miles of territory, arguing that such an arrangement would cheapen administration and make transportation arrangements easier. It was lost by a large majority, and Mr. Haultain's motion carried in the same way.

The subject was shortly afterwards debated in the House of Commons at Ottawa,—April 18th,—in connection with a vote of \$357,979 for the North West schools. All the Western members spoke, and Mr. R. L. Borden declared existing grants to be inadequate, and supported Territorial

autonomy. Mr. Sifton, in reply, stated that the Government was considering the financial question of the future carefully. As to autonomy, he thought a settlement in three or four years would be quite reasonable. The granting of autonomy would not abolish existing difficulties, and many of the people in the Territories did not yet desire it, and even those who did were not agreed as to whether there should be one Province or two. The Government, he declared, would not be hurried in so important a matter.

On April 16, 1902, Mr. R. B. Bennett, of the Opposition in the Legislature, moved a long resolution urging autonomy as an imperative necessity. Mr. Haultain, however, declared it unnecessary, and the mover alone voted for it.

On May 19, 1904, Mr. Haultain wrote Sir Wilfrid Laurier, drawing his attention to this matter once again. He reviewed the correspondence which had passed between them, pointing out the importance of taking action in a matter upon which the members of his Legislature,—both Liberals and Conservatives,—were absolutely united and representative of the wishes of the people. He referred to resolutions then being passed at party conventions throughout the Territories as corroborative of his views, and indicative of the fact that some of Sir Wilfrid's supporters from the West were not giving him advice in harmony with the feelings of their constituents. Mr. Haultain asked that negotiations be resumed and legislation introduced into the Dominion Parliament at the earliest possible date for "organizing, upon a Provincial basis, that portion of the North West Territories lying between the western boundary of Manitoba and the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, and extending northward from the international boundary as far into the District of Athabasca as might be decided upon." He further requested that, whatever else it included, the legislation should contain provision for:

1. The application of the British North America Act as far as possible to the area dealt with.
2. Adequate representation in both Houses of Parliament, bearing in mind the difference in the ratio of increase in the population of the Territories from that of the longer settled parts of the Dominion.
3. Government, legislation and administration of justice.
4. The preservation of vested rights.
5. The transfer of the public domain, with all Territorial rights and the beneficial interest therein involved.
6. A subsidy, based as nearly as might be, upon those given to the Provinces.
7. Remuneration for that part of the public domain alienated by the Dominion for purely Federal purposes.
8. The placing of the burden of the Canadian Pacific exemption upon the Dominion, where it properly belonged.

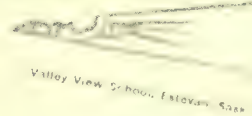
All these matters, he added, had been repeatedly brought to the notice of Sir Wilfrid's Government, and he hoped they would now receive some consideration. In a supplementary note, Mr. Haultain drew attention to the fact that the population of the Territories being now about four hundred and fifty thousand, they were entitled, on the existing basis of Provincial representation, to eighteen members, instead of the ten given them in the Redistribution Act.

Apparently no answer was made to this communication, or to another one dated June 1st. Three months later, however, and on the verge of the general elections, Sir Wilfrid Laurier wrote to Mr. Haultain (September 3). He defended the allotment of representatives, under the recent redistribution, as being liberal in its basis of assumed population, and a larger number than would have been given had the Territories been Provinces and therefore subject to the decennial rearrangement only. As to the delay in granting autonomy, he was quite assured of its wisdom, not only because of the rapid current development and changing conditions in the West, but because of the fuller and more comprehensive information now available. As to the future, Parliament had just been dissolved, and action therefore would be better justified. The new House of Commons would contain not four, but ten representatives of the North West Territories, who, coming fresh from the people, would be entitled to speak with confidence as to the views and requirements of those whom they represented. Should the present Government be sustained, it would be prepared immediately after the election to enter upon negotiations for the purpose of arriving at a settlement of the various questions involved in the granting of Provincial autonomy, with a view of dealing with this problem at the next session of Parliament.

Prior to and between the dates of these communications, there had been the usual discussion of the subject throughout the Territories, with an occasional reference in the East to the possibilities of dangerous national controversy involved in it. Speaking to the *Winnipeg Telegram*, on January 8th, Mr. Thomas Tweed, President of the Territorial Conservative Association, declared the people to be overwhelmingly in favor of autonomy, and referred to the support given that policy by seventeen Liberal members in the Legislature, although its immediate grant was opposed by Liberal members from the West in the House of Commons. The *Calgary Herald*, on March 21st, handled the situation, without gloves, from the Conservative standpoint. It pointed out that according to its estimates, the Federal authorities had cleared, over all expenses, at least one million dollars in revenue from the public lands of the Territories, and nevertheless refused Premier Haultain a quarter of that sum, except as a loan, though desired for purposes of imperative necessity. "The conduct of the Administration of Ottawa," it



On 4th. St., Estevan.



Valley View School, Estevan, Sask.



Fourth St., Estevan.. from the East.

proceeded, "is quite sufficient to raise another rebellion in the North West Territories."

An outside view of existing institutions in these regions was given by the *Montreal Star* of April 8, 1904, as follows:

"The people of the Territories are deprived of the control of their public lands, of their minerals, of their timber. They have no power to raise money on their own credit. They have no fixed subsidy, and are dependent on annual doles from the Dominion Government, small and uncertain in amount. They have no power to incorporate railway, steamboat, canal, transportation and telegraph companies. They have no power to amend their constitution, as the other Provinces have. They have no power to establish hospitals, asylums, charities, and those other eleemosynary institutions which the British North America Act assigns to the Provinces. They are not allowed to administer the criminal law, which is a right possessed by all the Provinces of the Dominion."

Speaking to the *Calgary Herald*, on March 17, 1904, Mr. Richard Secord, who had recently retired from the Legislature to run in Edmonton against Mr. Frank Oliver, quoted the local Premier's figures as indicating a revenue running from \$1,400,000 to \$3,000,000 under Provincial status, as against the present \$750,000 a year. Besides the inadequate sums allowed to the Territories up to this time (according to Mr. Haultain's contention) a heavy debt of \$4,925,187 was being charged up against them at Ottawa. The force of Mr. Secord's protest was weakened in Eastern Canada, however, by his defeat at the hands of the electors of Edmonton. Moreover, tables were given by supporters of the Dominion Government, showing the steady increase in the Dominion grants during recent years.

Meanwhile, the Territorial Premier was in the East, pressing upon the Dominion Government his claims for autonomy. He was accompanied by his colleagues, Mr. G. H. V. Bulyea, and by Mr. J. J. Young, M. L. A. In an interview in the *Toronto Star* of April 13, 1904, Mr. Haultain said that he and his colleagues were simply urging that the continued progress of the West now rendered it essential that self-government, similar in scope to that of the older Provinces, be no longer withheld. He doubted whether the people of the East realized that the North West Territories, if at once organized into a Province, would already, in the matter of population, stand fourth among all the Provinces of the Dominion. The people of the Territories had given no reason to suppose that they were incapable of self-government, and they wished their request for recognition to be seriously considered.

This visit to Ottawa was not very fruitful of results, if judged by the above quoted correspondence and succeeding period of inaction. In financial matters, the Territorial Premier did, however, gain materially, as we have mentioned elsewhere.

In another direction important developments were occurring. For some

time *The Toronto News* had hinted at a serious reason for the delay in granting autonomy, and on May 4th, a subject which the rest of the press either skimmed over or touched not at all was very plainly referred to: "The principal reason for the slowness to give autonomy to the West," said the *News*, "is that the Ottawa Government dare not give it. The Hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church has served notice that when the bill to make a new Province or Provinces is drafted, it must contain a provision establishing Separate Schools."

Now it will be remembered that, under the Canadian constitution, if separate schools have been established by a Province, whether prior to or after its entry into confederation, such schools cannot subsequently be disturbed by the Provincial Legislature without the Assembly rendering itself liable to "remedial legislation" by the Dominion Parliament, in the interests of the minority affected. This somewhat extraordinary feature of the British North America Act manifestly made the school provisions of the Autonomy Act, matters of the greatest importance. It might mean school legislation not merely for today or tomorrow, but for all time to come.

Le Journal (Cons.) declared that the allegations of *The News* were a mere expression of fanaticism, but *The News* returned to the charge and it was soon supported by many other influential journals and public men.

Upon the matter of delay and inaction, Mr. R. B. Bennett, M.L.A., of Calgary, said to the *St. John Star* of December 24th:

"The opinion prevails that the neglect of the Federal Government to deal with the repeated demands of the Legislature for Autonomy has been owing to the difficulties that surround the solution of the educational problem. Whether Separate Schools shall exist by law, or whether they shall be prohibited, is the first question calling for decision; and second, shall the new Province or Provinces be given full power to deal with the matter without any limitations whatever."

He pointed out that while at the present time separate schools existed in the Territories, they were of a type different from the separate schools of Eastern Canada. The teachers were required to possess the same qualifications and submit to the same training as those in the public schools; the same text-books and courses of studies were used, and, in the matter of inspection, no distinction was made between the public and the separate schools of a given inspectorate.

While the school question provided the real bone of contention, opinion in the local press also varied considerably as to the area or areas that should be placed under the Provincial system of Government. Thus, for example, *The Moosomin World* argued strongly against Manitoban extension westward (though not objecting seriously to a northern addition to the Prairie Province), and opposed a multiplicity of governments, which it thought

would only serve to satisfy selfish individual ambitions. *The Edmonton Bulletin* and the majority of the papers in the western part of the Territories desired two Provinces with separate capitals and the boundary running north and south. *The Prince Albert Advocate*, however, favoured three Provinces, —(1) Assiniboia and part of Western Alberta, (2) Northern Alberta and the Peace River country, (3) Saskatchewan and Eastern Athabasca. This idea was based upon the transportation system. Other papers wanted the division made in harmony with natural productions, as one extensive region was distinctly cereal-producing, while another was, to an equally characteristic extent, an irrigable and ranching country. Underlying the diverse proposals advocated by the press in different parts of the Territories is the principle that public interests would be best served by such a subdivision of the North West as would render the home town of each given newspaper the natural Provincial Capital. The press supporting Mr. Haultain, as a rule, favoured one Province, while in the East, *The Globe*, on November 9, 1904, supported the extension of Manitoba's boundaries and the creation of two Provinces.

In *The Toronto Globe* of January 3, 1905, Mr. T. H. Maguire, lately Chief Justice of the Territories, wrote strongly opposing Mr. Haultain's proposals for the formation of one Province out of these vast regions. Mr. Maguire claimed that public opinion was in favour of two Provinces, if not three, as he himself desired. Manitoba should be extended, he thought, but northerly to the Saskatchewan River and easterly to Hudson's Bay.

Meanwhile, Mr. Premier Haultain, of the Territories, and Mr. G. H. V. Bulyea, his Commissioner of Public Works, had arrived at Ottawa to commence, on January 5th, another conference with the Federal authorities. As to the details of the succeeding consultations, the public was not informed, but the correspondent of *The Globe*, on January 18th, declared that there would be nothing in the form of a definite agreement until the return of the Minister of the Interior, who was not in Ottawa. The conference included Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir William Mulock, Mr. Fitzpatrick and Mr. R. W. Scott. On January 19th, the western delegates also discussed conditions with the members of the Commons and Senators from the North West, and it was shortly afterwards announced that the new Provinces would be two in number. The continued absence of Mr. Sifton, the official representative of the West, ostensibly through ill health, occasioned much comment in political circles.

However, it was evident that the first stage of the long struggle was over. Provincial institutions for the Territories were now assured.

CHAPTER XL

THE NEW PROVINCIAL CONSTITUTION

THE SCHOOL SITUATION IN 1905—THE SASKATCHEWAN ACT INTRODUCED—CROWN LANDS TO REMAIN VESTED IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT—FINANCIAL TERMS—SIR WILFRID LAURIER'S TRIBUTE TO SEPARATE SCHOOLS—MR. HAULTAIN'S LETTER—DISSENTIONS WITHIN THE PARTIES—MR. BORDEN'S AMENDMENT TO THE EDUCATIONAL CLAUSE—MR. CHRISTOPHER ROBINSON ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONTROVERSY—THE COMPROMISE—GENERAL OUTLINES OF SASKATCHEWAN ACT—UNWRITTEN ELEMENTS OF THE CONSTITUTION—THE PROVINCIAL CABINET SYSTEM.

Meantime, Parliament had met on January 12th, and the Governor-General's speech had promised a bill for the conferring of autonomy on the Territories.

The population of the region which was to be organized into the new Provinces—Alberta, Assiniboia East, Assiniboia West and Saskatchewan—was, according to the census of 1901, 158,940, with an accession by immigration, up to May 1, 1905, of 264,182.

During the twenty years from 1884, when the existing school system was established in the Territories, 1,360 school districts had been erected, of which only sixteen were for separate schools, and two of these were Protestant. Only four separate schools had been organized since 1892, when Roman Catholic control and management of their separate school districts was abolished, though according to the 1901 census, twenty per cent of the population of the new Territories was of the Roman Catholic faith. However, the leaders of that church now stood firm for the maintenance of separate school privileges. The Bishops of St. Albert and Mackenzie, and Father Lacombe, all revered throughout the West, to the welfare of which they had devoted their lives, united in the following pronouncement: "From our standpoint there cannot be any compromise on this question. Our schools are not only places where children are taught (secular learning), but where they receive their religious training, and it should ever be so. This is the only advice we have given to all our people and it is this we have urged them to obtain." How effectively these views were urged was indicated, when

on February 21, 1905, Sir Wilfrid Laurier introduced the long-looked-for Autonomy Bill.

The Premier commenced his speech by reviewing the history of the West from 1875, when the Mackenzie Administration gave it an "entirely independent government," by virtue of the charter under which its people had developed, and which had never been repealed, although provisions had been added from time to time. The Act of 1875 was the rock upon which had been reared the structure which was about to be crowned with complete and absolute autonomy. Sir Wilfrid called attention to the clause in this 1875 measure which introduced into the Territories the system of Separate Schools in force in the Province of Ontario. Discussing subsequent constitutional and administrative changes affecting the Territories, he reminded his hearers that in 1886 the North West was given representation in Parliament, and that two years later a local Legislature was created with an Advisory Council to deal with matters of finance. In 1891 additional powers had been given to the Legislature, and in 1897, by Federal enactment, an Executive Council, responsible to the members of the Legislature, was established.

The culmination of all this process was the measure now before the House. In framing this legislation, the main questions for settlement had been four in number: (1) The number of Provinces; (2) the ownership of the public lands; (3) the financial terms to be granted; (4) the school system to be introduced or continued.

As to the matter of size, he first gave certain comparative statistics upon the basis of which he drew the conclusion that a single Province of the extent advocated by Mr. Haultain would be too large for convenient and effective administration.

The ownership of the public lands was the next point dealt with. The plea of the Territorial leaders for Provincial ownership was based upon conditions in the four original Provinces of Canada, and upon the case of British Columbia, when, later on, she was admitted to the Union. The Premier claimed that the comparison was not a good one. All the Provinces indicated had had control of their Crown Lands prior to their entry into Confederation, but the Territories were in a very different situation. They never had the ownership of the lands. Those lands were bought from the Hudson's Bay Company by the Government of the Dominion and they had remained ever since the property of the Dominion Government. The main point, however, was one of policy, and upon this the Dominion Cabinet had decided to retain ownership and control, in the interests of the country's immigration propaganda. United States precedents were cited, and also the position of Manitoba lands, which still remain under Dominion control. Sir Wilfrid quoted, in this latter connection, an Order-in-Council

of the Macdonald Government dated May 30, 1884, refusing the demands of Manitoba on the ground that Provincial control would seriously embarrass the immigration policy of the Federal authorities.

With regard to financial terms, the Premier pointed out that the compromises necessary to the creation of the Confederation in 1867 had planted in the Constitution of Canada the condition of subsidy payments by the Dominion authorities to the Provinces for the carrying on of the latter's business. The government proposed in this case to grant a liberal provision. Last year there had been appropriated by the Dominion for Territorial purposes and, in a very small measure raised by local taxation, a total sum of \$1,636,000, or an average of \$818,000 for each of the regions now being made into new Provinces. It was now proposed to grant Alberta and Saskatchewan each \$50,000 a year for civil government; \$200,000 for capitation allowance upon a basis of 250,000 population, which would increase *pro rata* until the population reached 8,000,000 souls; a debt allowance of \$405,375; and a compensation allowance, for retaining the public lands, of \$375,000; making a total of \$1,030,375. To this would be added in each case, for five years, an allowance of \$62,500 per annum for the construction of buildings and public works.

Then came a prolonged consideration of the legislation of 1875 by which the Mackenzie Government had established Separate Schools in the new Territories of the West, for, as the Premier claimed, all time to come. In saying this he quoted George Brown again, as confirming this view in the Senate debates of that year. Sir Wilfrid's speech concluded with a much-discussed personal advocacy of Separate as opposed to Public Schools.

"I offer at this moment," said he, "no opinion at all upon Separate Schools as an abstract proposition, but I have no hesitation in saying that, if I were to speak my mind upon Separate Schools, I would say that I never could understand what objection there could be to a system of schools wherein, after secular matters had been attended to, the tenets of the religion of Christ, even with the divisions which exist among His followers, are allowed to be taught. We live in a country where, in the seven Provinces that constitute our nation, either by the will or by the tolerance of the people, in every school Christian dogmas are taught to the youth of the country. We live by the side of a nation—a great nation, a nation for which I have the greatest admiration, but whose example I would not take in everything—in whose schools, for fear that Christian dogmas in which all do not believe might be taught, Christian morals alone are taught. When I compare these two countries; when I compare Canada with the United States; when I compare the status of the two nations; when I think upon their future; when I observe the social conditions in this country of ours—a total absence of lynchings, and an almost total absence of divorces and murders—for my part I thank Heaven that we are living in a country where the young children of the land are taught Christian morals and Christian dogmas as well. Either the American system is right, or the Canadian system is right.

For my part, I say this without hesitation: Time will show that we are in the right. In this instance, as in many others, I have an abiding faith in the institutions of my own country."

The following was the provision in the Autonomy Bill as at first drafted relating to Separate Schools:

"The provision of section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867, shall apply to the said Provinces as if, at the date upon which this act comes into force, the territory comprised therein were already a Province, the expression 'the union' in the said section being taken to mean the said date.

"Subject to the provisions of said section 93 and in continuance of the principle heretofore sanctioned under the North West Territories Act, it is enacted that the Legislatures of the said Provinces shall pass all necessary laws in respect of education; and that it shall therein always be provided:

"(a) That a majority of the ratepayers of any district or portion of said Provinces or of any portion or subdivision thereof, by whatever name the same is known, may establish such schools therein as they think fit, and make the necessary assessment and collection of rates therefor, and:

"(b) That the minority of the ratepayers therein, whether Protestant or Catholic, may establish Separate Schools therein and make the necessary assessments and collection of rates therefor, and:

"(c) That in such case the ratepayers establishing such Protestant or Roman Catholic Separate Schools shall be liable only to assessment of such rates as they impose upon themselves in respect thereof.

"In the appropriation of public moneys by the Legislature in aid of education, and in the distribution of any moneys paid to the Government of the Province arising from the School fund established by the Dominion Lands Act, there shall be no discrimination between the Public Schools and the Separate Schools, and such moneys shall be applied to the support of Public and Separate Schools in equitable shares or proportions."

At the conclusion of Sir Wilfrid's speech on the introduction of the Bill, Mr. Borden briefly and mildly commented on the absence of the Minister of the Interior. Referring to the School question, he expressed the hope that on both sides of the House no disposition would be shown to make this a party question in any sense. Following this brief speech an adjournment of the debate took place during which the country discussed the Premier's deliverance. On March 9, and the succeeding day, Mr. Borden again drew attention to Mr. Sifton's absence.

On March 12, as we have elsewhere noted, Mr. Haultain published an open letter of the greatest political importance, addressed to the Dominion Premier. It was of considerable length, but all readers interested in clearly understanding the details of a controversy involving such important and enduring results, will be interested in an analysis of Mr. Haultain's letter. It commenced as follows:

"To the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, K.C.M.G.,
President of the Privy Council, Ottawa.

"Sir:

"The somewhat hurried termination of the conference to which you were good enough to invite representatives of the North West Government, and the introduction of the Alberta and Saskatchewan bills, call for a final statement on the subject. In this statement I shall confine my remarks to some of the more important provisions of the Bill, leaving a number of minor matters requiring consideration to less formal mention.

"The first question which suggests itself is the question of the necessity for the creation of two provinces instead of one. After careful consideration I am more convinced than ever that there is no necessity for dividing the country into two provinces, with the consequent duplication of machinery and institutions."

Mr. Haultain argued that the machinery involved in provincial government was necessarily expensive, and suitable to the administration of public affairs over a large area with an extensive population. The Territories had for a number of years been under one Government and Legislature, exercising many of the most important powers of Provincial Governments and Legislatures, and there had never been any suggestion that the Territorial machinery was in any way inadequate for the purposes for which it was created.

"Our laws and institutions," said Mr. Haultain, "are admittedly efficient and satisfactory. Under them, the people of the Territories have acquired a political individuality and identity as distinct as that of the people of any Province. Up to the 13th of June next, this will continue to be the case, and there does not seem to be any reason, based on necessity or convenience, why on the first day of July they should be suddenly divided in two, separated by a purely arbitrary line, and obliged to do with two sets of machinery and institutions what they, to a great extent, have been doing quite satisfactorily and efficiently with one. I must, however, state that this opinion is by no means unanimously shared in the Territories, and that the proposed action of the Government will not call forth much hostile criticism. I must also state my opinion that the dividing line between the two provinces should have been placed at least seventy-five miles farther East.

"I must take strong exception to the way in which the subject of education has been treated both in the conferences and in the Bills. I must remind you of the fact that your proposition was not laid before my colleague or myself until noon of the day upon which you introduced the Bills. Up to that time the question had not received any attention beyond a casual reference to it on the previous Friday, and I certainly believed that we should have had an opportunity of discussing your proposals before twelve o'clock on the day the Bills received their first reading. No such opportunity, however, was afforded, as unfortunately you were unable to be present at the session when this section was submitted; neither was Mr. Mulock. I feel sure that you will acquit me of any feeling in the matter other than that such an important subject should have been fully discussed before any

definite conclusion was arrived at by the Government and the Bills dealing with it were laid before Parliament.

"With regard to the question of education generally, you are no doubt aware that the position taken by us was that the Provinces were left to deal with the subject exclusively, subject to the provisions of the *British North America Act*, thus putting them on the same footing in this regard as all the other provinces in the Dominion except Ontario and Quebec."

Mr. Haultain submitted that Parliament is manifestly and necessarily bound by the provisions of the *British North America Act, 1867*, in passing legislation of the kind involved in the Autonomy Bill. He argued at some length that the *British North America Act* gave no authority to Parliament to create, contrary to the wishes of the people directly connected, an inferior and imperfect provincial organization.

"If the Provincial jurisdiction can be invaded by positive Federal legislation such as is proposed in this case," Mr. Haultain inquired, "what limit is there to the exercise of such a power? Similar restrictions might be imposed with respect to any or all of the matters in relation to which, under the *British North America Act, 1867*, the Provincial Legislatures possess exclusive powers.

"The only jurisdiction possessed by Parliament in this respect is the remedial jurisdiction conferred by sub-section four of section ninety-three of the *British North America Act, 1867*.¹ The proposed attempt to legislate in advance on this subject is beyond the power of Parliament, and is an unwarrantable and unconstitutional anticipation of the remedial jurisdiction. (Section 15)—Pre-existing laws, orders and regulations not inconsistent with regard to a subject coming within its exclusive jurisdiction and necessitating requests for Imperial Legislation, whenever the rapidly changing conditions of a new country may require them. On the fifteenth of July, 1870, the North West Territories were 'admitted into the union,' in the express terms of section 146 of the *British North America Act, 1867*."

To speak of the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan being "admitted into union" on the 1st of July, 1905, was therefore an improper and indefensible use of the expression, in Mr. Haultain's opinion. The territory included within the boundaries of these proposed Provinces had been "admitted into the union" on July 15, 1870, and immediately upon creation of these Provinces, the provisions of section 93 of the *British North America Act, 1867*, would become, as a matter of indefeasible right, a part of their constitution.

¹ "In case any such Provincial law as from time to time seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor-General in Council on any appeal under this section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial authority in that behalf, then and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this section and of any decision of the Governor-General in Council under this section."

The Autonomy Bill was framed, he said, in direct contradiction of this principle. It was an attempt to create a Province retroactively. It declared Territorial Schools and laws to be Provincial schools and laws; whereas, as a matter of fact the people of the Territories had never yet had an opportunity of expressing their wishes with regard to the maintenance or abolition of a Separate School System, as Territorial Laws passed hitherto in this connection had manifestly been shaped in accordance with Federal Legislation, which the Territories had been powerless to repeal. The North West Premier continued:

"I, therefore, most respectfully demand, on behalf of the Territories, that the same terms, and no others, imposed by the Queen in Council on the admission of Prince Edward Island and British Columbia, be prescribed in this instance. The draft bill I submitted more than three years ago contains the clause which will be found in the orders in Council admitting those Provinces. To impose more or to prescribe less would, I submit, be equally contrary to the law and the Constitution. The clause referred to is as follows:

"On, from and after the said first day of January, 1903, the provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, except those parts thereof which are in terms made or by reasonable intendment may be held to be especially applicable to or to affect only one or more, but not the whole of the Provinces under that Act composing the Dominion, and, except so far as the same may be varied by this Act, shall be applicable to the Province . . . in the same way and to the same extent as they apply to the several Provinces of Canada, and as if the Province had been one of the Provinces originally united by the said Act."

"The fact that since the acquisition of the North West Territories, Parliament has passed certain laws affecting those Territories does not involve the principle that those laws must be perpetuated in the Constitution of the proposed Provinces. In this respect, laws relating to education do not differ from laws relating to any other subject. To state that the law passed in 1875 with regard to education must forever limit the power of the Province with regard to a very important Provincial right, involves the theory that Parliament might practically take away all the jurisdiction of a Province and leave it shorn of every power which it is supposed to possess under the Constitution.

"I wish to lay great stress on the fact that this is a purely Constitutional question and is not concerned in any sense with the discussion of the relative merits of any system of education. The question is one of Provincial rights. It is not a question of the rights of a religious minority, which must properly and may safely be left to the Provincial Legislatures to deal with, subject to the general Constitutional provisions in that regard. It is the question of the right of a minority of Canadians in the wider arena of the Dominion to the same rights and the same privileges, the same powers and the same Constitutions, as are enjoyed by the rest of their fellow-citizens, and which they claim to be their inalienable possession under the one and only Canadian Charter, the British North America Act."

PROMINENT BUILDINGS
MAPLE CREEK



Mr. Haultain then discussed at length the bearing the new measure would have on the existing law with regard to the reservation and sale of school lands under the Dominion Lands Act of 1872 (amended 1879, 1883, 1886), and closed his discussion of the educational clauses as follows:

"I, therefore, wish to express my most emphatic objections to the legislation in regard to this subject. I recognize no power in Parliament to make laws for the new Provinces in contravention of the letter and of the spirit of the British North America Act. Further, I recognize neither right nor justice in the attempt to dictate to the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan the manner in which they shall conduct their own business. I very sincerely regret that it is necessary to give this turn to this discussion. I trust you will believe it is in no sense from any desire of my own to introduce an inharmonious note into these comments. The new Provinces have their own future to work out, and I deplore the possibility that they may commence their careers torn with dissention upon such subjects as these. It seems to me that a great deal of this trouble might have been avoided had we been afforded an opportunity of discussing these proposals, and I feel that I must place on record the fact that we are not responsible for the situation."

The Territorial Premier then proceeded to a criticism of the provisions of the Bill relating to the administration of public lands. The Bill provided that the public domain in each Province should be administered by the Government of Canada for the purposes of Canada, an annual grant being made, based upon certain varying rates of interest upon the capitalization of twenty-five million acres of land at \$1.50 per acre. Here again Mr. Haultain found it necessary to express dissent. The Provinces were entitled to be recognized as the beneficial owners of the Crown Domain, and as such their right to administer their own property for themselves was one that should not be taken away without their consent.

A number of smaller matters in the Bill were also criticised and various suggestions were offered by Mr. Haultain, after which he closed the letter as follows:

"As the conference has come to an end and the Government has expressed its opinion publicly in the form of Bills, the whole of this matter now has become a subject for public discussion, and I propose to make this letter public at the very earliest opportunity, and not to treat it as an official communication, only to be made public in the ordinary way.

"In concluding this letter I beg to express, on behalf of the North West Government, our high appreciation of the attentive and courteous consideration extended to us by yourself and the other members of the sub-committee of the Council throughout the whole conference.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"F. W. G. HAULTAIN."

On March 15 the Opposition leader in the House of Commons once more raised the question of the measure being introduced and, in part, at least, prepared, in the absence of Mr. Sifton and Mr. Fielding—two most important members of the Cabinet, and both rumored to be in opposition to the school policy embodied in its clauses. He also discussed Mr. Premier Haultain's open letter to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and deprecated the failure to consult that gentleman as to the Educational portion of the measure.

The Constitutional issue now before the country was great enough to overshadow ordinary political affiliations and prejudices and both Sir Wilfrid and Mr. R. L. Borden had to deal with defection and opposition among men who had hitherto been their strongest supporters. Mr. Borden's proposed amendment to the educational clause in the Autonomy Bill read as follows:

"That all the words after 'that' be left out, and the following substituted therefor: 'Upon the establishment of a Province in the North West Territories of Canada, as proposed by Bill Number 69, the Legislature of such Province, subject to, and in accordance with the provisions of the British North America Act, 1867 to 1886, is entitled to and should enjoy full powers of Provincial Government, including powers to exclusively make laws in relation to education.'"

Upon the constitutional aspect of the controversy a widely quoted opinion was given by the well known legal authority, Mr. Christopher Robinson, K.C. His decision was as follows:

"The right of the Dominion Parliament to impose restriction upon the Provinces about to be formed, dealing with the subject of education and separate schools, is, I think, not beyond question. This would require more consideration than I have yet been able to give it, and must ultimately be settled by judicial decision. I am asked, however, whether Parliament is constitutionally bound to impose any such restriction, or whether it exists otherwise, and I am of opinion in the negative. It must be borne in mind that I am concerned only with the question of legal obligation; what Parliament ought to do or should do in the exercise of any power which they may possess is not within the province of counsel.

"Such a restriction, I apprehend, must exist or may be imposed, if at all, under the provisions of Section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867, and on the ground of their application to the Provinces now to be formed. If that section applies, it would seem to require no enactment of our Parliament to give it effect, and if not, no such enactment, so far as I am aware, is otherwise made necessary.

"Upon the whole, I am of the opinion that Section 93 does not apply to the Provinces now about to be established. Its provisions would appear to me to be intended for and confined to the then Provinces and the union formed in 1867. There is not in any part of the North West Territories, as a Province, any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools possessed by any class of persons, created by the Province or existing at

such union, and a right subsequently established by the Dominion in the part now about to be made a Province does not appear to me to come within the enactment."

It soon became evident that a compromise was essential, and on March 20, Sir Wilfrid Laurier gave notice of the amendments to the educational clauses of the Autonomy Bills, decided upon by the Cabinet in substitution for the educational clauses in these measures when first introduced. These amendments were as follows:

"Section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867, shall apply to the said Province with the substitution for sub-section one of said section of the following sub-section:

"'1. Nothing in any law shall prejudicially effect any law or privilege with respect to Separate Schools which any class of persons have at the date of passing this act, under the terms of Chapters 29 and 30 of the Ordinances of the North West Territories passed in the year 1901.²

"'2. In the appropriation of the Legislature or distribution by the Government of the Province of any moneys for the support of schools organized and carried on in accordance with said Chapter 29, or any act passed in amendment thereof, or in substitution thereof, there shall be no discrimination against schools of any class described in the said Chapter 29.

"'3. Where the expression "by-law" is employed in Sub-section 3 of the said Section 93, it shall be held to mean the law as set out in said Chapters 29 and 30 and where the expression "at the union" is employed in Sub-section 3, it shall be held to mean the date at which this Act comes into force.'"

After nearly a month of agitation, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, on March 22, proposed in the House of Commons the second reading of the Autonomy Bill.

Other speakers followed, including the Honourable W. Paterson and F. D. Monk. The latter, though one of Mr. Borden's prominent lieutenants in Quebec, deprecated the needless agitation and mischievous utterances in connection with this question; argued at length in favour of religious instruction in schools; illustrated his remarks by opinions regarding the alleged deplorable condition of the United States public schools; and differed generally from the stand taken by his leader.

Mr. Henry Bourassa dealt at length with the legislation as not granting adequate or just rights to the Catholic minority.

Indeed, as we have elsewhere remarked, the bill was now about equally objectionable to both the ultra-montanes and the Orangemen,—a fact which the majority of moderate men, who had neither time nor inclination to investigate the controversy deeply for themselves, interpreted as an evidence of reasonableness. Resolutions of protest continued to pour in from Protes-

² The ordinances defining the N. W. School Law as it existed at the end of the Territorial era.

tant sources, and at Montmagny, Quebec, on September 18, Messrs. A. Lavergne, M. P., and H. Bourassa, M. P. (Liberals), and Dr. Emile Paquet, M. P. (Conservative), denounced the Government for its surrender to the Orangemen of Ontario, and for its gross injustice to the minority in the West; and, in the words of Dr. Paquet, appealed to the people to "crush this perfidy."

Largely as a result of the contradictory extravagances of its opponents, the bill passed safely through Parliament and was accepted with reasonable equanimity by the citizens of the Territories.

Another act constituted the new North West Territories as comprising the region formerly known as Rupert's Land, and the North-Western Territory, with the exception of Manitoba, the new Provinces, Keewatin and the Yukon, and including also, all other unorganized British territories and possessions in Northern Canada, and all islands adjacent thereto with the exception of Newfoundland's dependency, Labrador.

As the Autonomy Bill of 1905,—or to call it by its official name, The Saskatchewan Act,—constitutes the chief written portion of the Constitution of the Province of Saskatchewan, it will be in place here to recapitulate its principal features, especially with a view to rendering its workings intelligible to persons not intimately familiar with responsible government as it exists in Canada. It recalls in its preamble the provisions of the British North America Act, empowering the Parliament of Canada to 'from time to time establish new provisions in any Territories forming for the time being part of the Dominion of Canada, but not included in any Province thereof.' The introductory sections define the territory henceforth to be known as the Province of Saskatchewan. Then follows the following important paragraph (Section 3):

"The provisions of the British North America Act, 1867 to 1886, shall apply to the Province of Saskatchewan in the same way and to the like extent as they apply to the Provinces heretofore comprised in the Dominion, as if the said Province of Saskatchewan had been one of the Provinces originally united, except in so far as varied by this Act, and except such provisions are in terms made or by reasonable intendment may be held to be specially applicable to or only to affect one or more and not the whole of the said Provinces."

Section 4 provides for the representation of Saskatchewan in the Senate by four members and authorises the increase of this number to a maximum of six, by act of the Federal Parliament. Section 5 provides in like manner for the provincial representation in the House of Commons for the time being, and Section 6 guarantees that after the next following census this representation "shall forthwith be readjusted by the Parliament of Canada in such manner that there shall be assigned to the said Province such a

number of members" as the principle of proportionate representation on the basis of population should require. In estimating this number Quebec, with a permanent representation of 65, constitutes the basis as regards all other Provinces of Canada. Under Section 7 the qualifications of voters in the election of Saskatchewan's representatives in the House of Commons are made the same as they had been in the Territories heretofore. In like manner the powers and duties of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories are transferred to the Lieutenant-Governor of the new Provinces. (Section 10)—"The Legislature of the Province shall consist of the Lieutenant-Governor and one House to be styled the Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan." (Section 12)—And "until the said Legislature otherwise provides," the Legislative Assembly should be composed of twenty-five elected members. (Section 13)—Until otherwise provided by the Legislature "all provisions of the law with regard to the constitution of the Legislative Assembly of the North West Territories and the election of members thereof" should "apply *mutatis mutandis* to the Legislative Assembly of the said Province." (Section 14)—Writs for the first Provincial election were to be issued within six months of the forming of the Saskatchewan Act. (Section 15)—Pre-existing laws, orders and regulations not inconsistent with the Act were to remain in force subject to repeal by the Parliament of Canada, or the Legislature of Saskatchewan, according to their several authorities. Section 17 treats of education. It first refers to Section 93 of the British North America Act of 1867, which reads as follows:

"In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education, subject and according to the following provisions:

"1. Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any class of persons have by law in the Province of the union.

"2. All the powers, privileges and duties at the union by law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the Separate Schools and school trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic subjects shall be, and the same are hereby extended to the Dissentient Schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic subjects in Quebec.

"3. Where in any Province a system of Separate or Dissentient Schools exists by law at the union or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any Act or decision of any Provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education.

"4. In case any such Provincial law as from time to time seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of the Governor-General in Council or any appeal under this section is not duly executed by the proper provincial authorities in that behalf, then and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws

for the due execution of the provisions of this section and of any decision of the Governor-General in Council under this section."

The Saskatchewan Act provides that the foregoing section of the British North America Act shall apply to Saskatchewan except that for sub-section (1) of Section 93 the special provisions previously quoted in this chapter are to be substituted.

The provisions made for the financial interests of the Province are contained in Sections 18 to 20, but as these are of a technical and formidable character they are relegated to a footnote below.³

"All Crown lands, mines and minerals, and royalties incidental thereto and the interest of the Crown in the waters within the Province under North West Irrigation Act of 1898 are to continue vested in the Crown and to be administered by the Federal Government as hitherto." Under Section 22 arrangements were made for an equitable division of Territorial Assets between the two new provinces. There are a number of other provisions of less general interest. Two of these protect the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

³ 18. The following amounts shall be allowed as an annual subsidy to the Province of Saskatchewan, and shall be paid by the Government of Canada, by half-yearly installments in advance, to the said province; that is to say:

(a) For the support of the Government and Legislature, fifty thousand dollars;

(b) On an estimated population of two hundred and fifty thousand, at eighty cents per head, two hundred thousand dollars, subject to be increased as hereinafter mentioned; that is to say: A census of the said Province shall be taken in every fifth year reckoning from the general census of one thousand nine hundred and one, and an approximate estimate of the population shall be made at equal intervals of time between each quinquennial and decennial census; and whenever the population by any such census or estimate exceeds the two hundred and fifty thousand which shall be the minimum on which the said allowance shall be calculated, the amount of the said allowance shall be increased accordingly, and so on until the population has reached eight hundred thousand souls.

19. Inasmuch as the said Province is not in debt it shall be entitled to be paid and to receive from the Government of Canada, by half-yearly payments in advance, an annual sum of four hundred and five thousand, three hundred and seventy-five dollars, being the equivalent of interest at the rate of five per cent per annum on the sum of eight million one hundred and seven thousand, five hundred dollars.

20. Inasmuch as the said Province will not have the public land as a source of revenue, there shall be paid by Canada to the province by half-yearly payments in advance, an annual sum based upon the population of the province as from time to time ascertained by the quinquennial census thereof, as follows:

(1) The population of the said province being assumed to be at present two hundred and forty thousand, the sum payable until such population reaches four hundred thousand, shall be three hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars. Thereafter until such population reaches eight hundred thousand, the sum payable shall be five hundred and sixty-two thousand five hundred dollars. Thereafter, until such population reaches one million two hundred thousand, the sum payable shall be seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and thereafter the sum payable shall be one million one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars.

(2) As an additional allowance in lieu of public lands there shall be paid by Canada to the province annually by half-yearly payments, in advance, for five years from the time this act comes into force, to provide for the construction of necessary public buildings, the sum of ninety thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars.

Readers unfamiliar with British institutions will, perhaps, be surprised to find such a superlatively important matter as the composition and duties of the Provincial Cabinet defined so summarily and indefinitely as they are by the Saskatchewan Act in Section 8. That paragraph reads as follows:

"The Executive Council of the said Province shall be composed of such persons, under such designations, as the Lieutenant-Governor from time to time thinks fit."

This, of course, simply relegates the whole matter to the realm of the unwritten usages and conventions which form the basis of Cabinet Government under the British Constitution. These tacit understandings have all the force and indeed more than the force of any written law, and their violation, if such violation may for the purposes of discussion be considered possible, would entail a revolution.

The unwritten Constitution requires that the King's representative, in any part of the British dominions under responsible government, shall select as head of his Executive Council, a member of the Legislature who commands the support and is the recognized leader of the majority of those elected by the people to seats in the Assembly or House of Commons, as the case may be. This important personage is popularly designated as the Premier or Prime Minister, and he is in point of fact for the time being the real ruler of the country despite the fact that his extraordinary rights and functions are all but entirely ignored in the written law of the land.

The Premier selects from among his supporters, generally upon consultation with the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, those persons who, together with himself, are to constitute the Executive Council or Cabinet, as it is popularly called. Each of its members must already have a seat in the Legislature, or must forthwith secure one. As there is a salary attached to Cabinet appointments, and as the acceptance of any office of emolument under the Crown vacates a member's seat, Cabinet members are obliged to face a new election immediately after accepting office.

While the Constitution provides for the presence in the Executive Council of "members without portfolio," the essential body of the Executive Council is made up of the officials who are the responsible heads of the chief branches into which the administration of state affairs is divided. At the same time, they are of necessity the trusted political leaders of the majority of the popular representatives. They therefore control not only the executive business of the Government, but also its legislative functions. So soon as this control is lost, the Cabinet must resign in a body. The ministers must act as a unit in all matters of political importance so long as they are associated as members of the same Cabinet. Each member is in a special sense responsible for his own department, but he is also answer-

able to the House for the official acts of each of his colleagues and of the Cabinet in its corporate capacity. These are some of the familiar elementary rules under which British Government is administered in the Mother country and all her self-governing colonies.

Furthermore, it is to be remembered that where the written law assigns legislative and executive functions to a Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, in a community where responsible government has been established, it means the King's representative acting by and with the advice and consent of the Cabinet of the hour or the special member thereof whose department of public affairs is directly concerned. The Lieutenant-Governor of a Canadian Province, however, exercises a dual function. He must act not only in intimate coöperation with the Provincial Cabinet, but also as the representative appointed and paid by the Federal authorities. He holds his office "during the pleasure of the Governor-General"—that is, subject to the approval of that officer, acting as the mouthpiece of the Dominion Cabinet. However, he is not removable within five years "except for cause."

As indicated in Clause 3 of the Saskatchewan Act above quoted, the written Constitution of the Province includes those portions of the British North America Act bearing on Provincial administration which are not definitely annulled by the Autonomy Act itself. Under the Canadian Federal system, all powers not specifically assigned to exclusive exercise by the Provincial Legislatures come within the jurisdiction of the Dominion Parliament. Those concerns in which the Federal Government cannot constitutionally interfere are set forth in Section 92 of the British North America Act, which is appended to this chapter. As regards agriculture and immigration, the Provincial Legislatures share with the Dominion the right to make laws, but "any law of the Legislature of a Province, relative to agriculture or immigration, shall have effect in and for the said Province as long and as far only as it is not repugnant to any Act of the Parliament of Canada." It is to be understood that the Provincial Assembly has no legislative authority with regard to any class of matters not assigned to it by a Dominion statute, such as the Saskatchewan Act, or by the British North America Act itself.

Sections 53 to 57 of the British North America Act deal with money votes and royal assent in relation to the Dominion Parliament, and by Section 90 these are made to apply *mutatis mutandis* to Provincial Legislatures. Accordingly, it would not be lawful for the Assembly to pass any vote involving the expenditure of money for any purpose not previously recommended by a message from the Lieutenant-Governor acting on the advice of the Provincial Cabinet. When any Bill passes the Assembly, the Lieutenant-Governor "shall declare, according to his discretion, but subject to the provisions" of the written Constitution and to his instructions from



LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS OF THE TERRITORIES.

Laird, 1876-1881.
Mackintosh, 1893-1898.

Dewdney, 1881-1888.
Cameron, 1898.

Royal, 1888-1893.
Forget, 1898-1905.

the Governor-General in Council, either that in his representative capacity he assents to the Bill, refuses to assent to the Bill, or reserves it for the consideration of the Governor-General in Council. He must transmit copies of all legislation to the Federal Government, which, upon the advice of the Attorney-General may, within one year, disallow any Act judged to be *ultra vires*. A Bill reserved for the signification of the Governor-General's pleasure remains invalid unless and until within one year the assent of the Governor-General-in-Council is officially announced.

Under the amendments to the British North America Act passed in 1871, it is provided that "the Parliament of Canada may, from time to time, with the consent of the Legislature of any Province of the said Dominion, increase or diminish or otherwise alter the limits of such Province."

Section 92 of B. N. A. Act:

"In each province the legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to matters coming within the classes of subjects next hereinafter enumerated, that is to say:

"(1) The amendment from time to time, notwithstanding anything in this act, of the constitution of the province, except as regards the office of lieutenant-governor.

"(2) Direct taxation within the province in order to the raising of a revenue for provincial purposes.

"(3) The borrowing of money on the sole credit of the province.

"(4) The establishment and tenure of provincial offices, and the appointment and payment of provincial officers.

"(5) The management and sale of the public lands belonging to the province, and of the timber and wood thereon.

"(6) The establishment, maintenance, and management of public and reformatory prisons in and for the province.

"(7) The establishment, maintenance, and management of hisoutaks, aslyums, charities and eleemosynary institutions in and for the province, other than marine hospitals.

"(8) Municipal institutions in the province.

"(9) Shop, saloon, tavern, auctioneer, and other licenses, in order to the raising of a revenue for provincial, local, or municipal purposes.

"(10) Local works and undertakings other than such as are of the following classes:

"(a) Lines of steam or other ships, railways, canals, telegraphs and other works and undertakings connecting the province with any other or others of the provinces or extending beyond the limits of the province;

"(b) Lines of steamships between the province and any British or foreign country;

"(c) Such works as, although wholly situate within the province, are before or after their execution declared by the Parliament of Canada to be for the general advantage of Canada or for the advantage of two or more of the provinces.

"(11) The incorporation of companies with provincial objects.

"(12) Solemnization of marriage in the province.

"(13) Property and civil rights in the province.

"(14) The administration of justice in the province, including the constitution, maintenance and organization of provincial courts, both of civil and of criminal jurisdiction, and including procedure in civil matters in those courts.

"(15) The imposition of punishment by fine, penalty or imprisonment for enforcing any law of the province made in relation to any matter coming within any of the classes of subjects enumerated in this section.

"(16) Generally all matters of a merely local or private nature in the province."

CHAPTER XLI

FORGET'S ADMINISTRATION: POLITICAL HISTORY (1905-1910)

INAUGURATION OF PROVINCIAL INSTITUTIONS—FORGET'S INAUGURAL SPEECH—CHOICE OF CAPITAL—LAMONT'S RAILWAY BILL—PROVINCIAL FINANCES—ACRIMONIOUS PARTY WARFARE—PRINCE ALBERT ELECTIONS—PROVINCIAL EDUCATIONAL LEGISLATION AND THE SUPPLEMENTARY REVENUE ACT—SUPREME COURT AND DISTRICT COURT JUDGES—TAXATION OF RAILWAY CORPORATIONS—NEW ELECTIONS ACT—REDISTRIBUTION BILL—PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS OF 1908.

In the presence of the Governor-General, the Premier of the Dominion, and many other distinguished guests, on the occasion of the inaugural celebration of September 1, 1905, Mr. Forget took his oath of office as the first Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Saskatchewan. In reply to the Governor-General's announcement of the new dignity conferred upon the former Lieutenant-Governor of the Territories, His Honour spoke in part as follows:

"My first words must be of thanks to your Excellency for the high distinction just conferred upon me. I tender those thanks most sincerely. I appreciate the honour, and I hope I fully recognise the responsibility of the office on which I have entered. It is no little matter to be the firstly appointed Lieutenant of Your Excellency for the new Province of Saskatchewan.

"Even in ordinary circumstances the event just witnessed by this large gathering would have great interest and significance, and the circumstances are not ordinary. It has often been said lately that the change of status now achieved by the North West is the most important event that has occurred to Canada since confederation. This may well be so, for are we not today completing the structure of federated Canada? I say then that the event is one of general interest and significance, and if I may be excused a personal reminiscence, I would say that it is to me especially a matter of peculiar fascination. Today this immense throng of North West people have witnessed the swearing-in of the first Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Saskatchewan, and my mind goes back to a small gathering at Fort Pelly on the 26th of November, 1876, when I witnessed the swearing-in of my esteemed, distinguished and venerable friend, Commissioner Laird, as the first Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories. There is a shade of sadness on the pleasing recollection in the

fact that Commissioner Laird and myself are the only survivors of those who witnessed that historic event. From that day to this I have lived a North Wester, have been associated with the Government of the Territories and have been closely associated with the growth of the institutions around which we now live."

The political history of the next few years abounded in events of the first importance. Premier Scott, with his Cabinet colleagues, Messrs. Calder and Motherwell, and the members of the Assembly generally, enjoyed such an opportunity for constructive statesmanship and the handling of large public questions as but rarely, if ever, can occur again.

On March 29, 1906, the Lieutenant-Governor opened his first session of the First Legislature of the Province of Saskatchewan. Mr. McNutt was elected Speaker, and Mr. Sutherland, of Saskatoon, Deputy Speaker.

The choice of a Provincial Capital was one of the most interesting issues before the First Assembly. Claims were raised in many quarters, but especially in Moose Jaw, Regina, and Saskatoon. The members of the Legislature in a body visited Regina's two chief rivals, and every species of pressure, legitimate and illegitimate, is said to have been brought to bear upon the Assembly. Finally, however, the Premier on May 23d announced the decision of the Government in favor of Regina, and received the endorsement of the House.

An important railway bill was introduced in this session by Attorney-General Lamont, and duly approved by the Assembly. It provided that any railway company obtaining a railway charter from the Provincial Government must complete at least thirty miles of its line within two years, and the whole road within five, and that railway companies must fence their right-of-ways. The bill vested in the Government the power to expropriate any railway constructed under a provincial charter, and to transform it into a government road. Mr. Haultain, the leader of the opposition, criticised the bill in various regards, and in a number of instances his suggested improvements were adopted by the Government. The companies incorporated during this first session were: The Saskatchewan Central Railway Company, The Moose Jaw and Suburban Railway Company, The Canada Central Railway Company, and The Saskatchewan Railway Company.

The Hon. J. A. Calder delivered his first budget speech on May 16th. There had been expended under warrant between the date of inauguration and December 31, 1905, \$118,601.00. The Government estimated the needs of the public services for the fourteen months ending February 28, 1907, at \$2,067,567.00. The revenue for the North West Territories for the year 1904 had amounted to only \$841,846.00. It was thus rendered evident that under the new regime the Government was enjoying a much freer hand than had Mr. Haultain's administration.

A number of resolutions of general interest were passed during this first session. The Assembly placed upon record its regret at the death of Mr. Thomas Tweed, who for so long had been a prominent citizen of the Territories. The Dominion Government was urged to grant an investigation into the claims of the retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, and their descendants, in the matter of Lord Selkirk's lands and deeds. The sum of \$5,000.00 was voted by the House in aid of the sufferers in the San Francisco earthquake. A measure was introduced by the Premier raising the sessional indemnity of members of the House from \$500.00 to \$1,000.00. In committee Mr. Haultain proposed that the amount be set at \$700.00—a proposition defeated only by the chairman's vote. Considerable other legislation was also passed, in all sixty-four measures.

The opposition, led by F. W. G. Haultain, criticised the Government chiefly with regard to financial matters. Under the new system the Premier was in receipt of a salary of \$6,000.00, and his colleagues of the Cabinet were to be paid \$5,000.00 per annum, in addition to their sessional indemnity. Mr. Haultain considered these salaries and the cost of legislation generally to be disproportionate to the Provincial income. Seventy-five thousand dollars had also been allowed as the Province's share for the maintenance of the North West Mounted Police force. It was argued that the Government should have insisted upon the Federal authorities retaining the complete financial responsibility for the maintenance of the force. The opposition also disapproved of a vote of \$2,500.00 for the Western Immigration Association. A vote of non-confidence passed upon these criticisms was defeated by a strictly party vote of fourteen to eight. The House was prorogued May 26th.

Reference must be made to a series of disagreeable events arising out of the Provincial election. Mr. J. F. Bole had been declared elected in Regina with a majority of three. His opponent, Mr. H. W. Laird, together with his supporters, alleged, however, that the ballot boxes had been tampered with, and in due time the case was ventilated in the courts. The upshot of the matter was that Mr. Bole retained his seat.

A series of suits for alleged criminal libel also arose from the acrimonious party warfare of the day. The Premier won a verdict and trifling damages in his case against the editor of the *Regina Standard*, but lost a similar action against the editor of the *Regina West*.

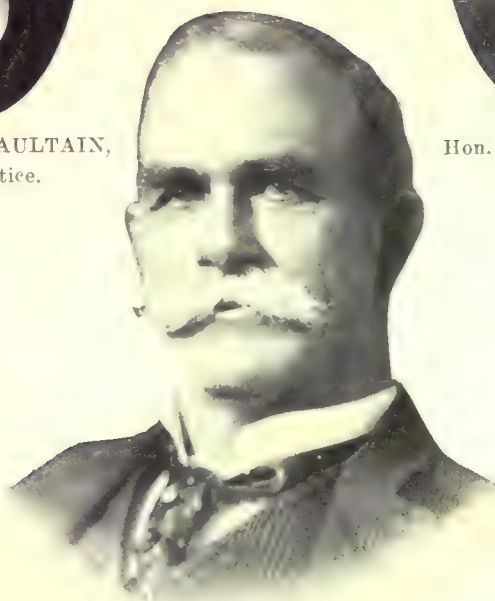
The election in Prince Albert County was attended by deplorable circumstances. Very shortly before the election the retiring officer ordered the establishment of three new polls some three hundred miles north of the city of Prince Albert. Apart from these polls, the opposition candidate, Mr. S. J. Donaldson, had a majority of fifty-six, but when the deputy returning officers from these remote localities returned to Prince Albert,



Hon. F. W. G. HAULTAIN,
Chief Justice.



Hon. JAMES H. ROSS.
Senator.



His Honor GEORGE WILLIAM
BROWN,
Lieut-Gov. of Saskatchewan.



Mr. ARCHIBALD McDONALD,
Retired Factor Hudson's Bay Co.



Dr. J. H. C. WILLOUGHBY.

some ten days after the election, their ballot boxes were found to contain one hundred and fifty-one ballots all marked for the Liberal candidate, Dr. P. D. Tyerman. This turned Dr. Tyerman's minority into a majority of ninety-five. It was quite evident to everybody, however, that a fraud had been perpetrated. One of the deputy returning officers promptly absconded, and the others were arrested. They admitted that they had never even reached the polling places in question, and were fined \$200.00 and costs each. Nevertheless, when the official recount took place before Mr. Justice J. E. P. Prendergast, he decided that, under the law, he had no function to perform except that of counting ballots actually found in the boxes. In recalling this extraordinary incident it is but just to say that Mr. Donaldson himself vigorously resented reflections cast in certain quarters upon the Judge's integrity, and that opposition newspapers, such as the *Regina West*, admitted that, under the circumstances, Judge Prendergast could not have acted otherwise. Accordingly, Dr. Tyerman was gazetted as member for Prince Albert, though he did not take his seat. Action was entered against the returning officer, and the matter was before the courts off and on for more than a year, when at last a verdict was given.

However, in April, 1907, the committee of the Legislature on privileges and elections took into its consideration the claims of Mr. Donaldson, and found them valid. Accordingly, by a unanimous vote of the Legislature, Mr. Donaldson was declared duly elected.

A large number of other protests had been commenced, when, to the amazement of the public, Mr. Prendergast admitted the legality of an objection raised by counsel claiming that as the Autonomy Bill had not distinctly declared the continued validity of Territorial legislation respecting elections, the Courts of the Province had as yet no jurisdiction in such matters. This judgment was subsequently upheld by the Court *en banc*. Under the circumstances, the Assembly itself alone had power to consider protests.

The separation of the Territories into two Provinces necessitated the organization of a separate educational council for Saskatchewan. Its members were Messrs. William Grayson, of Moose Jaw; W. R. Sparling, of North Battleford; T. H. McQuire, of Prince Albert; A. H. Smith, of Moosomin, and the Rev. David Gillies, of St. Andrews.

In July, 1906, Messrs. Scott and Lamont visited Ottawa, where they arranged with the Dominion Government for the transfer of the Land Titles System and various other important public institutions from Federal to Provincial control.

Toward the end of the year the Premier's ill health obliged him to leave the Province for some months, and during his absence the Hon. J. H. Lamont acted as Premier.

The second session of the First Legislature met on February 20, 1907. Important changes were introduced in connection with the administration of justice. A jury act was passed increasing the number of jurors required by law from six to twelve. A new Supreme Court Act provided for a judicial system to replace that of Territorial days. The new Supreme Court was to consist of five judges residing at the Capital, but going on circuit at regular intervals. This Court was to have both original and appellate jurisdiction. Salaries were placed at \$7,000.00 per annum for the chief justice, and \$6,000.00 for each of his colleagues in the Supreme Court. The Province was also divided into eight districts, with district courts, the judges of which were given a wide jurisdiction, though in civil causes it did not extend to cases involving a sum of money larger than \$300.00, which has since been extended to \$500.00. The Law Society was also reorganised as a Provincial body, and was given large disciplinary powers.

In presenting his second budget, Hon. J. A. Calder, Provincial Treasurer, was able to report that the receipts had been somewhat in excess of the estimates, and that a surplus of \$482,280.00 was carried forward. The chief item in the estimated expenditures for the current year was that for public works. This provided for the outlay of a million and a quarter dollars on small bridges, and a quarter of a million on roads. The estimate for education was only \$25,000.00 larger than this last sub-item.

Next day Mr. Haultain introduced a resolution calling for the "early establishment of a telephone system owned and operated by the Province." An amendment was introduced by Mr. George Langley on behalf of the Government and duly carried. This proposal was one affirming the desirability of Government ownership of telephones, but instructing the Government first to make thorough inquiry into existing systems.

Much other important legislation occupied the attention of the House, and some of the measures will be further discussed elsewhere. Prominent among them was an Act defining the scope, functions and character of the prospective University of Saskatchewan, while another bill dealt with the organization and maintenance of a system of High Schools. Closely associated with these measures was the Supplementary Revenue Act, which was introduced by Mr. Calder. It provided for the levying for educational purposes of a tax of one cent an acre upon all taxable land outside of village and town school districts. As a portion of this money would be used for the support of High Schools, the law provided that the children from the rural portions of the Province should be admitted to these institutions without fee.

Early in the summer of 1907 Mr. Scott was again able to take up his work, and on June 21st he was the guest of honour at a very large and noteworthy public banquet at Regina.

In the autumn Attorney-General Lamont resigned his seat as member for Prince Albert city, and was appointed to the bench of the Supreme Court. Mr. William Ferdinand Alphonse Turgeon succeeded him as Attorney-General, and writs were immediately issued for an election at Prince Albert. The opposition candidate was Mr. J. S. Bradshaw, formerly Mayor of Prince Albert, to whom the uncontested ballots gave a majority of one. There were, however, 339 contested ballots, and when these had been reviewed in court, Mr. Turgeon was ultimately declared elected by a majority of fifty-four. Meantime, Mr. Scott's health made necessary a second leave of absence, during which Mr. Calder acted as Premier.

The Hon. Edward Ludlow Wetmore was appointed Chief Justice of the new Supreme Court, September 16th. The other judges appointed to the Court, in addition to the Hon. J. H. Lamont, were the Hon. J. S. P. Prendergast, Hon. H. W. Newlands, and the Hon. T. C. Johnson. On November 21st the appointment of the district court judges was also gazetted: Reginald Rimmer for the Cannington District; A. G. Farrel for the Moose Mountain District; T. C. Gordon for the Yorkton District, and T. F. Forbes for the Prince Albert District.

The third session of the First Legislature was opened by Chief Justice Wetmore, acting as Administrator. An important measure of this session was the Provincial Treasurer's Bill providing for the taxation of railway companies upon their gross yearly earnings within the Province. A rate of three per centum was to be levied in the case of lines seven years in operation, and one and one-half per centum on those in operation for five years and up to seven. The chief reason advanced in justification of this mode of taxation was the Canadian Pacific Railway Company's claim by virtue of its charter to be exempted from taxation on its roadbed, superstructure and buildings.

Attorney-General Turgeon introduced legislation to take the place of the old Territorial Elections Act. The colored lead pencil system was replaced by printed ballots similar to those used in Federal elections. Whereas formerly an individual's right to vote, if it were questioned, was investigated after the election, it was now provided that such inquiry should be made before. Voters' lists were to be prepared by registrars and their deputies, on the basis of personal registration in cities and towns and registration by enumeration in rural districts. The district judges were to be revising officers. While the bill was adversely criticised in some of its details by the opposition, Mr. Haultain on the whole approved of the measure. "I think," said he on May 1st, "that the Government had dealt with an important matter in a broad and effective manner, and I congratulate the Attorney-General."

Much debate of a somewhat less amicable nature attended the passing



Mr. G. B. MURPHY,
Sheriff.



Mr. JOHN DIXON.



Hon. WALTER SCOTT,
Premier of Saskatchewan.



His Worship Wm. TRANT,
Police Magistrate.



Hon. THOMAS McKAY.

of the Redistribution Bill. The whole subject was placed in the hands of a select committee. The members of the committee representing the Government and the opposition, respectively, prepared and exchanged elaborate maps on the basis of which the Province was first divided into four sections to be represented by so many members each, and was ultimately mapped out into forty-four constituencies. This was an increase of sixteen. Among the other bills passed during the session was one providing for a five-year term for future legislatures, subject, of course, to the Lieutenant-Governor's right of dissolution.

The House was prorogued on June 12th and on July 20th the First Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan was rather unexpectedly dissolved. The ostensible reason for the dissolution was the passing of the Redistribution Act, and the desirability of bringing it promptly into effect. However, less than three years had elapsed since the elections of 1905, and the opposition claimed that the advice given to His Honour in this connection was not justified by any public necessity and was based simply on a desire of the Government to take their opponents by surprise. The elections resulted in the return of twenty-seven Liberals and fourteen Conservatives, but involved the defeat of the Hon. Mr. Motherwell, Minister of Agriculture, and the Hon. Mr. Calder, Minister of Education and Provincial Treasurer. A short time afterwards, however, the Federal elections caused vacancies in Saltcoats and Humboldt through the election of Mr. Thomas McNutt and Dr. D. B. Neely to the House of Commons. Mr. Calder was returned for the former constituency and Mr. Motherwell for the latter.

The election of 1908, like that of 1905, was associated with a number of cases of criminal libel. During the campaign the Premier had made deliberate charges reflecting upon Mr. W. H. Laird, the Conservative candidate for Regina. The resulting lawsuit went to the Supreme Court, and on February 1, 1909, the jury announced the impossibility of agreeing upon a verdict. The case, with others that had been based upon it, was withdrawn, as also was one entered by Mr. J. G. McDonald against the Premier, and another commenced by Mr. Scott against the *Moose Jaw News* for defamation of character. At the close of 1908 Mr. Scott announced that a royal commission would be appointed to inquire into charges against the Minister of Education in connection with the letting of school book contracts. Wholesale accusation and insinuations in this regard had no doubt been influential in bringing about the personal defeat of Mr. Calder. The commission consisted of Chief Justice Wetmore and Mr. Justice Newlands. Its report, dated April 8, 1909, exonerated the Minister of Education.

As approach is made nearer and nearer to the time at which a history is actually written, difficulties confronting the historian become, in many

important respects, increasingly disconcerting. The lapse of time is essential in order to any general agreement as to the meaning and permanent importance of the events that might or should find a place in a record of political, social and industrial development. The portion of the present work devoted to these topics will therefore conclude with the expiring of Lieutenant-Governor Forget's term of office and the succession of His Honour, Lieutenant-Governor George William Brown, in 1910.

CHAPTER XLII

FORGET'S ADMINISTRATION: SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT (1905-1910)

EXTRAORDINARY DEVELOPMENT—GRAIN BLOCKADE—MUNICIPAL TELEPHONES—PROVINCIAL EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION—UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN—PARTIAL CROP FAILURE; DISTRIBUTION OF SEED GRAIN—GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF ELEVATORS—TREATY NUMBER TEN.

From the point of view of industrial expansion and the growth of population, the year in which Saskatchewan reached its provincial status surpassed all previous records. Canadian immigration statistics are notoriously unreliable, as no proper records are kept of the number of people leaving or merely passing through the country; however, we know that during the year ending with June 30, 1906, about 190,000 persons entered Canada, most of whom settled in the West. Of this number, some 7,000 were immigrants from the United States, bringing with them property in the form of settlers' effects and cash estimated at \$21,000,000. In the five years that had elapsed since the last decennial census of the Dominion, the population of Manitoba had almost doubled, and that of Saskatchewan had more than trebled. The grain production of the year 1905 for the three Prairie Provinces was something in excess of 200,000,000 bushels, while the wheat harvest of Saskatchewan alone amounted to 26,000,000 bushels—an increase of 10,000,000 bushels over that of the preceding year. Dairying proved prosperous; lumbering was exceedingly profitable; the export of cattle unusually large; the horse trade good; and sheep grazing flourishing. New villages were springing up everywhere and rapidly developing into towns. Railway lines were being constructed or projected in many directions, and everywhere with the rising tide of prosperity land values rose correspondingly. For example, in 1903 the C. N. R. brought into existence the town of North Battleford, which in six months rose to a population of four hundred.

The phenomenal development of the Canadian West brought with it staggering problems, especially for those concerned with transportation. In 1907 it proved impossible to market more than a fraction of the grain crop in the fall, and as the winter advanced, the railway companies found

themselves entirely unable to meet the demands pouring in upon them from every quarter for the transportation of fuel. The Provincial Government had been obliged to take energetic action in order to prevent general distress by securing supplies of fuel for the public from every available source. Even in 1906 a serious coal famine had occurred as a result of a strike at Lethbridge.

The citizen body gradually came to realize that it is not sufficient merely to induce settlers to take up land, but that it is also necessary to surround them with social conditions which will keep them permanently a contented and prosperous farming community. Accordingly, throughout Mr. Forget's last administration one subject of perennial interest was the development of a telephone system which would meet the social and business necessities of the growing West. At conventions of grain growers and representatives of Boards of Trade, and at other like assemblies, resolutions were passed in favor of the government ownership of telephone lines. On the other hand, the Union of Saskatchewan Municipalities recommended municipal ownership of telephone lines. In view of the difference of opinion the Government appointed Mr. Francis Dagger, its telephone expert, to investigate the matter and report.

On April 3, 1908, he had presented his report. It stated that there were in use in Saskatchewan 3,250 telephones, or about one to every ninety-two inhabitants. More than half of all the telephones in the Province belonged to the Bell Telephone Company, and the remainder, with the exception of about three hundred and ten rural telephones, were the property of four other private companies. Mr. Dagger pointed out that the convenience and interest of the public generally rendered it undesirable that the same private interests should control both the long-distance lines and the local exchange system. The unnecessary duplication of long-distance service should be avoided, and these lines should all be owned and controlled by the Provincial Government. In cities, towns and villages the provision of local telephone service, Mr. Dagger thought, should be left to Municipal Councils, to avoid too great a present expenditure of Government funds. Mr. Dagger recommended that the Government should select three or four sparsely settled districts and, by way of an object lesson, show how cheaply a complete rural service could be established.

Upon the basis of this report a Bill was introduced by Mr. Calder in 1908, and duly passed. It went even further than Mr. Dagger had for the present recommended, as not only were rural lines established and encouraged, and trunk lines taken over from the private companies, but the system in the towns and cities was also included with the others that had been brought under Government control. The underlying principle of the Scott telephone policy was the building and operation of long-distance lines by

the Provincial Government, coöperating with rural telephones owned and controlled by the farmers themselves under necessary regulations. The Department of Railways and Telephones commenced actual work on July 1, 1908, and by the middle of August, 1910, one hundred and twenty-three rural telephone companies had been incorporated, representing almost three thousand subscribers and practically the same number of miles of line, with capitalization of \$363,628. The price paid for the Bell system was \$357,999.00, with about \$10,000 to be returned for advance subscriptions paid, and the new Government enterprise involved an immediate additional expenditure of \$436,000.

Among the interesting events of 1908 was the establishment of a Provincial Educational Association. At the initial convention held in Regina, some five hundred delegates were present.

Great interest was also shown in the establishment of the University of Saskatchewan, which on October 16, 1907, had held its first convocation, electing chancellor and senate. Saskatoon, Regina, Prince Albert, Moose Jaw and other towns offered themselves as suitable homes for the new university. The responsibility of choice lay with the Board of Governors, which was organized on May 23, 1908, with Mr. A. F. Angus of Regina as chairman. Saskatoon was ultimately chosen as the Provincial University centre, and Professor Walter C. Murray, M. S., LL. D., of the department of Philosophy and Education in Dalhousie University, Halifax, was appointed the first president.

Despite the general prosperity with which Saskatchewan was blessed in the period under review, the losses by frost and hail were serious on different occasions. Indeed, in 1908 the Provincial and Federal authorities were obliged to coöperate for the distribution of seed grain in large quantities. Approximately 1,200,000 bushels of wheat, about the same amount of oats, and about 200,000 bushels of barley were supplied at moderate rates and under generous conditions as seed grain, to settlers who had lost their crop the year before.

The problem of the Government ownership of elevators was the subject of much discussion. The Grain Growers' Association was naturally keenly alive to the necessity of supplying the farmers of the Province with better facilities for disposing of their products, and the Cabinet Ministers of the Prairie Provinces held important conferences to consider the matter. However, in Saskatchewan the proposal to apply the principle of government ownership was not approved by the authorities and some years elapsed before the Government matured the policy which will be discussed elsewhere.

In spite of the difficulty of handling the Provincial trade and notwithstanding occasional losses from causes not subject to control, before the end

of Mr. Forget's regime, Saskatchewan stood third amongst the Provinces of the Dominion and the States of the Union as a producer of oats and wheat. As the enormous crop was produced from less than thirteen *per centum* of the estimated acreage south of the fifty-fifth parallel, it was evident, moreover, that only a beginning had been made.

During the epoch under review, there took place the last great Indian surrender affecting the Province of Saskatchewan. This was Treaty No. 10. The natives concerned were the Chippeways, Crees and other Indian inhabitants of the northern portions of Saskatchewan, Alberta and a part of Keewatin, not covered in previous surrenders—an area of about eighty-five thousand eight hundred square miles. The original commissioner was Mr. J. A. J. McKenna, who had assisted Messrs. Laird and Ross in the negotiation of Treaty No. 9; and among those who aided him were Messrs. Charles Fisher of Duck Lake and Charles Mair of Ottawa, secretaries to the commission, Mr. Angus McKay and other officers of the Hudson's Bay Company and of the Mounted Police, and Bishop Pascal. The original treaty was signed at Canoe Lake, September 19, 1906. Further adhesions to Treaty No. 10 were negotiated in the following year (August 19, 1907) by Mr. Thomas A. Borthwick, among whose assistants was Mr. W. J. McLean, the well-known Hudson's Bay Company chief factor. It helps one to realize something of the vastness of our undeveloped hinterland when we read that Mr. Borthwick's mission involved a canoe journey of over two thousand miles. The duties of the commissioners included the investigation of the claims for scrip advanced by Halfbreeds in the regions surrendered. Thus was opened for settlement, immigration, trade, mining and lumbering the last portion of the mighty realm over which the native races of Saskatchewan had for so many generations held sway practically undisputed and unshared.

CHAPTER XLIII

COLONIZATION COMPANIES AND ANALOGOUS ENTERPRISES: ANGLO-SAXON IMMIGRATION

REGULATIONS FOR COLONIZATION COMPANIES, 1882—COLLAPSE OF EARLY COMPANIES—LAND GRANTS TO COLONIZATION AND RAILWAY COMPANIES—HARDSHIPS ATTENDANT UPON THE CREATION OF SUCH RESERVES—GIGANTIC FARMING ENTERPRISES—THE BELL FARM—THE SIR JOHN LISTER KAYE FARMS—"THE AMERICAN INVASION"—IMMIGRATION FROM THE BRITISH ISLES—CROFTER SETTLEMENTS—THE BARR COLONY.

The problem of peopling and bringing under cultivation the vast prairies of Saskatchewan and other western provinces has involved various experiments of historical interest. In this portion of our treatise we will review as fully as space permits the story of these enterprises, devoting special attention to a few typical examples.

Upon January 1, 1882, there came into force certain land regulations which guided the operations of colonization companies for a number of years.

Any person or company satisfying the government of good faith and financial stability might obtain, for colonization purposes, an unsettled tract of land anywhere north of the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, not being within twenty-four miles of that road or any of its branches, nor within twelve miles of any yet projected line of railway. The even numbered sections were held for homestead and preëmption purposes, but the odd numbered sections would become the property of the colonization company, on payment of two dollars per acre in five equal instalments. The company would also pay five cents an acre for the survey of the land purchased, and interest at six per centum would be charged on all overdue payments.

The contract into which the colonization company entered with the Government required that within five years the company's reserve should be colonized by placing two settlers on each odd numbered section, and also two settlers on each of the free homestead sections. When such colonization was completed the company was to be allowed a rebate of one hundred

and twenty dollars for each *bona fide* settler. On the expiration of the five years, if all conditions had been fulfilled, such further rebate would be granted as would reduce the purchase price to one dollar per acre. If, however, the full number of settlers required by the regulations had not been placed upon the land in conformity with the official regulations, the company was to forfeit one hundred and sixty dollars for each settler fewer than the required number.

Under what is called plan number two, provision was made for the encouragement of settlement by those desiring to cultivate larger farms than could be purchased under the regulations requiring two settlers to be placed on each section. A colonization company of this sort was called upon to bind itself simply to place one hundred and twenty-eight *bona fide* settlers in each township.

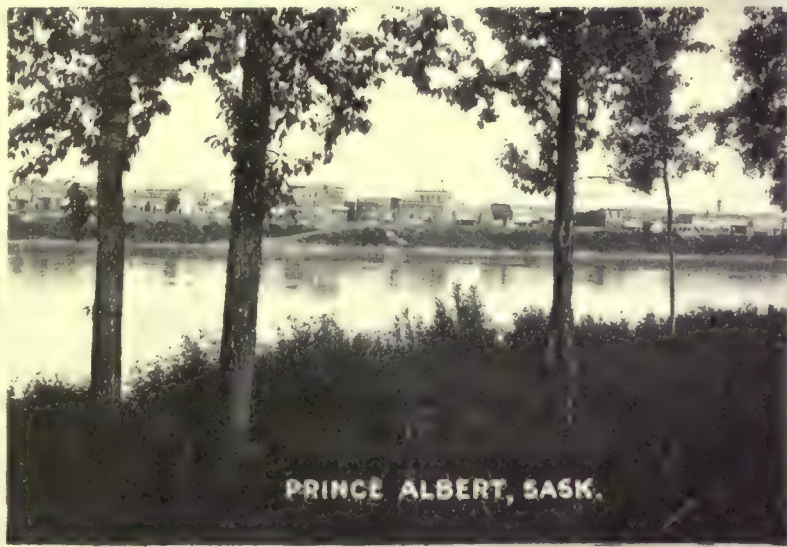
After the boom of 1882, colonization companies sprang up like mushrooms, in every direction. As a general rule, their careers were likewise of mushroom brevity.

It is impossible in the space at our disposal to treat of these companies in any detail. Most of them proved financial failures, as far as the original investors were concerned, and none of them succeeded in placing any considerable number of permanent settlers on their lands. Many of the settlers they did secure were not well adapted to agricultural life in such a country as this then was, and in consequence were soon dissatisfied and restless.

Accordingly, in September and November, 1884, meetings were held in Toronto by the representatives of many of these companies, with a view to obtaining from the Government readjustment or cancellation of their contracts. A petition was addressed to Sir David L. McPherson, in which the colonization companies complained of the unfair competition of interested railway companies, themselves controlling large reserves, of the formidable agitation conducted by a portion of the public press in hostility to their enterprise, and of the opposition of the Farmers' Union and other bodies. Owing to these hindrances, immigration had been checked. Moreover, as large areas of land more eligibly situated for railway facilities were yet available for settlement free, the companies found the sales of the odd numbered sections, as required by the agreement with the Government, to be simply impossible. Furthermore, it having become necessary to grant the railways lands free, which at the date of the contracts with the colonization companies were to cost \$1.00 per acre, these companies, by paying the price stipulated for their lands, were thereby subjected to unequal and hopeless competition. The petitioners therefore prayed that patents might issue to them for such portions of their lands as they might fairly be judged to have earned, and that their charters be cancelled. They would thus be



RIVER ST. LOOKING WEST
PRINCE ALBERT, SASK.



PRINCE ALBERT, SASK.



RIVER ST. LOOKING EAST
PRINCE ALBERT, SASK.

enabled to grant perfect titles in fee simple for those odd numbered sections, for which they were able to obtain purchasers.

The Minister of the Interior recognized that, to a large extent, the failure of the companies was owing to circumstances over which they had no control. Some of them had honestly and earnestly proceeded with the task they had undertaken, and had expended large sums of money in promoting immigration, disseminating general information about the North West and in establishing mills, roads, bridges, stage lines and other improvements. But while they had doubtless been instrumental in bringing into the country a considerable number of its immigrants, a large proportion of these had not settled on the companies' tracts, but had homesteaded elsewhere, or purchased from the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

The Department of the Interior felt that it would be impossible to adopt any hard and fast basis of settlement that would be fairly applicable to all the defaulting companies. However, it was agreed that every settler placed by such a company upon its lands should be credited as a payment of \$160.00 which should be included with such other expenditure as might in the Minister's opinion have materially conduced to the progress of colonization. On such a basis a final settlement was arrived at and the companies concerned were dissolved between 1884 and 1891, chiefly in 1886.

The Saskatchewan Land and Homestead Company, part of whose holdings were south-west of Yorkton, part at the Elbow, and part at Red Deer River, Alberta, had placed two hundred and forty-five settlers on its reserve of 491,746 acres. It had paid on account over \$150,000. In the final settlement it was therefore given the title to 119,200 acres and scrip for \$32,000 additional applicable on the purchase of public lands.

The York Farmers' Colonization Company, operating near Yorkton, placed one hundred and sixty-four settlers and obtained finally 51,358 acres.

The Dominion Lands Colonization Company placed one hundred and forty-three settlers on its reserve in the Fill Hills and ultimately received 56,672 acres and scrip for \$33,586.

The Primitive Methodist Colonization Company, operating between Yorkton and Qu'Appelle, placed one hundred and four settlers, and obtained in the final settlement approximately 36,600 acres.

The Temperance Colonization Company had control of fourteen contiguous townships south of the Saskatchewan, with the Village of Saskatoon as its chief settlement. It placed one hundred and one settlers and received in settlement 100,000 acres.

The Touchwood and Qu'Appelle Colonization Company placed ninety-six settlers and received scrip for 48,300 acres.

The Montreal and Western Land Company, south of Yorkton, had paid approximately \$16,400 on account, which, together with rebates, brought up the amount to its credit to slightly over \$49,000. It had placed sixty-four settlers and received in settlement of its claim 24,586 acres.

These seven companies were all those included in the settlement that had succeeded in placing fifty or more settlers in what is now Saskatchewan. The records of the Land Department at Ottawa, to which the writer was given access, show the terms of settlement arrived at with a number of other concerns which secured some settlers, but fewer than fifty. Their land grants ranged from about four thousand acres down.

Finally seven other such companies, though they had expended much money, had not obtained a single settler. However, they were granted scrip representing considerable sums; four, eight, twelve, fourteen to eighteen thousand dollars apiece.

As a general result of this epidemic of colonization companies, upon the 2,842,742 acres set apart for their reserves, 1,243 settlers were placed. Prior to the final settlement the companies had sold rather less than 1,500,000 acres and in cash payments or rebates had to their credit with the government approximately one and a quarter million dollars. On the cancellation of the contracts, they became the proprietors of tracts of land in the best agricultural districts, aggregating 438,208 acres and scrip in addition to the value of \$375,518.33.

It will be seen that the general issue of this disastrous fiasco in colonization was, without any adequate public advantage gained, to place in the hands chiefly of eastern speculators, the absolute proprietorship of vast blocks of arable lands that in course of time became exceedingly valuable.

The principalities thus alienated to colonization companies are, however, almost insignificant as compared to the kingdoms given away to railway companies. The land grant earned by the Alberta Railway and Coal Company exceeded 1,100,000 acres. By building the Souris Branch alone the Canadian Pacific Railroad earned over 1,400,000 acres, an area considerably greater than that of the whole province of Prince Edward Island. The Manitoba & North West Railway was granted over 1,800,000 acres, an area considerably greater than that of Scotland. By such a policy, Parliament, prior to 1896, alienated to Railway Companies, in the choicest sections of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, the stupendous area of 30,569,354 acres. When this area has a population averaging five persons to each quarter section it will accommodate a rural population of 955,295 persons. A very large proportion of these lands lie within the Province of Saskatchewan. They represent one special form of contribution for railway and settlement purposes, the burden of which is borne and will continue to be borne by the citizens of Saskatchewan, in addition to their share of the

cash subsidies voted by the Federal Parliament and responsibility for bonds guaranteed by the Provincial Assembly.

The practical exemption from taxation enjoyed under their charters by many of these vast corporations has always been a source of infinite public vexation. Moreover, in the early days, especially when relatively little of the country was surveyed and when means for the publication of information to the scattered settlers was yet very inadequate, it could not but happen that much hardship was wrought by the creation of these vast reserves. A prominent Winnipeg physician and politician related to the present writer an instance in point. In 1879 he "squatted" on a piece of land that was subsequently taken up by a large Colonization Company. He had erected buildings, made other improvements and been about three years on his land, before he learned that his title was likely to be subject to question. He received his notice first from the company's local manager, who, in the most insulting manner possible, ordered him off the place, for which courtesy he was properly thrashed by the squatter. As there were a number of other squatters on the tract, an official was sent down from Winnipeg to investigate their claims for indemnity.

Our informant met this functionary on the train and the latter, being in an ultra-communicative frame of mind and of course ignorant of his companion's identity, told him how he had been wined and dined by the company's manager and what an enjoyable visit he had had. He had not troubled to go near the complaining squatters. This was rather interesting information and on reaching Winnipeg its recipient announced his intention of publishing the whole circumstance through the press. To prevent this the company immediately paid him an indemnity of \$4,000.00 for his improvements. The settler notified two fellow squatters to present their claims at the same time and they were likewise met. So far as he was able to inform the writer, none of the several other squatters on the tract received any compensation. This episode is typical except for the fact that the company were dealing with at least one man who knew how to defend his rights.

An interesting phase in the development of Saskatchewan has been that involved by the history of a number of gigantic farming enterprises, financed chiefly by British capitalists. Just before the first notable boom in territorial land values in the early eighties, Major W. R. Bell organized in Winnipeg and partly with the aid of British funds the Qu'Appelle Valley Farming Company. Large areas were purchased at Indian Head, Qu'Appelle, Balgonie and other points in what is now Southern Saskatchewan. Most of the land was bought from the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and the Hudson's Bay Company at one dollar an acre. For a time the prospects of those concerned in this venture seemed very bright and it was thought

that the enterprise would bring into the country a large number of valuable settlers.

The company acquired a tract of 50,000 acres of the best wheat land in America, lying to the north of Qu'Appelle and Indian Head. It was, of course, entirely unsettled, except for the presence of a few squatters. Even before any active settlement had been made, the company had secured "upwards of a hundred thrifty and intelligent settlers and their families, wherewith promptly to inaugurate farming operations." The general plans were somewhat similar to those that had previously been adopted by the great wheat kings of Dakota and Minnesota. They involved, however, various novel and characteristic features, chief among these was an arrangement by which the settlers at once became working share-holders in the company and the recipients of a large proportion of the fruits of their own labor. The enterprise was received with such popular favor that before the publication of the prospectus was completed every syndicate share had been subscribed and the stock was at a very high premium. Mr. Dewdney himself was one of the first presidents. From his actual report presented in January, 1884, we learn that during the summer and fall of 1882, when active operations commenced, 2,700 acres of land were broken. The land seeded this spring yielded an average of twenty bushels to the acre. In 1884 about six thousand were under crop. In 1883 a thirty thousand bushel granary was built, together with two large barrack cottages for the accommodation of men at the main station, buildings for the storage of implements, a blacksmith shop, a horse infirmary and twenty-two cottages with their outbuildings, costing about eight hundred dollars each. Fencing, bridging, tree-planting and other improvements on an ambitious scale also received attention. During the first two years of its history, the company spent approximately \$250,000. Various means were taken to reduce by co-operative methods the expenses of the enterprise. The whole tract was divided into smaller farms. Two-thirds of each of these, as they were broken, were cropped each year, and one-third summer-fallowed.

The management, however, seems to have been extravagant and haphazard and few of those concerned had any practical knowledge of agriculture as it must be pursued in such a country as Western Canada. The share-holders were soon land poor and their great estates fell to pieces, and were disposed of at a sacrifice to smaller holders.

A similar history has to be recorded in regard to the John Lister Kaye farms. Sir John's first investment consisted of some six sections of lands near Balgonie, which he commenced to farm in 1885. Associated with him in this venture were Lord Queensbury and others. In 1888 there was formed

the Canadian Agricultural, Coal and Colonization Company, Limited. This concern took over the Balgonie farm and established nine others.¹ These various farms averaged thirty-six square miles each in area.

Unfortunately the immediately available capital was invested with injudicious haste in buildings, stock and implements, and the management of the farms in many ways soon manifested deplorable ignorance of prairie conditions. The policy of the company was directed by a board in England, the majority of whom had never seen this country. As a colonization enterprise the whole scheme proved the same failure that it was as an investment. In a few years, however, some of the farms were sold and the control of the others passed to a new organization, the last of these being the Canada Land and Ranch Co., which under the management of practical business men proved profitable.

Of colonization companies drafting immigrants from Continental Europe, we shall speak in succeeding chapters.

The Province of Saskatchewan has within its broad limits many thousands of Galician, German, French, Scandinavian, Icelandic, Doukabor, Finnish, Hungarian, Roumanian and Hebrew settlers, but it must not be forgotten that the mass of its citizens are Anglo-Saxons.

The first decade of the twentieth century saw a most remarkable immigration from the United States. Many thousands of these newcomers were returning Canadians, and the vast majority of the rest have thrown in their lot with their British brethren so heartily that in a very short time they are properly counted as genuine Canadians. They retain the affection for the Republic that a Scottish Canadian feels for Scotland, but it does not lessen their loyal appreciation of cabinet government, a non-partizan judicial system, swift and certain justice and other ideals for which Canadian citizenship stands.

The "British-born" citizens of Saskatchewan constitute the fundamental element in the body politic. Most of these have come from Eastern Canada. They are to be found everywhere and the history of their settlement would be simply the history of the Province rewritten.²

Various attempts have been made to establish colonies made up entirely of settlers from the British Isles, but the individualism of the race has not tended to encourage this policy.

In the spring of 1883, Lady Gordon Cathcart sent out a number of Crofters from her estates in Scotland, who settled in what is now known

¹ The ten farms were situated at the following points: Balgonie, Swift Current, Rush Lake, Gull Lake, Crane Lake, Kincorth, Dunmoore, Stair, Bantry and Namako.

² According to the census of 1911, Saskatchewan's citizens of British origin numbered 251,010; of these 124,091 were of English origin, 53,865 of Irish, and 70,753 of Scotch. The corresponding figures a decade earlier were 17,543, 10,644 and 11,674; the total number of settlers of British origin then being 40,094.

as the Benbecula Settlement, south west of Moosomin. The success of at least some of these immigrants caused further attention to be drawn to the advisability of assisting a larger body of Crofters to settle in the fertile North West. Mr. W. Peacock Edwards, of Edinburgh, and Mr. Ranald MacDonald, of Aberdeen, visited Manitoba and the North West Territories in 1884 and, not confining themselves to the district of Benbecula Settlement, they drove through and inspected large tracts of country. The result of their report was the sending out of about one hundred additional families in the following spring, some from the estates of Lady Gordon Cathcart, some from those of the Duke of Argyle, and some from those of the Earl of Dunmore. They were located along the district south of Moosomin, Wapella and Red Jacket. In 1889, a Crofter settlement was also founded at Saltcoats. Progress was slow at first in these various settlements, owing partly to the inexperience of the Crofters with regard to methods of farming adapted to Saskatchewan, and partly to extravagant expenditures, especially upon machinery. The settlers were inadvertently encouraged in their improvidence by the fact that the promoters of the movement advanced to them loans of \$500 to \$600. Many of the first settlers became discouraged and abandoned their homesteads, but those who tenaciously stayed on the land have prospered in the end.

Financial aid was also extended to old country immigrants to the East London Artisans' Colony, south of Moosomin, prospected by Major-General Sir Francis DeWinton and other prominent citizens of London. The Church Colonization Land Society and various other like bodies also engaged in assisting emigration movements, but, upon the whole, the policy did not prove very encouraging, as far as immediate results were concerned, at all events.

The most remarkable attempt to transplant to a given locality in Saskatchewan a large group of Old Country immigrants is that associated with the name of Rev. I. M. Barr.

In 1901 this gentleman went to England from the United States, with the purpose of organizing a British colonization enterprise in South Africa. In this he met with insufficient encouragement, and in 1902 he applied for an appointment in the Canadian immigration service, but was rejected. Nevertheless he visited Canada and made preparation to bring out a large number of settlers. He led his clients to believe that he had made full arrangements for the immediate establishment in full operation of a store syndicate, a transportation organization, a colony hospital and a home building and plowing department for late arrivals.

In all his arrangements, however, Mr. Barr was hampered by inexperience, lack of capital and imperviousness to all suggestions emanating from immigration officers. For example, a number of bronchos were purchased

at Calgary and loaded into an ordinary box car, so that they reached their destination smothered! When his party of English immigrants reached Saskatoon—the settlement nearest to the site of the proposed colony—Barr was yet in England, still strenuously refusing to accept the help or advice of the Canadian immigration officials. However, the Immigration Department erected tents at Saskatoon and did all in its power to assist the inexperienced settlers in their two hundred miles trek westward to their homesteads and in their subsequent efforts to establish themselves there.

At the colony, Barr indeed established his store syndicate, but owing to the excessive prices charged by it, it collapsed, the headstrong promoter obstinately refusing the coöperation of the Department, which proposed floating supplies down from Edmonton. Barr was ultimately deposed by the settlers from the leadership of the colony, his place being taken by the Rev. Mr. Lloyd, who had accompanied the party as chaplain. This gentleman by his business ability and incapacity for discouragement saved the situation when it seemed almost desperate. A memorial to the services he rendered his comrades remains in the name of their chief settlement—Lloydminster. In due time the colony took healthy root and gradually attained prosperity. Progress in this direction was hastened as other settlers more experienced in the ways of the country came into the district. The settlement thus ceased to be "All English," but all concerned have benefitted by the intermingling of stocks and the opportunities afforded for the comparison of agricultural methods favored by peoples from various environments.

CHAPTER XLIV

IMMIGRATION FROM CONTINENTAL EUROPE (NORTH WESTERN)

CONTRACT WITH NORTH ATLANTIC TRADING COMPANY: CONSUMMATED 1899: ANNULLED 1906—SUBSEQUENT IMMIGRATION PROPAGANDA—EASY ASSIMILATION OF IMMIGRANTS FROM NORTHERN AND WESTERN EUROPE—ICELANDIC IMMIGRANTS—THE MENNONITES—SETTLERS FROM AUSTRIA HUNGARY—HEBREWS.

The census of 1911 indicated the presence in Saskatchewan of approximately 160,000 settlers of continental origin,¹ hailing from North Western Europe. For a number of years the immigration propaganda under which such settlers were secured was largely controlled by an organization known as the North Atlantic Trading Company. In 1899 this company entered into an agreement with the Canadian Government to spend annually not less than \$15,000 in presenting to the agricultural classes of Holland, Denmark, Germany, Northern and Western Russia, Austria-Hungary, Luxemburg, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Switzerland the advantages of immigration into Canada. For each farmer or domestic brought into the country by the company it was to receive from the Canadian Government a bonus of £1 sterling. In 1904 the contract with the North Atlantic Trading Company was given a ten years' renewal. The agreement, however, was made subject to cancellation on four years' notice in case of a breach of its terms.

In most European countries it is illegal to engage in immigration propaganda, and it was therefore necessary for the company to enshroud itself in impenetrable secrecy. Outside of the innermost circle of the Government confidential officials, no one knew and indeed no one yet knows even who the members of the company were. Such a state of affairs left room for the wrongful manipulation of subsidies and aroused steadily increasing public disfavor. It was believed that the company was receiving the bonus in the case of very many immigrants whose coming to the country was not owing to its influence. Moreover, it was claimed that undue attention was being given to eastern Europe. On these grounds the contract was therefore annulled, terminating November 30, 1906. In the seven years of its operations this secret corporation had received from the Government the sum of

¹ Exclusive of 23,251 settlers of French origin, chiefly from eastern Canada.

\$367,245.00. This is practically Canada's only experiment in the farming out of immigration propaganda and it entailed such serious and persistent criticism that such a method of inducing settlement is not likely again to be met with favorable consideration.

Indeed, the need for such an organization, if it ever existed, had disappeared. The tide of immigration had set strongly toward Canadian shores, and the problem was no longer to induce, but to safeguard and assimilate. Formal measures for the securing of continental immigrants have almost entirely ceased as far as the Canadian Government is concerned. It has continued to some extent in France, where the *entente cordiale* has resulted in the French Government winking at the operations of Canadian immigration officials. In Scandinavia the Government does not actively discourage emigration, but supervises emigration propaganda carefully in the interests of its citizens. To reliable information, however, from official Canadian sources they have given wide and effective publicity through the schools and otherwise. Practically all other European countries, however, vigorously suppress any such movement. The Scandinavians in Saskatchewan in 1911 numbered 33,991, as against only 1,452 in 1901. Many of these were born or had lived for years in the United States.

No influence for the securing of desirable citizens is so important and effective as personal letters from successful settlers to their friends in the old lands, or reports carried back by prosperous immigrants revisiting the homes of their childhood. Consequently the best "foreign settlements" in Saskatchewan consist largely of settlers who have not come in a body, but who were friends and neighbors in the home land.

Generally speaking, the immigrants from northern and north western Europe, and from Teutonic countries and provinces in particular, are an acquisition the value of which is unquestionable. As a general rule, they rapidly adapt themselves to Canadian institutions. Though, as a rule, they retain their mother tongue for domestic intercourse, they promptly set themselves to the learning of English. Their assimilation therefore presents no very serious problems. The present writer has been the guest in many scores of the homes of such settlers and has observed with interest the frequency with which certain important topics formed the staple of conversation around the family circle in the evening. These topics included the freedom these new settlers enjoyed from excessive taxation and onerous police supervision; the exceptional opportunities here presented for the poor man to enjoy the benefit of his own labor; the security of life and property, and the freedom from army conscription. As contrasted with these hopeful themes, the old folks would tell of the hardships and hopeless poverty from which they had escaped. Such topics habitually discussed with the rising generation cannot fail to produce excellent results.

Though a surprisingly small percentage have come direct from Germany, a very large proportion of our immigrants from continental Europe are German speaking. These include many thousands from Austria; a considerable number from Hungary; and a very large body of settlers from the German provinces of southwestern Russia.

A relatively small but exceedingly valuable immigration has come from Iceland. The movement to America commenced about 1874 and in 1875 some five hundred Icelanders settled about Lake Winnipeg. Six years later they numbered over six thousand. The early settlers experienced many hardships, suffering severely from epidemics of smallpox. Moreover, the lands they had chosen had been favored on account of their facilities for hunting and fishing, and were not particularly good for agricultural purposes. In spite of these drawbacks the Icelanders have made extraordinary progress, and the overflow of their immigration into Saskatchewan has been heartily welcomed.

Another body of immigrants of continental origin, whose settlements in Saskatchewan have been offshoots from settlements in Manitoba, are the Mennonites. The members of that sect in this country are chiefly German Russians. They are representatives of a religious body dating to early in the 16th century. The most outstanding tenets of whose creed are those forbidding all oaths or preparations for warfare, and demanding the absolute separation of church and state. These doctrines involved them in serious difficulties with the authorities in their mother land, and the Canadian Government offered them an asylum, promising them exemption from military service and the right to live in colonies instead of upon their homesteads. The first settlements of Russian Mennonites were chiefly in Manitoba, the Mennonites of eastern Canada being of Pennsylvanian origin. The immigration commenced in 1874 and by the end of the century the western Mennonites numbered over thirty thousand. While they are possessed of many virtues, their exclusive habits have rendered them very difficult of assimilation. In recent years, however, rapid progress has been made, especially through the belated establishment of public schools in the Mennonite communities.

The citizen body of Austria-Hungary is made up of very diverse racial elements; approximately forty-five per cent. are Slavs; about twenty-five per cent. are Servian; sixteen per cent. are Magyars; the remainder include many thousand Croatians, Ruthenians (popularly known as Galicians), Poles, Bohemians, Hebrews and other races. The immigrants to Canada are chiefly from the province of Galicia, and the movement from that quarter was brought about by the North Atlantic Trading Company. As a

general rule these settlers are primarily agriculturists. Those who have settled in the cities, however, have tended to congregate in congested slums where their presence has greatly added to the difficulties of those entrusted with the maintenance of law, order and the proper hygienic conditions.

Since 1906 the Canadian Government has made no further effort to secure this class of immigrants, but they have continued to come in large numbers. In 1907-8 the immigrants from Austria-Hungary numbered over 21,000; in 1908-9 nearly 11,000; in 1909-10 approximately 10,000; in 1910-11 over 16,000. Those that have not made for the urban centres have chiefly chosen timber lands in eastern Manitoba, north-central Saskatchewan and Alberta. These immigrants, as a rule, were very poor, but large numbers of them are already well-to-do. On account of their tendency to segregate themselves in self-contained communities, their assimilation has so far been rather discouragingly slow. Of late, however, most encouraging improvement in this respect has been prominently in evidence. Numerous Ruthenian districts have established schools, which, as regards building and equipment, at all events, would put to shame many prosperous and long established settlements in the best parts of eastern Canada. And in these schools, despite many errors in the matter of management, the work of nationalization is proceeding apace.

Various Hebrew agricultural settlements have been established in Saskatchewan, notably at Hursch, at Edenbridge and near Lyton. These, however, have proved a doubtful success. The experience of centuries during which the Jews have been deliberately excluded from agricultural pursuits has rendered them essentially city dwellers. In too large a proportion of instances they have not prospered as farmers, and as soon as the titles to their homesteads have been obtained, the farms have usually been sold and their owners have removed to the urban centres. There are many exceptions to these general statements, however, and the census of 1911 showed in Saskatchewan the presence of 356 Jewish farmers, occupying with their families, over 76,000 acres of land. The grain they produced in 1912 was valued at over \$170,000, and their assets over liabilities amounted to nearly a million dollars. Since 1907 Hebrew settlement has been under the general management of the Canadian Committee of the Jewish Colonization Association.

Our Jewish immigrants have shown a most praiseworthy interest in education. Owing to the provisions made by the Government of Saskatchewan for the establishing and support of rural schools, each Jewish colony is provided with an English School. To supply the want of Hebrew and religious education every colony has a Hebrew teacher. In newer districts where the farmers are not as yet able to support their own teacher the Jewish Colonization Association is making liberal provision in this

regard. The Hebrew Teachers are carefully chosen. Apart from instructing the children, it is also their duty periodically to arrange lectures and debates for the benefit of the parents and the young men of the colonies. Monthly reports and close records are being kept of the children's progress, the results proving highly gratifying.

Several of the Colonies are in possession of Modern Synagogues, provided with libraries and recreation halls. Of great importance has also proven the establishment of "Free Loan Associations" in most of the colonies which is materially supported by this association. The Jewish Colonization Association also renders financial assistance in the shape of loans to Jewish settlers coming to western Canada with a view to establishing themselves on homesteads. A Jewish homesteader, after living on his land from one to two years and showing some progress can apply to this association for a loan which he receives at a very low rate of interest, viz: three or four per cent; thus enabling him to purchase the stock and implements necessary for a farmer.

Since 1907 the Canadian Committee has done a great deal to further the success of Jewish Colonization all through the Dominion, and the increasing success of our Hebrew settlers in recent years has been the result of its wise and liberal guidance.

CHAPTER XLV

IMMIGRATION FROM SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE: THE DOUKHOBORS, ETC.

A PECULIAR PEOPLE—ORIGIN OF DOUKHOBOR SECT—PETER VERIGIN—
PETITION TO ALEXANDRA—EVIDENCES OF THE SEVERITY OF DOUK-
HOBOR PERSECUTIONS—THE WEAPON-BURNING OF 1895—THE
IMMIGRATION—DIFFICULTIES REGARDING LAND REGULATIONS,
MARRIAGE LAWS AND LAWS REGARDING VITAL STATISTICS—PETITION
OF PROTEST—LIBERAL ATTITUDE OF GOVERNMENT—PILGRIMAGE OF
1902—ARRIVAL OF VERIGIN—HIS CHARACTER—UNCONTROLLABLE
FANATICS—NUDITY PARADES—LAW BREAKERS RESORT TO SELF-
STARVATION—REDUCTION OF DOUKHOBOR LAND GRANTS—DISSATIS-
FACTION—PARTIAL EMIGRATION TO BRITISH COLUMBIA—TREATMENT
OF WOMEN—EDUCATION—ASSISTANCE RENDERED BY QUAKERS—
GENERAL ESTABLISHMENT OF SCHOOLS—SUCCESS AND FAILURE OF
THE DOUKHOBOR COLONIZATION ENTERPRISE—RUTHENIANS, ETC.

The first large party of Doukhobors to settle in Saskatchewan arrived in January, 1899. Ever since that date these peculiar people have been the object of so much public interest, sympathy, distrust and anxiety that the reader will probably welcome a somewhat lengthy discussion of their characteristics and of the problems growing out of their settlement in this country.

The Doukhobors ("Spirit Wrestlers") are a sect who call themselves "The Christian Community of the Universal Brotherhood." The sect is of obscure origin. It first attracted widespread attention of the authorities in the middle of the Eighteenth century, in certain Russian settlements north of the Black Sea. For politico-religious reasons the Doukhobor communities in the Crimean peninsula were broken up by the Russian authorities and their members scattered through the Caucasus between 1841 and 1844.

For many years their most distinguished leader has been Peter Verigin, who, with his section of the Doukhobors, is a profound believer in internationalism, communism and vegetarianism, all of which are taken to be essential elements of Christianity. The first of these tenets involves the doctrine of non-resistance and was the special source of friction between

the Spirit Wrestlers and the military authorities of Russia. It resulted in the banishment of Verigin and many of his disciples to Siberia. Nevertheless, the movement continued to grow and persecution became more general and severe.

As indicating the point of view of these unfortunate people, the following petition from Peter Verigin to Czarina Alexandra is of special interest:

"May the Lord God preserve thy soul in this life, as well as in the future age, Sister Alexandra.

"I, a servant of our Lord Jesus Christ, am living in the testimony and glad tidings of His truth. I am in exile since the year 1886, from the 'Spirit-Wrestlers' (Doukhobor) Community of Transcaucasia. The word 'Spirit-Wrestler' should be understood thus: that we see in the spirit and with our soul profess God (see, in the Gospel, the meeting of Christ with the Samaritan woman at the well).

"I implore thee, sister in Christ the Lord, Alexandra, pray thy husband Nicholas to spare the Spirit-Wrestlers in the Caucasus from persecution. It is to thee that I address myself, because I think thy heart is more turned towards the Lord God. And there are at this moment more women and children suffering; husbands and parents are confined in prisons, and families are dispersed in the native villages, where the authorities incite the population to behave coarsely with them. This falls especially heavy upon the Christian women. Lately they have been putting women and children into prisons.

"The fault on our part is that we, as far as it is possible to us, endeavour to become Christians. In regard to some of our actions, their understandings may not be sufficiently enlightened.

"Thou are probably acquainted with the teaching of vegetarianism; we are sharers in these humanitarian views. Lately we have ceased to use flesh as food, and to drink wine, and have forsaken much of that which leads to a dissipated life, and darkens the light of the human soul. Refusing to kill animals, we in no case regard it as possible to deprive men of life. If we were to kill an ordinary man, or even a robber, it would seem to us that we had decided to kill Christ.

"The state demands that our brethren should learn the use of the gun, in order to know well how to kill. The Christians do not agree to this; they are put into prisons, beaten and starved; the sisters and mothers are coarsely defiled as women, very often with railing exclamations: 'Where is your God?' 'Why does he not help you?' (Our God is in heaven and on earth and fulfills all His will.)

"This is sad, especially because it is all taking place in a Christian country. But our community in the Caucasus consists of about twenty thousand men. Is it possible that such a small number could injure the organism of the State, if soldiers were not recruited from among them? At the present moment they are recruited, but uselessly. Thirty men are in the Ekaterinograd penal battalion, where the authorities are only tormenting themselves by tormenting them.

"Man we regard as the temple of the living God, and we can in no



GRAIN FIELD NEAR
PRINCE ALBERT, SASK.



WATER FRONT
PRINCE ALBERT, SASK.



RAFTING.
PRINCE ALBERT, SASK.



STEAMER PASSING THROUGH THE DRAW. PRINCE ALBERT, SASK.



SUNSET
PRINCE ALBERT, SASK.



case prepare ourselves to kill his, though for this we were to be threatened by death.

"The most convenient manner of dealing with us would be to establish us in one place where we might live and labor in peace. All State obligations in the form of taxes we would pay, only we cannot be soldiers.

"If the Government were to find it impossible to consent to this, then let it give us the right of emigration into one of the foreign countries. We would willingly go to England or (which is most convenient) to America, where we have a great number of brothers in the Lord Jesus Christ.

"From the fulness of my soul I pray the Lord for the welfare of thy family.

"The servant of Christ, PETER.
"(living in exile in the Government of Tobolsk)."

Perhaps this petition may have had something to do with the ultimate grant of permission to the Doukhobors to leave the country, but until the very last their sufferings "for conscience sake" were extreme. So many of their men had been killed or banished that when these unfortunate people escaped from the land of their persecution, their women were in a majority of three to one as compared with the number of men. Indeed, the sufferings of the Spirit-Wrestlers had become so fearful that by common consent they concluded that it would be wrong to bring into the world more children to suffer such persecutions as they were enduring. This remarkable decision was given practical effect, a fact profoundly significant from the point of view of those desirous of judging the moral earnestness of this peculiar people.

The Doukhobors had that in their breast against which compulsion is of no avail. In 1895 a large number of the peasants gathered together all the weapons in their district and publicly burned them, thus signaling in a dramatic manner their fixed determination never to give way before the forces of militarism.

Tolstoi now took up their cause and, with the active co-operation of numerous influential Quakers in Great Britain and America, funds were raised to assist a general emigration, leave for which was granted early in 1898. Mr. Aylmer Maude, with Prince Hilko^f and two Doukhobor families visited Canada to negotiate and liberal terms were offered by the Canadian Immigration Authorities. In 1899 seven thousand three hundred and sixty-three of the brethren came to Canada, where they were welcomed with remarkable cordiality by the Minister of the Interior, his numerous officials and the public generally. Some five thousand five hundred settled in the vicinity of Yorkton,¹ and the remainder in the neighborhood of Rosthern.

¹ These settlements were some thirty miles distant from Yorkton, but as that place was the nearest railway town its name (much to the disgust of the citizens of Yorkton) has been given by the public to the Doukhobor reserves. The reader will remember, however, that Yorkton and the Yorkton Doukhobor settlements are many miles apart.

where some two hundred and seventy thousand four hundred and eighty acres was set apart as Doukhobor reserves. Very soon after their arrival, however, they commenced to protest with great earnestness against the Canadian Land Laws and certain other regulations, which conflicted with what they conceived to be their religious rights and duties. Their views were set forth in the following petition, dated June 22, 1900:

"Petition to the Canadian Government from the delegates of the Society of Universal Brotherhood, near Yorkton, Assa.

"Before everything else, we must extend to you, from the communities which delegated us, their sincere and heartfelt thanks for opening the country which is governed by you to us, for your endeavours to help us to settle and for your interest in our welfare. We feel and express to you our great gratitude. But now, after becoming acquainted with the laws of your country, we are obliged to make another request, that you take into consideration our beliefs, which we consider to be the laws of God, and grant us the possibility to settle and live in your country without breaking those laws. You doubtless understand that we cannot break laws, as we believe them to embody the Truth of God, but we have found out that you have in force laws, the fulfillment of which will be a direct breaking of such Truth. Enumerating below what points in your laws do not correspond with our understanding of the Divine Truth, we ask you not to enforce against us such of your laws as contradict our beliefs, and thus give us the possibility of living in your country without breaking, openly or tacitly, directly or indirectly, our conception of the Truth.

"(1) The laws of your country require that every male emigrant, 18 years of age, who wants to settle on vacant government land, has to record it in his name, and, after a certain term, such land becomes his property. But we cannot accept such a law, cannot record homesteads in our individual names, cannot make them our private property, for we believe that in so doing we would break directly God's Truth. Who knows this Truth knows also that it opposes the acquisition of property. But if, through human weakness, a man may be forgiven for considering as his own anything which he has acquired by his labour, and which is necessary for his daily use, like clothing, food, or household goods and utensils, there is no excuse for a man who, knowing the law of God, still appropriates, as his own, something that is not the fruit of his labour, but was created by God for the use of everybody. Is not the division, the ownership and the recording of land the main cause of wars and strife among men, and is it not the cause of there being masters and serfs? The law of God commands men to live like brothers, without divisions, but in union for mutual help; but if a man cuts out and appropriates land for himself—land which he did not work to create—how is he going to divide with others the results of his own labour? And as every breaking of Divine Truth brings evil, so did evil creep among us when we thoughtlessly accepted land under your homestead laws. Already the division of land between our various settlements has caused quarrels about that land among us, quarrels unknown to us heretofore. And what will be the result if each one of us becomes the owner of a separate piece, and the land under our settlements becomes

private property? It will prove a great temptation to the strong, and fatal to the weak. Taking all the above into consideration, we petition you to let us have the land for settlement and agricultural purposes, but upon the conditions given to your Indians—that is, the land is to be held by the community, and not by individual members. It matters not to us whether the land be considered our community property, or the property of your country; but we would like it to be considered as given to us for an indefinite period of time, and if you wish us to pay rent we are willing to do so, provided we shall be able.

“(2) You have also a law in your country that everybody who wants to contract marriage, in order to make it legal, shall obtain a license, and pay two dollars for the same; and that a divorce can be obtained only in the courts; and if a person should remarry without a divorce so obtained he is liable to imprisonment for many years.

“We cannot accept such a law, for we believe that it also breaks the law of God. We cannot believe that a marriage can become legal because it is recorded in a police register and a fee of two dollars paid for it; on the contrary, we believe that such recording and payment annuls marriage and breaks up its real legality. We believe that the real legalization of a marriage union is when it is brought about freely as a result of a pure feeling of a mutual moral affection between man and woman. Only such a pure feeling of love, born of the mutual recognition of moral traits of character, creates a real legality of a marriage according to the law of God—not a record of the same in a police register and a money fee. Every marriage which has its source in this pure feeling of mutual love will be legal before God, although it were not registered and other people would not recognize its legality; and every marriage not the result of free will and pure love, but contracted unwillingly, or for lust, or money, or any other consideration, will be always illegal before God, although it should be registered in all the police records and considered legal by everybody. Therefore, we believe that legalization of the marriage bond belongs solely to God; and we cannot consent to transfer the legalization of our marriages from God to the police. As to divorce, we believe that every man who has divorced his wife is an adulterer, and forces her to become an adulteress; and that every remarriage, or marrying a divorced man or woman, is also adultery. But we believe also that the law of God is the law of freedom, that an open sin is lighter than a secret one, and that if a marriage union is contracted otherwise than through a pure feeling of love, such a union is illegal from its beginning, and constitutes the sin of adultery; and that therefore when persons living in such an illegal union come to such a conclusion, and conceive the impossibility of making such a union legal, out of the two evils the lesser for them will be to divorce and to separate. And in such a case a divorce may become legal, if the heavenly Father will forgive the sin of the divorced parties, and so allow them to remarry with free consciences. As the forgiveness of God can be known only to two people concerned, no one, nor any human institution, can make a divorce legal or illegal, for they cannot be competent to know whether God forgave the sin of divorce or not. That can be known only to the consciences of the divorced themselves.

In consideration of the above, we cannot recognize as correct, and

cannot accept any human laws as to the marriage union, being sure that all pertaining to it is in the province of God's will and human conscience.

(3) There is another law in your country, which requires that every inhabitant shall give notice to the police of every birth and death in his family.

We cannot accept that law, for we see no need for it in the order of things prescribed by God. Our heavenly Father knows, without a police register, whom He sends into the world and whom He calls back. Only the will of God is important to humanity, for upon it depends our life and death, and not upon a police register. A man will live until he is called by his Creator, although he should not be recorded in a police register, and can die immediately after having been registered as living.

We do not refuse to answer, if called upon, about the number of births and deaths in our community. If anyone wants to know it, let him ask, but we will not, by ourselves, report it to anyone.

Having explained what in the laws of your country is irreconcilable with what we consider the Divine Truth, and which we cannot break, we once more petition the government of Canada to grant us exceptions concerning the use of lands, legality of marriage unions and registration, in order that we may live in Canada without breaking the Divine Truth as we understand it."

The attitude of the Canadian Government was exceedingly liberal. The authorities believed that, with patience, they could induce the peasants to acquiesce in Canadian institutions, and in the meantime the minimum compulsion was brought to bear upon them. Every possible latitude was allowed in connection with the land regulations. Indeed, the whole attitude of hostility, or distrust manifested by the Doukhobors was quite plainly the result of long and dreadful persecution. Their only relations with governments and government officials had ever been one of passive resistance to laws and regulations doing violence to their conscience. That the Canadian Government could really be their friends they could not comprehend. As one of the wiser members of their Order said in extenuation of their conduct, "A hunted hare fears every stump." Even as regards Doukhobor aversion to our marriage laws, the authorities felt that no severity was called for as yet, as those familiar with the sect agreed that real immorality was all but unknown among them.

A much more perplexing problem arose, however, when in 1902, a very large number of the Doukhobors in the colonies north of Yorkton became imbued with a notion that Jesus Christ was awaiting them somewhere and that they must go on a pilgrimage to meet him. After a march of thirty or forty miles to Yorkton, the authorities interfered to the extent of their detaining the women and children, one thousand and sixty in number. Some six hundred men and boys, however, marched eastward as far as Minnedosa, Manitoba, exposing themselves to the severities of a Saskatchewan Novem-

ber, sleeping on the snow-covered prairies and dependent for their food upon the charity of their amazed fellow-citizens. With a faith or credulity astonishing in the twentieth century, they were in momentary expectation of meeting their re-incarnated Saviour, who would lead them on to evangelize the world. On November 8th, the Canadian authorities took decisive action, and, though the party was already becoming disintegrated, it still numbered about four hundred and fifty. These were forcibly bundled into a special train and sent back to Yorkton and thence to their villages. A very large number of the Doukhobors had, of course, taken no part in the pilgrimage, and between them and their ultra-fanatical co-religionists serious dissensions arose.

All these troubles resulted, in part at least, from the lack of any recognised leadership among themselves. Partly, they were the result of the machinations of a few irresponsible busybodies. These troublemakers were possessed of an elementary education which, after their arrival in Canada, made them the spokesmen of their illiterate brethren and otherwise gave them a hitherto unknown importance. All this fostered foolish ambitions and in various ways these dangerous individuals proceeded to show their influence. In December, 1902, however, Peter Verigin, after fifteen years' exile in Siberia without trial, was at last released, and joined his people in Canada.

Verigin is admittedly a most perplexing character. In appearance he is tall and distinguished looking. His eyes are thoughtful and his manner is that of a brave and earnest man who has been tried by great suffering. As a theologian or philosopher he is impractical in the extreme, but as a business man he very soon demonstrated the possession of exceptional practical ability. He immediately set himself to the task of restoring harmony among the members of his disintegrated flock, and to guiding his people in such a direction as would lead to material prosperity.

Already a considerable number of the Doukhobors were showing a tendency to discard communism for individualism in the matter of real and personal property, and through Verigin's arrival checked this growth of individualism, in the Yorkton settlement especially, recent government reports indicate that by 1912 about thirty-five per centum of the members of the Brotherhood have broken away from communal conditions. It may be remarked in passing that their more orthodox brethren have not hesitated to punish this procedure by social and religious ostracism and the forfeiture of all share in the communal property.

Under Verigin's guidance and encouragement several grist mills and saw mills were set up, a considerable number of steam threshing outfits were purchased, and several hundred additional horses were placed upon the farms. Owing to the communistic tenets of the sect, the property of the

individual members of the community is practically all held in Verigin's name.

While Verigin's influence is most extraordinary, it is exercised without ostentation. Indeed, taught caution by their experience in Russia, the Doukhobors maintain the utmost secrecy as to how the affairs of their community are managed. They are careful never to implicate their leader when announcing their decisions.

Even Verigin, however, has not been able to restrain some of his fanatical followers from extraordinary acts of folly which have brought the whole Brotherhood into disrepute. A small number of the colonists decided among themselves that a restoration of the conditions existing in the Garden of Eden would require that the faithful should not only go abroad preaching their gospel through the world, but should discard their clothing—which was considered an outward visible sign of man's fall.

The first of these extraordinary nudity pilgrimages occurred in 1903. It was not quelled until twenty-six of the pilgrims had been taken into custody at Regina. Other such outbreaks of fanaticism occurred later, the last pilgrimage moving East in 1907. Some of this party advanced as far as Fort William, where eighty of them marched nude through the streets on New Year's Day. In considering these outbursts of religious mania it is only fair to remember that the overwhelming majority of the Doukhobors viewed them with the utmost disfavour, and while the handful of lunatics were causing so much perplexity to the police, the remaining thousands of the Doukhobors were soberly and industriously labouring for the general good, and doing much valuable work in the development of Saskatchewan.

Some of the members of the sect have always objected to the use of beasts of burden. On one occasion six of these fanatics decided to remove temptation from among their brethren by the destruction of machinery requiring horsepower. On Verigin's own instigation these deluded reformers were arrested and given two years in the Stony Mountain Penitentiary. This did not settle the matter, however. They argued that they were being sinfully detained in custody and that for them to do anything which would facilitate such detention would cast the moral responsibility upon themselves; consequently they decided to refrain from taking food in prison. So steadfastly did they stand by this amazing resolution that the authorities ultimately found it necessary to release them to prevent the whole party from dying of starvation. Indeed, they were already in such an emaciated condition at the time of their release that one of them died the following day. When people have the courage of their convictions developed to such an extent as this and yet recognize no authority except that of their own unenlightened consciences, they certainly present a difficult problem to those entrusted with the oversight of public affairs.

In 1908 it became evident that a very large number of the Doukhobor sect would never fulfil the necessary homestead duties, and that indeed the territory reserved for this purpose had been unnecessarily great. The situation was investigated by a Government Commission and one thousand seven hundred quarter sections were cut off from their reserves and thrown open for general homestead purposes. Two years later rather than cancel the remaining Doukhobor holdings, in their entirety, for failure to take the oath of citizenship and otherwise to fulfil the land regulations, the Government decided to solve the problem by allotting fifteen acres for each man, woman and child. The rest of what had been the Doukhobor Reserves was then thrown open to public settlement on ordinary terms.

Meantime the dissatisfaction of those Doukhobors who still clung uncompromisingly to their communistic principles was increasing. They had been industrious and economical and were accumulating money very rapidly, but mere individual financial independence was not an end that to them seemed desirable.

Accordingly, on behalf of his brethren, Verigin purchased some ten thousand acres of fruit land at the junction of the Kootenay and Columbia Rivers in British Columbia and a very large number of the Doukhobors moved from Saskatchewan to settle on this tract. There they established a thriving settlement with a number of important and remunerative industries. Even in British Columbia, however, they have not found themselves able to entirely ignore the authority of provincial laws, and at the time of writing, January, 1913, a general exodus is contemplated to Colorado.

A word must be said regarding their treatment of their women. The public are familiar with pictures showing Doukhobour women hitched to ploughs like oxen, and these portrayals of the manner of life have resulted in serious misconceptions. It has already been remarked that so many of the Doukhobor men had lost their liberty and even their lives in Russia for conscience sake, that their number in the Canadian Colonies were most disproportionately small. On their arrival in this country they were almost destitute of means, and as the quickest way to earn a little ready money, a very large proportion of the men temporarily left their colonies to work with railway construction gangs. In consequence, if the early crops were to be planted at all it was manifest that the work must be done chiefly by the women. Moreover, they had not nearly a sufficient number of horses and oxen for their agricultural needs. The women, therefore, took counsel together and determined to perform the task themselves. The reader will agree, therefore, that these scenes of women toiling in the fields like oxen reflect not discredit on the man, but glory upon the women, whose undaunted courage enabled them to meet a distressing crisis.

It is, of course, not to be understood that Doukhobor women are unac-

customed to manual labour in the fields. They, like most other European peasants, have never experienced and probably never desired any such definite division of labour between the sexes as is customary in Anglo-Saxon communities. Perhaps this has not been an unmixed disadvantage, if one may judge by the stalwart vigour characteristic of these peasant women.

The great majority of the Doukhobors, including practically all their women, were illiterate when they came to Canada, and serious difficulties have been met in connection with the establishment of schools among them. Suspicion and ignorance are congenial companions, and a totally unlettered community, the members of which believe themselves in exclusive possession of all knowledge of supreme importance regarding the duty and destiny of man, is not likely to assume with readiness the burden of maintaining public schools. Verigin, however, has expressed himself as favourable to obligatory elementary education.

The first schools in the Doukhobor communities were established and supported by the Society of Friends. Indeed, that Christian body has distinguished itself by the disinterested and self-sacrificing efforts of its members to assist the Doukhobors in every possible way. Miss Nellie Baker, Mrs. Elizabeth Varney, Joseph S. Elkinton, and Joseph Elkinton, Jr., have been among those most active in guiding the spirit of Westlers along the pathway of Canadian citizenship.

Many districts which were formerly settled almost exclusively by Doukhobors now contain numerous settlers of other sects and races. In these localities and among the non-communal Doukhobors generally, schools have been established as in ordinary foreign communities. When the people are thought to be ready, an official school organizer is sent among them by the Department of Education, and during its early years a new school district in such a community is managed by an official trustee appointed by the Government.

Even if the community Doukhobors determine to withdraw from Canada it must not be forgotten that during their sojourn they have done much useful labour in the development of the resources of Saskatchewan and other provinces, and in connection with the building of railways. Real crime has been practically unknown among them. Indeed, not only are they free from the vices of indolence and intemperance, but they are also possessed in a marked degree of many substantial positive virtues. If they determine to remain in the land which has treated them with such patience and generosity, their sterling qualities will doubtless in course of time render them valuable citizens.

Though this chapter is devoted almost exclusively to the Doukhobor immigration, the reader must not forget that it accounts for but a small proportion of the sons of South Eastern Europe who are now dwelling in the

Canadian West. Most numerous of all are the Ruthenians,—immigrants from the provinces of Galicia and Bukowina in Austria-Hungary. These people have done valuable service in railway construction and are extremely industrious. In the cities their violent passions and inordinate love of strong drink have made them unpopular with many, but they have substantial virtues and are achieving rapid material betterment. The Ruthenians are especially marked by the desire to become real Canadian citizens; and now that elementary schools are doing effective work among them the work of assimilation will proceed much more rapidly than heretofore. The chief Galician settlements in Saskatchewan lie north of the main line of the Canadian Northern and east of the Prince Albert branch. Scattered among them are many German-speaking settlers and a few French. Galician settlement in the vicinity of Rosthern commenced about 1897 and many of the pioneers are now wealthy.

The South Eastern European is so out of touch with the ideas and ideals that constitute the characteristic and most valuable elements in Anglo-Saxon civilization that the problem of assimilation is a serious one, but it is one that British America must face with kindness and resolution.

CHAPTER XLVI

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SASKATCHEWAN

IMPORTANCE OF THE WORK OF RELIGIOUS PIONEERS—THE FIRST MISSIONARY CHAPLAINS TO ENTER THE WEST—CATHOLICS IN THE SELKIRK SETTLEMENT—VICAR-GENERAL PROVENCHER, 1818—FATHER BELCOURT—FATHER THIBAUT IN SASKATCHEWAN, 1841—FATHER DARVEAU MARTYRED, 1844—SISTERS OF CHARITY COME WEST, 1844, AND OBLATE FATHERS, 1845—SELF-SACRIFICING DEVOTION OF FATHERS TACHÉ AND FARAUD—FATHER TACHÉ CO-ADJUTOR, 1851, AND SUCCESSOR, 1853, TO BISHOP PROVENCHER—EARLY INDIAN MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES—BURNING OF ST. BONIFACE, 1860—FATHER CLUT CO-ADJUTOR TO BISHOP FARAUD—HEROISM OF FATHER LACOMBE—QU'APPELLE MISSION ESTABLISHED, 1865—BISHOP GRANDIN'S SEAT TRANSFERRED TO ST. ALBERT, 1867—CATHOLIC CLERGY AND THE TROUBLES OF 1870—FATHERS LESTANC, HUGONNARD AND SAINT GERMAIN—BROTHER REYNARD ASSASSINATED—IMMIGRATION OF CATHOLIC MÉTIS AND INDIANS—REVEREND FATHER MAGHAN—CATHOLIC CLERGY AND THE REBELLION OF '85—CREATION OF DIOCESE OF PRINCE ALBERT, 1890—DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP TACHÉ, 1894—RECENT STEADY GROWTH—SUB-DIVISION OF SASKATCHEWAN FOR ECCLESIASTICAL PURPOSES; STATISTICS.

In Saskatchewan, as in so many other new colonies, the pioneers of civilization have, to a very large extent, been the missionaries of the Christian religion; and the story of subsequent progress is, likewise to a very large extent, the history of the Christian church. The writer, therefore, feels that no apology is called for in devoting considerable space to the record of the achievements of the Christian churches, whatever be their denomination. The records teem with examples of self-sacrifice and heroism such as must command the reverence of all right-thinking people.

One phase of ecclesiastical and missionary history will, however, be deliberately avoided. Missionaries and churchmen are but human and in too many instances the representatives of different denominations have wasted their energy and spoiled their temper in strife and mutual recriminations. Nothing can be less edifying than the all too frequent professional



POST OFFICE - PRINCE ALBERT, SASK.



HIGH SCHOOL
PRINCE ALBERT, SASK.



RED RIVER OX CART 1876



LAND SHOW BUILDING / PRINCE ALBERT, SASK.



jealousies among men honestly devoted to the service of the same Master and to the common uplift of the people, of whatever race or color.

The census of 1911 showed the presence in Saskatchewan of about sixty Christian denominations. However, over sixty-eight per centum of the entire population was included among the Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, Anglicans and Methodists, and the necessary limits of the space at our disposal will render it necessary to speak at length only of those four major bodies. Next to them in numbers come the Lutherans, 56,147, the Greek Church, 24,795; the Mennonites, 14,400; and the Doukhobors, 8,470. The pagans were numbered at 2,129, and about 2,500 others disclaimed Christianity, or made no statement regarding their religion. The total population of the Province was stated to be 492,432.

The present chapter will be devoted to a brief review of the history of the Catholic Church in the West, with special reference to the vast domain included in the Province of Saskatchewan.

The first explorers of the prairies were chiefly French Catholics. When the famous Pierre Gaultier de Verennes, usually known as La Vérendrye, with his sons and his nephew, Christopher Dufrost de la Jemmeraye, undertook their epoch-marking western explorations, they, like most other French explorers, took with them as chaplains, missionaries of the Catholic faith. Father Charles Michel Mesaiger, S. J., accompanying La Vérendrye, was the first priest to see the Lake of the Woods (1731). In a subsequent expedition (1735), he was replaced by Father Jean Pierre Aulneau de la Touche, S. J. He was to have spent a short time among the Assiniboin and Crees and then to have carried the gospel to the Mandans. However, this unfortunate priest, returning with a group of La Vérendrye's men on a mission to Michillimackinac, June 8, 1736, was with his companions, including La Vérendrye's son, massacred by the Sioux on an island some twenty miles south of Fort St. Charles. He was succeeded by Father C. G. Coquart, but his sojourn in the West was also very brief. In 1750 Father Jean Baptiste de la Marinie came to Fort La Reine, but when he likewise left for the East in the following year the western field was left without a Catholic missionary, and so remained for over sixty-five years. During this interval, however, a very large proportion of the traders in the West were Catholics.

When Lord Selkirk undertook the establishment of his colony, he ignored mere difference of creed in selecting his colonists and appointing his subordinates. Many of the colonists were Irish Catholics for whom Selkirk secured as chaplain the Reverend Charles Bourke. He also remained but a few months and it was not until 1818 that, through Bishop Plessis, Selkirk obtained the services of Reverend Joseph Norbert Provencher and Reverend Joseph Nicolas Sévère Dumoulin, who were joyfully welcomed at the Red

River Colony. Vicar-General Provencher thus became the real founder of the church in the Middle West. In 1819 the Vicar-General visited by dog train the trading posts on the Qu'Appelle River, some three hundred miles from St. Boniface, and on the Souris River as well, baptizing forty children of Canadian Catholics. This heroic missionary habitually lived in extreme poverty. For months he had no bread and scarcely even flour enough for use in connection with the Sacrifice of the Mass. Much against his will, he was, in 1820, made Bishop of Juliopolis and co-adjutor to the Bishop of Quebec for the North West. "I have not become a priest in order to amass money," he wrote to his superior. "If need be I shall go to devote my youth to the welfare of Red River, but as a simple priest; speak, I shall obey you. As for the episcopate, it is another thing; never could I persuade myself that I was born for such a high rank. Rome has spoken; I am full of respect for the chair of Peter; but its voice is merely an echo of your own words. The Holy Father does not know me, and I am sure that if he did he would not admit me." Nevertheless, in spite of his own self-distrust, Provencher was consecrated by Bishop Plessis on May 12, 1822. At this time the Catholics of the Red River numbered approximately eight hundred. In 1823 St. Boniface College was founded with two scholars,—a French Canadian and a Halfbreed. For many long years the Bishop devoted himself to manifold enterprises for the good of the Church and the people of the West. He had a district but little smaller than Europe, and much of the time he had but a single priest to assist him, so it is not remarkable that at first not much aggressive missionary work could be accomplished. A co-worker who achieved considerable success, showed great enterprise and industry and acquired the good-will of all classes of the people was the Reverend Georges Antoine Belcourt. Among other missions founded by him was one at the junction of the English and Winnipeg Rivers.

In 1841 a French Halfbreed came to the Red River from Fort Edmonton to petition for a missionary. Accordingly, in the spring of the following year Reverend J. B. Thibault was sent out on a missionary journey of some twenty-two hundred miles across the prairies. On May 27 we find him at Fort Carlton. He returned to the Red River in October, 1842, having baptized a large number of children, admitted four persons to the first communion and blessed twenty marriages. The founding of St. Anne's Mission dates from this year. The hardships and dangers experienced by Father Thibault and other missionaries in these early days were of the severest character. Indeed, in 1844, the heroic priest, J. E. Darveau, met a martyr's death at the hands of Indian assassins at Duck Bay, on Lake Winnipegosis.

A religious order destined to perform invaluable services for Canada was founded in 1738 by Madame D'Youville, a sister of La Vérendrye's lieutenant and kinsman, La Jemmeraye. This was the Order of the Sisters

of Charity, popularly known as the Grey Nuns. Through the intercession of Bishop Provencher, four of these nuns, Sisters Valade, Lagrave, Coutlée and Lafrance, came West in 1844. The same Bishop also secured for the West the services of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, an order which had been founded in France in 1816 by Mgr. de Mazenod, Bishop of Marseilles. The first Oblates reached Red River in 1845, one of them being Brother Alexandre Antonin Taché, then a mere boy. On seeing him, Provencher exclaimed, "I have asked for men and they send me a child!" For the next seventeen years the priests in the West were almost exclusively members of the Oblate Order. In 1850 Bishop Provencher felt the necessity of a co-adjutor and the brilliant young Taché was chosen. At the time he was pursuing his missionary labors some fifteen hundred miles from St. Boniface. In the preceding year he and his associate, Father Faraud, had been given to understand that the lack of funds would necessitate the curtailment of their enterprises among the Indians. They thereupon presented to their superior the following letter:

"The news contained in your communication grieves us, but we are not discouraged by it. We know that you have at heart the good of our mission, and we cannot bear the thought of abandoning our dear neophytes and our numerous catechumens. We hope that it will always be possible to get altar bread and wine for the Holy Sacrifice. Apart from this source of consolation and strength, we ask of you only one thing: permission to go on with our missions. The fish of the lake will suffice for our subsistence and the spoils of the wild beasts for our clothing. For mercy's sake do not recall us."

Such a prayer could not be denied and the spirit which marked it reveals the character of the man chosen by Bishop Provencher as his assistant and successor. He received the news of his elevation to the episcopate in January, 1851, as Bishop of Arath, and was named Vicar of the Oblate Missions in North Western America. With him on his return to St. Boniface in 1852 were the Reverend René Grollier and the Reverend Albert Lacombe. Bishop Taché proceeded at once to Ile à la Crosse, and he was still in the interior when, on May 19, Bishop Provencher was seized with apoplexy. He died on June 7, 1853, and the Bishop of Arath became the Bishop of St. Boniface.¹ Bishop Taché was at this time scarcely thirty years of age.

The Indian missions in his episcopal domains that at this time possessed resident priests were St. Anne, forty-five miles west of Edmonton; St. Jean-Baptiste, at Ile à la Crosse, and La Nativité, on Lake Athabasca. Each of these stations had also a number of outposts which the missionaries regularly visited. Among the missionary priests were Reverend M. M. Thibault,

¹ St. Boniface became an archepiscopal see on September 22, 1871.

La Flèche; Lacombe, Faraud; Grollier, Tissot; Vègreville, Rèmes and Bourassa.

On the same night that he heard of Bishop Provencher's death, Taché set out for Lake Athabasca on an important missionary and episcopal tour. He was desirous of visiting and organizing all his mission posts before going back to St. Boniface. An interesting side light is cast upon his manner of life in a humorous description he has given of his episcopal palace at Ile à La Crosse: "It is twenty feet by twenty feet, and seven feet high, and smeared over with mud. This mud is not impermeable, so that rain, wind and other atmospheric elements have free access thereto. Two window sashes, comprising six panes, light the main apartment; two pieces of parchment serve for the remainder of the lighting system. In this palace, where everything seems small, everything is, on the contrary, stamped with the character of greatness. For instance, my secretary is a Bishop, my chamberlain is a Bishop, at times even my cook is a Bishop. These illustrious employees all have numerous defects; nevertheless, their attachment to my person renders them dear to me. When they seem tired of their respective offices I give them all an outing and, joining myself to them, I strive to divert them from their cares."²

On November third we find the Bishop in his Cathedral at St. Boniface.

In the face of great discouragement, useful and heroic work of many sorts was being performed by the missionaries. For example, Fathers Maisonneuve and Tissot, at Lac la Biche, cleared and cultivated considerable land, erected numerous buildings and in 1856 opened up a wagon road to give readier access to the south country. Father Morice tells us that this road was the first work of its kind in the whole North and became an incentive to other parties to undertake similar conveniences of civilization. At Lake Athabasca, Fathers Grollier, Grandin and Faraud were devoting their evenings to books in the Indian tongue. In 1856 Bishop Taché nominated Father Grandin to the post of co-adjutor, though circumstances delayed his appointment until December, 1857. He himself did not learn of it until July, 1858.

The extreme superstition and credulity of the Indians has always been a source of much difficulty to Christian missionaries. For example, about this time a young Indian at La Crosse was convinced by a dream that he was the Son of God. This outburst of fanaticism resulted in many disorderly doings, but, through the influence of time and of Bishop Grandin, the false Messiah and his followers were ultimately restored to the fold of the Church.

Convents were already established at St. François-Xavier, St. Norbert

² *Vingt Années de Missions*, page 59.

and Ste. Anne, and in 1860 one was founded at Ile à la Crosse and another near St. Boniface at St. Vital.

On December 14, 1860, the Cathedral and episcopal palace at St. Boniface with the Bishop's invaluable library were totally destroyed by fire. Disaster followed upon disaster. In 1861 floods covered the ruins of the Cathedral, and indeed the whole settlement of St. Boniface. The restoration of the Cathedral was undertaken as soon as possible and on All Saints' Day, 1862, Bishop Taché was able to open, for use as a church, the stone vestry of the new edifice.

In the Far North, Bishop Faraud was granted a co-adjutor in the person of the Reverend Father Clut. The beginning of his episcopal duties was marked by a terrible struggle in which he and his fellow missionaries fought a deadly epidemic of scarlet fever which had broken out among the Indians in the vicinity of Fort Simpson.

In 1856 Father Lacombe had entered the Oblate Order. Nine years later he was given the mission of following the nomadic tribes of the prairie and bearing the gospel to them. Many were his adventures among these barbarians. In the terrible smallpox epidemic of 1865 one thousand, two hundred Indians from among only the Blackfeet fell victims, and Father Lacombe performed prodigies in caring for the sick and in endeavoring to establish peace among the warring tribes. In December, 1865, the Blackfeet tribe with which he was living was attacked by the Crees. The bloody battle was brought to an end only when, after many hours, his hosts succeeded in making the Crees understand that Father Lacombe was of their number and had, indeed, been wounded. Such men as these were worthy followers of the Apostle to the Nations, "in deaths oft, . . . in journeyings often, . . . in perils of robbers, . . . in perils by the heathen, . . . in perils in the wilderness, . . . in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness, besides the care of all the churches." (II Cor. 11:23:28.)

In 1865 Bishop Taché sent Father Ritchot to establish what was thenceforth known as the Qu'Appelle Mission (now Lebreton), and two years later Father Decorby took up his residence at that place. Shortly before this, Bishop Grandin had been made Vicar of the Saskatchewan Missions. When, in 1867, this Bishop's residence and all the buildings connected with it at Ile à la Crosse were destroyed by fire, Saint Albert became the seat of the new Vicar of Missions. Thus, by 1868, the Catholic Church had established between Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains four episcopal sees, the incumbents being Bishops Taché, Grandin, Faraud and Clut. They were assisted by five secular priests, thirty-two Oblate missionaries and about twenty lay brothers, and the Grey Nuns were teaching, caring for orphans, the old and the infirm, in seven distinct establishments.

The part played by the Catholic Clergy in connection with the Red River troubles of 1869 and 1870 was a very difficult one and has often been misunderstood and misrepresented. A considerable number of the priests were immigrants from France and the remainder were French Canadians. It is not surprising, therefore, that they deeply sympathized with the Métis in their resentment of the high-handed manner in which the Government of the New Dominion undertook to annex the Territories hitherto controlled by the Hudson's Bay Company. It will be remembered that the same resentment was felt by the English speaking settlers and their clergy, though they were naturally more ready than were their fellow-colonists of French origin to entrust the future of their colony to the good will of the English and Protestant Canadian Premier and his colleagues. The French clergy, like the writer of this book, did not look upon the establishment of a provisional government by Riel and his associates as in any proper sense an act of rebellion. In the unfortunate excesses of which young Riel was guilty (he was then but twenty-five), the Catholic clergy had no share, in spite of the insinuations and accusations that have been hurled against them by men who should have known better. Indeed, Father Lestanc was among those through whose intercession the death sentence was not executed upon Boulton, and the same clergyman did what he could to save Scott. Of the services rendered by Father Thibault and other priests in the restoration of peace, we have already spoken in another chapter. It may be remarked that when Manitoba became one of the Provinces of Canada, the Catholic settlers were still in the majority.

In 1870 Reverend Father Lestanc was sent to Qu'Appelle and for four years he attended to the spiritual welfare of the many Halfbreeds living on the prairies. In 1874 Reverend Lestanc went to St. Albert and was replaced at Qu'Appelle by Reverend Father Hugonnard, who had as companion (1878) Fr. Saint-Germain, whose principal work was the care of the Halfbreeds of Wood Mountain (now Willow-Bunch), and who said the first mass (1883) in the place where stands the city of Regina.

In 1875 Brother Alexis Reynard was assassinated by Indians. Three years later Father Fafard, who was likewise destined for a martyr's death, established a mission house and school at Fort Pitt. About this time, and sorely against the wishes of Bishop Taché, there was a considerable emigration of Catholic Métis from Manitoba into what is now Saskatchewan. Moreover, several thousand Sioux had migrated into Canada and they, too, added to the task of the Church in the West. It is, of course, impossible to relate in detail how the spiritual needs of Indians and of Catholic immigrants were cared for. Mention must be made, however, of the coming of Father Lebreton to Qu'Appelle in 1884 and the establishment of the well-known Indian Industrial School in that vicinity; Reverend Father

Hugonnard being the first principal. This same year there came to Qu'Appelle Mission Father Maghan as first missionary among the Cree Indians. He was Superior of Qu'Appelle from 1886 to 1901 and afterwards became Provincial of the Oblates.

In 1882 and 1883 Bishop Grandin visited Ottawa in the interests of those whose unsettled grievances were to culminate in the rebellion of 1885. Prominent among the other clergy who also struggled, though in vain, to awake the authorities to justice and reason, was Father André. When the rising occurred Father Fafard and his brother Oblate, the Reverend R. P. Marchand, were, as we have seen, among the first victims. Father Paquette, of Batoche, communicated to the authorities the dangerous proceedings of Riel, and after the Frog Lake Massacre he was obliged to flee to Ile à la Crosse. At Green Lake he was instrumental in saving from pillage by the Indians the local store. Fathers Vègreville, Moulin, Fourmont and Touze, with the nuns of St. Laurent, were kept by the rebels at Batoche practically as prisoners at large. In the subsequent fighting it will be remembered that Father Moulin was wounded by a chance shot from a gatling gun. Fathers Cochin and Legoff were for a long time prisoners among the Indians, as was also Father Scollen. Seven Catholic churches, with the missionary establishments connected with them were utterly destroyed. Nevertheless, the Catholic clergy were most active in their efforts to mitigate the punishment that was meted out to the rebels.

In 1885 the advancing age and increasing labors of Bishop Taché induced him to ask for an Oblate co-adjutor, but his request was not granted. Three years later, however, he was released from his charge as Vicar of Missions.

The Diocese of Prince Albert was separated from the Diocese of St. Albert in 1890, and Bishop Pascal became the first vicar apostolic and soon after (1907) was appointed the first Bishop of the new diocese, situated between Manitoba and Alberta in the central northern portion of the Province of Saskatchewan.

Into the story of the school controversies, in which Archbishop Taché and his fellow prelates in Saskatchewan and elsewhere took so active a part for the next decade, I do not propose to enter. Doubtless the anxieties and disappointments which it entailed combined with disease and advancing years to ruin the venerable prelate's health. On June 22, 1894, the first Archbishop of St. Boniface, and the most distinguished and influential of western prelates, died in his seventy-first year. In his "Making of the Canadian West," the Reverend R. J. MacBeth, M.A., Presbyterian minister, speaks of the late prelate in the following terms:

"He was a man of gentle, lovable disposition and had unbounded influence over his own people. Essentially and by disposition a man of peace, he had great force of will and energy in following plans he considered

in the interests of the work over which he presided. By the 'irony of fate' he, the man of peace, lived through the stormy period of rebellions and educational discussions; but the old settlers who knew him best, Protestants as well as Catholic, always held him in high esteem for his unblemished character and the simple saintliness of his personal life."

Archbishop Taché was succeeded by Father Louis Philippe Adélaré Langevin, O.M.I., who was appointed Archbishop of Saint Boniface on January 8, 1895, and consecrated the following March.



A GROUP OF PIONEERS—PRINCE ALBERT.

1—D. J. Hanafin; 2—H. Ross; 3—H. Woodman; 4—T. J. Agnew; 5—Sheriff Graham Neilson; 6—Mr. Sprout; 7—Fred Baker; 8—J. Pollock; 9—J. Sinclair; 10—Thos. McKay; 11—T. Baker; 12—James McKay; 13—T. Campbell; 14—S. Donaldson; 15—Mr. Northgraves; 16—Andrew Agnew; 17—T. J. Betts; 18—G. F. Mills.

In the limits of the space at our disposal it is quite impossible to attempt a record of the steady and normal growth of the Catholic Church in Saskatchewan in recent years. Missionary enterprise among the aborigines continues with unabated vigor, and though one by one the founders of the work have passed or are passing to their rest, many other devoted church-

men are building upon the foundations laid by such men as Taché, Grandin, Faraud, Pascal, Lacombe and their heroic colleagues of the early days.

The immense immigration of recent years has brought many thousands of Catholics into Saskatchewan from eastern Canada and from Europe. Of thousands of these, German is the mother-tongue, and, in consequence, a notable part in recent ecclesiastical history has been played by clergymen of German or Austrian lineage. This feature in connection with the development of the Catholic Church in the West is giving rise to various important problems, to the solution of which the leaders of the church are now devoting their earnest attention.

Saskatchewan now includes the whole or part of four of the ecclesiastical provinces into which the vast Territories once administered wholly from Saint Boniface are now divided. The north western portion of the Province belongs to the vast Vicariate-Apostolic of Athabasca which extends to the eastern boundary of British Columbia. The remainder of the northern half of Saskatchewan is included in the Vicariate-Apostolic of Keewatin. Central Saskatchewan lies in the Diocese of Prince Albert, and south of it is the Diocese of Regina. To the last named Bishopric the Right Reverend Olivier-Elzéar Matthieu was appointed on July 21, 1911, and consecrated on November 5 of the same year.

According to the Dominion census report published in that year, the Catholics of the Province of Saskatchewan numbered 90,092.³ The spiritual oversight of this portion of our citizen body is entrusted to a clergy numbering about 140. Of these, many are primarily concerned in mission work proper. Of the clergy in the Southern See, 73 are members of the Order of Oblates of Mary Immaculate, which has done such invaluable service for the church in western Canada, and in the Diocese of Prince Albert the Oblates number 50. Among the other great religious orders laboring in the Province are members of Orders of the Redemptorists, Benedictines, and *Perès de la Salette*. The nuns in the Province number over 160, chiefly Sisters of Charity and members of the Order of Our Lady of the Missions.

³ According to the *Canada Ecclesiastique*, 1912, and *Personnel de la Congregation des O. M. I.*, 1911, the Catholic population of the Diocese of Regina and Prince Albert, respectively, numbered 46,000 and 52,500. The other statistics in this paragraph are from the same source.

CHAPTER XLVII

THE METHODIST CHURCH IN SASKATCHEWAN

BEGINNINGS OF METHODISM IN THE WEST—WORK OF REV. JAS. EVANS—REV. MESSRS. RUNDLE, BARNLEY, BROOKING-HURLBURT, SALT AND STEINHEUR—THE FAMOUS MISSIONARY PARTY OF 1860: THE YOUNGS, CAMPBELLS AND McDUGALLS—HEROISM OF CHRISTIAN INDIANS IN SMALLPOX PLAGUE OF 1870—EFFECTS OF BUILDING OF THE C. P. R.—REV. ALEX. SUTHERLAND—REV. MESSRS. MACLEAN, LAWSON, BRIDGEMAN, AND WILLIAMS—METHODIST COLONIES—FOUNDING OF METHODISM IN REGINA AND OTHER TOWNS—EFFECT OF THE REBELLION OF 1885—LOYALTY OF TRIBES UNDER METHODIST CARE—SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENT OF METHODIST CHURCH—REGINA COLLEGE.

Throughout Saskatchewan and Western Canada in general the representatives of Methodism have ever been among the most valuable pioneers in all departments of progress. Apart from innumerable Methodist laymen who have wrought effectively in the public interest, there has been a noble army of self-sacrificing missionaries, whose heroic achievements justify the admiration and pride not only of the members of the church they represented, but of all public spirited Canadians.

In the year 1840 the Wesleyan Missionary Society of England sent into the Hudson's Bay Company's territories a group of missionaries whose services in the cause of Christianity proved especially notable. The superintendent in charge of this little company was the Rev. James Evans, who had already been engaged for some time in the work of Christian missions among the Indian tribes of Upper Canada.

With his family, Mr. Evans travelled from the head of Lake Superior to Norway House by canoe. His library and other household effects it was necessary to ship to London from which point they crossed the ocean in a Hudson's Bay Company's vessel bound for York Factory; thence they were carried in open boats some five hundred miles farther. To go from Ontario to Rossville Mission, Norway House, they had been transported about twelve thousand miles!

James Evans was the originator of the famous system of Cree syllabic

characters which, with minor variations and improvements, has been adopted for use among the Indians of very many tribes widely distributed over America. This system of writing was based on a simple form of phonetic shorthand and is so simple that an Indian of fair intelligence can in a fortnight learn to read anything in his own tongue. Mr. Evans made his first type from lead procured from tea-chests, carving the letters with his own pocket knife! His ink was made from soot and the first paper used was simply birchbark. The inventor had even to make his own press, but no difficulties could discourage him, so success was ultimately achieved.

The Wesleyan Missionary Society heard of his invention and at once saw its profound importance. Types were accordingly cast in London, and, together with a good press and plenty of paper, were forwarded to the Rossville Mission. Later on the work was taken in charge by the British and Foreign Bible Society. Through the instrumentality of Mr. Evans' invention it became possible for missionaries to place in the hands of the nomadic tribes portions of the Christian Scriptures and copies of hymns and other religious literature. These the Indians were able to read for themselves and to take with them when they withdrew far beyond the immediate reach of the missionaries' personal efforts.

The same indefatigable energy and originality of method which enabled James Evans to carry into successful execution his project for placing Christian literature within the reach of the barbarous tribes of the West stood him in equally good stead in other respects. Few Canadian missionaries have accomplished a work so important and lasting and have left behind them such a tradition of unfailing helpfulness and heroism.

Intimately associated with Mr. Evans in his pioneer missionary enterprises were the Rev. Messrs. Rundle and Barnley. Fourteen years after they and Evans had penetrated the Far West, the Indian Missions in the Territories were transferred from the English Wesleyan Church to the Wesleyan Church of Canada. In that year we note among their laborers the Rev. Robert Brooking, who, previous to coming to Canada, had served as a missionary in Ashantee, then stationed at Oxford House. His co-worker at Norway House was the Rev. Thos. Hurlburt, then a young man of twenty-five. Both of these gentlemen labored among the Indians for very many years. At Lac la Pluie and Edmonton, respectively, Methodism was represented by native missionaries, Allen Salt and Henry Steinheur.

The last named missionary, when but a child, miserable, poverty-stricken and pagan, had been befriended by the Rev. Wm. Chase, of Rice Lake, Ontario. The lad developed a very decided musical talent and was associated with an Indian choir, which for a time travelled under the supervision of Mr. Chase. A gentleman by the name of Henry Steinheur was much attracted to Mr. Chase's protégé and, on condition that the lad would assume

his benefactor's name, undertook the expense of securing him a first-class education. The young Indian gladly accepted this condition and was educated at Victoria College, Cobourg.

For almost half a century this modest and talented missionary devoted himself to preaching the Gospel among his own people, spending the last years of his missionary career among the Crees and Stoneys at White Fish Lake and elsewhere in Saskatchewan. At one of these stations, Mr. Steinhur came upon a prayer-meeting, though the Indians here had been without a missionary for some time. They were praying for "one like Rundle" to be sent to them. Mr. Steinhur had come to the encampment supposing it to be a pagan settlement, and one can imagine with what emotion he heard this appeal being addressed to Heaven. It need hardly be added that Mr. Steinhur answered the call.

Among the other notable missionaries in the Far North West one must mention Rev. Egerton Ryerson Young, who, in 1860, left a flourishing congregation in Hamilton, Ontario, to go to Norway House. He was accompanied by his heroic wife, to whose unfailing co-operation much of the success of his ministry was due. With him there came into the West the Rev. George Young, with his wife and son, bound for the Red River Settlement, there to establish Methodism; the Rev. Peter Campbell, with his wife and family, on their way to a still more distant prairie mission, and a number of teachers and others. The party was under the guidance of the Rev. George McDougall, the veteran missionary of the Saskatchewan Valley. From St. Paul's the missionary caravan advanced by prairie schooner toward the scenes of their future activities. In a preceding chapter we have told of how the possession of a British flag protected this little party from any violence at the hands of the dreaded Sioux. At Fort Garry Mr. E. R. Young and his family separated from their companions to proceed to Norway House in a Hudson Bay open boat. The story of the work of Mr. and Mrs. Young is told with effective simplicity in their book, entitled *By Canoe and Dog-Train*. The territory entrusted to Mr. Young was of great size, and his missionary journeys called for unfailing heroism.

In 1870, it will be remembered, that the North West was visited by a terrible plague of small-pox, and that in consequence, all communication between Manitoba and the infected regions was forbidden. This meant much real suffering and privation, especially among isolated missionaries and other white men in the interior, and the Christian Indians of Mr. Young's mission heroically organized a brigade of boats to take supplies up the Saskatchewan for the relief of those in want. There were twenty boats in all, manned by a hundred and sixty volunteers. They realized to the full the danger of themselves contracting the loathsome disease, of which the whole Indian population stood in unspeakable terror. Nevertheless,

they rowed hundreds of miles up the Saskatchewan, passing, here and there, deserted camps and settlements that indicated all too clearly the terrible ravages of the disease. The heroic party successfully distributed their supplies without any direct intercourse with the people of the plains, and returned in safety to their homes, after a journey of two months and a half. The captain of the party, who, needless to say, was a Christian, had so spent himself to secure the rapid and safe return of his companions that his own health was ruined so that he died shortly afterwards. The name of this humble imitator of the Good Samaritan was Samuel Papanekis; it should be remembered with honour by the people of Saskatchewan.

Five years after Mr. Young was stationed at Norway House, he received instructions from his ecclesiastical superiors to press further into the interior and establish a new mission among the *Saulteaux*. Circumstances rendered it necessary for Mrs. Young and the children to set out in an open boat several weeks before Mr. Young could leave Norway House. It was July and the heat was terrific. Mrs. Young's little daughter was overcome by the heat, and, far away from help or earthly consolation, the sorrowing mother was called upon to see her little one die. Truly, those who have borne the Gospel into the remoter regions of our country have paid the price at which the crown of heroism is purchased.

Methodism, in what is now the Province of Saskatchewan, began with the spectacle of such missionaries to the Indians crossing the plains from Fort Garry to Edmonton. The seer-like qualities of George McDougall were sufficient to impress the distinguished members of the Sanford Fleming expedition, when that pioneer missionary accompanied their party in 1872. On that memorable journey, so faithfully recorded in Principal Grant's *Ocean to Ocean*, Mr. McDougall, with his knowledge of the fertility and vastness of the land, foresaw the great procession from realms beyond the sea, and prophesied the building of an empire in the West, where millions of prosperous and contented citizens would find a home.

In these early days the efforts of the missionaries were confined chiefly to the evangelization of the aborigines, though regular services were held among the white people congregated at the Hudson's Bay Company's posts, and the forts of the Mounted Police. While crossing the plains, religious services were held at every convenient place where a small congregation could be gathered, and at some of these points there grew up in later years, from these beginnings, large and important churches.

With the projection of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the tours of exploration through the northern part of the Territories, a few settlers came from Ontario and located along the proposed route, chiefly in the Prince Albert and Battleford districts; and among these were some members of the denomination who did not wait for the pioneer missionaries to shepherd the

flock, but held services in the log shanties, thus maintaining the faith of their fathers. During the summer of 1880 the Rev. Dr. Alexander Sutherland, General Missionary Secretary, made a tour of inspection of the Indian missions of the West,—travelling through the United States and up the Missouri River, then driving across the plains to Edmonton and beyond, boating down the Saskatchewan to Prince Albert, and travelling onwards with a team of ponies to Winnipeg. Services were held at Battleford in the school house, and at Prince Albert a number of Methodists were found located,—one hundred or more. Many of these were visited at their homes, and services were held on Sunday morning in a vacant store and in the evening in the Presbyterian Church. The people requested that a Methodist minister be sent them as there were sufficient to make a considerable congregation.

The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway across the plains in 1882 brought a new aspect of life and its conditions, as with the large companies of men in the construction camps, there was special need of religious oversight. Moreover, settlers began to come into the Territories in greater numbers and villages and towns sprang up at the railway centres as sources of supplies. The Rev. Thos. Lawson, Rev. Wellington Bridgeman and Rev. Clement Williams were stationed at Brandon, and the march of railway workers and settlers made a thrilling appeal to their minds, so that they started on missionary tours covering vast distances, and going as far west as Moose Jaw. So wide were the distances covered and so pressing was the work that during the year the missionary trio laboured in more than twenty-five preaching places.

The following year was a period of colonization, several colonies being established in the Territories as we have seen elsewhere. One of these was the Primitive Methodist Colony at Pheasant Forks, north of Wolseley, under the leadership of the Rev. Wm. Bee, of Toronto, who induced a number of Primitive Methodists from Ontario and England to settle in the district. Another was the Temperance Colony at Saskatoon, organized by John N. Lake, Esq., of Toronto, who had formerly been a Methodist minister, but had been compelled to retire on account of ill-health. Several missions were begun which subsequently developed into strong and wealthy congregations. When the first settlers arrived, and a few wooden shacks had been erected in Moosomin, some enterprising laymen, including Messrs. J. R. Neff, Oliver Neff, E. W. Early and others, met in one of the stores to consult about holding services, with the result that a church was organized and a minister secured in the person of the Rev. Moses Dimmick. By the time of the union of the various Methodist bodies, 1884, a regular service had been established. Three years later a comfortable parsonage was erected under the supervision

of the Rev. T. B. Wilson; and in 1889 a handsome and commodious church was built during the pastorate of the Rev. T. W. Davies.

In 1883, that year of beginnings, Broadview, as a railway divisional point, offered inducements for the establishment of a mission, and the Rev. J. H. L. Joslyn was appointed, his field of operations taking him a short distance northward to the Cree Indian reserve, and in other directions as far as his time and strength permitted. There was no limit to possible expansion and personal enthusiasm sometimes carried the missionary far beyond the powers of endurance.

At Qu'Appelle, the Rev. Thos. Lawson, with a young man as assistant missionary, continued his extensive trips across the plains as he had done during the previous year from Brandon. The Qu'Appelle Valley beyond the Fort was sufficiently attractive to become now the home of numerous settlers, and the building of the railroad made it possible for many more to come into the district. This enthusiastic and intrepid missionary laid the foundations of Methodism in the Qu'Appelle district, and the territories covered by his extensive mission included centres that developed into strong and healthy congregations. It was a period of expansion, when settlers had to be sought out, and it required men of vision and practical wisdom to seize the strategic points as missionary centres, to be held and manned by their successors. Qu'Appelle was an important place as headquarters for an energetic missionary, and Thos. Lawson sallied forth as an explorer to establish outposts of Christianity and civilization, while he built up a solid cause in the town itself.

While the grading of the railway was under way, the Rev. W. J. Hewitt came from Manitoba and after spending several months scouring the Qu'Appelle district, settled in Regina. The embryo city was a village of tents, but he began religious services there and travelled northward through the plains of the Wascana in search of souls. Failing health and the arduous nature of the work compelled him to retire at the close of the ecclesiastical year, and he was followed by the Rev. John Pooley. Fresh impetus was given to the cause of the denomination by the appointment from time to time of scholarly and able ministers whose eloquent sermons and adaptability to ever-changing conditions gave the church standing in the community, and made it a living force for good throughout the district. Rev. George Daniel charmed the people with his eloquence, though he was hampered by a small and very unpretentious frame church; but through his efforts this was removed to Scarth Street, enlarged and repainted, and before he left at the end of a three-years' pastorate, a commodious brick church was begun, and was completed during the term of his successor, the Rev. James M. Harrison. During this early period there were loyal laymen who shared the bur-

dens, and maintained the prestige of the denomination in the capital, in the persons of Messrs. John Dobbin, J. W. Smith, J. J. Young and George Brown, and much of the success of church enterprise is due to these faithful men.

Westward the Methodist pioneers followed the trail, and at Moose Jaw a mission was organized with the Rev. Coleman Bristol, M. A., as minister. He remained one year, during which time he formed a congregation, and was succeeded by the Rev. Clement Williams, a man of scholarly attainments, and an able preacher, who built a frame church; but the people were so poor, and he had pushed the building enterprise so strenuously, that an appeal had to be made to the missionary society to help the minister by a special grant.

The request of Prince Albert for a minister had not been forgotten, and the Rev. Caleb Parker, a gentleman of wide experience and an excellent preacher, became the first to minister to the spiritual needs of the people of the Methodist persuasion.

During the year 1884, Regina mission was divided, and a young man sent to take charge of the Wascana mission, north of the town, which had been a part of the old mission. The Temperance Colony had assumed such proportions that, under its new name of Saskatoon, it was formed into a mission, and the Rev. William Halstead, who bore the reputation of a pioneer in building churches, undertook the task of erecting a church, but the work was so discouraging that he remained for a portion of the year only, and nothing was done toward reorganization for four years, when the Rev. John Peters was sent to take charge.

The year of the second Riel Rebellion, 1885, witnessed some changes in the life of the churches, as the people became unsettled, and the presence of the soldiers served to break the orderly routine of affairs. Prince Albert suffered especially, being the centre of the conflict, and the church was hardly able to hold its own; Regina was in commotion as the seat of the Government of the Territories, and the denomination was represented by but a small congregation, and consequently the cause was retarded; and Moose Jaw declined so much that the church was closed for a year and a half. Despite these depressing circumstances, the work at Qu'Appelle had made such progress, under the efficient care of the Rev. Thos. Lawson, that the mission was divided, and the northern part formed into the Fort Qu'Appelle and Primitive Methodist Colony Mission, with the Rev. Oliver Darwin as missionary.

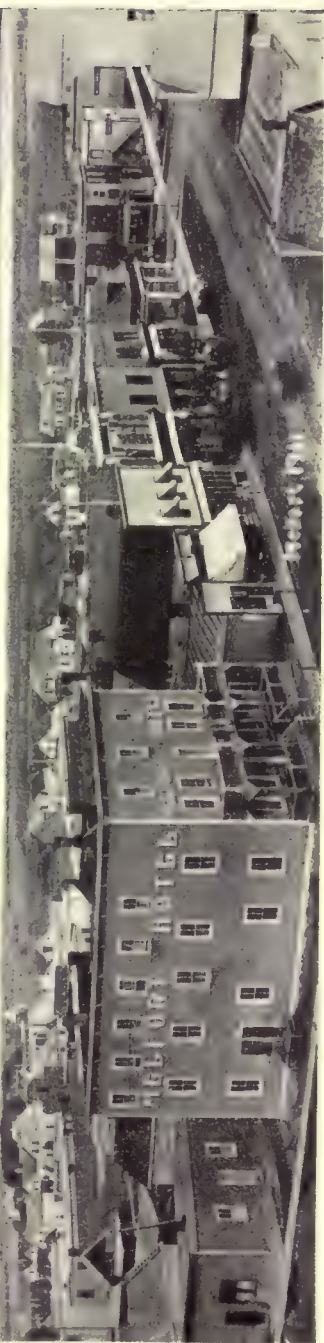
While the Halfbreeds and some of the Indians were in revolt, it is some satisfaction to know that none of the tribes under the care of the Methodist missionaries joined the rebels, and there is one notable instance of the loyalty of Pekan, the Cree Indian chief, who shot the runner bringing a message

from the warlike tribes to his people to unite with them in the rebellion. Having killed the man who was tampering with the loyalty of his tribe, he gave himself up to the General in command of the forces, and he was treated as a loyal subject who had acted in defense of the country.

The Board of Education for the North West Territories was organized in 1886, and the establishment of public schools in the Province opened up a great field of operation for all religious bodies, as these buildings became centres of influence, and were used for holding religious services. The Methodist missionaries utilized the new opportunity, and established congregations in larger numbers, and in more central places, thus consolidating their work. In the following year, Moose Jaw, Saskatoon, and Prince Albert were without ministers, but new missions were formed at Crescent Lake and York Colony, and at Wolseley, where the Rev. W. A. Cooke was stationed as the missionary.

The tide turned in 1887 with the appointment of the Rev. John H. Howard to Prince Albert, and Rev. W. C. Bunt to Moose Jaw, and a year afterward Saskatoon had a minister, so that the period of vacancies passed away. The work at these places, however, had not been forgotten, as faithful laymen had maintained the services by assembling the people and preaching, and the fact that they were without ministers developed a spirit of loyalty and self-sacrifice, and when ministers were appointed the missions were found to have increased in numbers and financial strength.

The Methodist denomination having always a special interest in the native tribes of the Dominion, it was fitting that something should be done for the Sioux Indians, who were refugees in the country, having been implicated in the Minnesota Massacre, of whom there were scattered bands throughout the Territories and in Manitoba. One of these bands roamed in the vicinity of Moose Jaw, but the greatest number, under Chief White Cap, were located on a reserve near Saskatoon, known as Moose Woods Reserve. The Rev. Alfred Andrews, stationed at Qu'Appelle, interviewed the Indian Department on their behalf, and in May, 1889, he drove across the plains to Saskatoon, accompanied by the Rev. W. C. Bunt, and Messrs. Hugh McDougall, and Interpreter Taylor of the Indian Department, the object of the visit to White Cap's band being the establishment of a school and mission. The industrious habits of these red men, and the fact that they had built sixteen log houses, and were anxious to have a school, and assist in the building of it, greatly impressed the visitors. The Government treated the Indians with great liberality, a school being built, and the people being assisted in their farming operations. Mr. and Mrs. Tucker were sent in charge, and under their guidance the native dances passed away, a new civilization was introduced by the influence of the day school for children, and a night school for adults, where they were taught to read in their own language, besides



being given instruction in agriculture, and enjoying the inspiration of Christian religious services.

During the next decade, the progress of the denomination was slow but steady. The settlers were poor, farm help could not be obtained, and some became discouraged and left the province. It was a period of struggle, and the missionaries endured numerous hardships on account of small salaries and the high cost of living, but there were no desertions from the ranks, except through health giving way; and there were no complaints, as the men and women in the small parsonages and large fields were heroic at heart, and knew not that they were making any self-sacrifice. As an illustration of the extent of the average mission, the case of the Rev. Dr. John Maclean, of Winnipeg, may be taken. He was stationed at Moose Jaw from 1889 to 1892, and during the first year, with the assistance of a colleague, he had preaching places outside the town, twelve miles north, twenty miles west, fourteen miles east and south, and five miles south, including eight appointments, preaching three times every Sunday and travelling from thirty to forty miles, with heavy pastoral work during the week. Each of the pioneer missionaries had a like amount of work to do; still they were contented and happy, as they were laying foundations for the future, even though they were unconscious of all that this meant. Despite the hard times, new missions were organized in 1890, at Grenfell, and Pasqua and Caron, and in the years following there came expansion and consolidation by the formation of the denominational districts of Moosomin and Regina.

A new era dawned in 1902, when the tide of immigration turned westward and the American invasion of peace took place. American capitalists bought large tracts of land for settlement, and during the first five months of the year, fifteen thousand Americans came west, while Great Britain furnished for the whole Dominion about six thousand immigrants, and the continent of Europe about eight thousand. Homesteads were rapidly taken up, and the influx of settlers created such a demand for ministers that an appeal had to be made to Great Britain to supply the need, and every year, until the date of writing this volume (1913), the Rev. Dr. James Woodsworth, Senior Superintendent of Missions, made a trip to the Old Country and secured from forty to sixty young ministers to cope with the wave of immigration.

The building of new railroads brought new settlements, enterprising villages and towns, and the consequent rapid growth of the denomination. In order to keep up with the great procession of immigrants, the Senior Superintendent of Missions and Chairmen of Districts travelled continuously over the Province, founding new missions, and two Superintendents of Missions had to be appointed for the West, one of whom, the Rev. Oliver Darwin, still holds the office for the Province of Saskatchewan. Sunday Schools were established at every available point, and Epworth Leagues became an

important factor in the spiritual, social, and literary life of the young people, and so rapid was the growth of these institutions that a Field Secretary for Manitoba and Saskatchewan had to be appointed in the person of the Rev. John A. Doyle.

During the past decade, Methodism in the Province has maintained its state of efficiency, and has grown in wealth and numerical strength. Small missions have developed into large and wealthy congregations, with commodious and expensive churches, especially at such centres as Regina, Moose Jaw and Saskatoon. The conference which formerly embraced a part of Western Ontario and the whole of the Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and the territory to the far north has been divided, and Saskatchewan has now a conference of its own. With the increase of population, the denomination has kept pace, as in 1901 there were 12,028 Methodists, and in 1911 no less than 78,325. In the year 1912 there were seventy-five ordained ministers, and one hundred and twenty-five young men on missions or at college; seventeen new churches were built during the year, and twenty-two new parsonages, while the financial returns show that there was raised for missions, \$29,473; Woman's Missionary Society, \$6,336; Connexional Funds, \$55,864; and the total raised for all purposes amounted to \$424,499.

The denomination has always been active in dealing with western problems, the first officers and most of the members of the North West Prohibition Alliance, subsequently merged with the Dominion Alliance, being ministers and laymen belonging to the Methodist Church. In educational matters it has always maintained a keen interest. When the Board of Education for the Territories was organized, Lieutenant-Governor Brown, then a young barrister in Regina, was a member of the Board of Examiners, and associated with him on that Board was the Rev. Dr. John Maclean, the first Public School Inspector of Southern Alberta, and afterward a member of the Board of Education. With the call for higher education, there came the answer in the founding of the College at Regina in 1910, with the Rev. Dr. W. W. Andrews as President, and the Rev. Hugh Dobson, B.A., as College Representative in the Field. Two years later, there was a college staff of twelve gentlemen and ladies engaged in three departments, namely, Academic, Commercial and Musical. Dr. Andrews having resigned as President, the Rev. Robert Milliken, B.D., was appointed to succeed him by the Board of Governors, 1913. The College owns a block in the city, and a site for new buildings, consisting of twenty-two acres on the north side of Lake Wascana, opposite the Parliament Buildings, and has assets worth over half a million dollars. The outlook for a large and important institution is bright, in the number of students in attendance, the ability of the staff, the financial strength, and the loyalty of the denomination.

Whatever concerns the welfare of man was of interest to the ancient

citizen of Rome, and that is the attitude assumed by Methodism on the public affairs of the Province. Nothing comes amiss to the true citizen, and no task is too heavy for the real patriot. In the centres of commerce in the towns and cities, from the earliest days till the present time, there have been farmers, merchants and men of industry, whose souls were not so engrossed in their business concerns but that they were awake to the moral and social welfare of the community, and gave freely of their time and wealth for the establishment of institutions, in which everybody ought to be interested. From the teaching profession graduated a large number of doctors, lawyers and politicians, whose denominational preferences have in nowise hampered them in their duties toward the public, but rather have given them a wider outlook, controlled by a sense of justice and love of freedom. In the early days, journalism was indebted to Methodism for some of its leading editors, as in the case of the *Moose Jaw Times*, the *Regina Leader*, *Qu'Appelle Progress*, *Moosomin Spectator*, and *Regina Standard*. The great task of making citizens loyal, intelligent and progressive has been the supreme duty, and remains as an enduring responsibility.

Forty-four years have passed since Rev. Dr. George Young reached Fort Garry and founded the first Methodist Church for the white settlers in the West, and from that date till the present the sons of Wesley have continued the work of pioneering, without counting the cost, but glad of the honour of leading men and women to the best there is in life, and moulding citizens for the nation yet to be. From that lone outpost of empire there has sprung up a great host, all over the western land. In 1902, when there was only one conference west of the great lakes to British Columbia, there were fifteen districts, with 142 ordained ministers, 81 probationers for the ministry, and 49 missionary teachers, and in 1912 there were in Saskatchewan alone, fifteen districts, with about 200 ministers, including probationers for the ministry.

The Jubilee of western Methodism is not far distant, and when that is celebrated, and the record of the years is made, it will be found that the glory of the denomination lies not in statistical returns and census reports, but in the fashioning of the age, the moulding of personal character, the giving of a new vision to men and women, and in real service to God and man. The Church that declares the power of an endless life, and is true to the eternal principles in man, and in revelation, will not labour in vain.

CHAPTER XLVIII

THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN SASKATCHEWAN.

FOUNDATION OF ENGLISH CHURCH IN WESTERN BRITISH NORTH AMERICA—REV. JOHN WEST, 1820—OTHER PIONEER CLERGYMEN OF THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT—BISHOP MOUNTAIN'S VISIT, 1844—REV. J. HUNTER AND OTHERS PENETRATE THE INTERIOR—REV. DAVID ANDERSON, FIRST BISHOP OF RUPERT'S LAND, 1849 TO 1864—BISHOP MACHRAY—CREATION OF THE DIOCESES OF SASKATCHEWAN, QU'APPELLE, ETC.—WORK OF BISHOP BOMPAS IN THE FAR NORTH—REV. DR. JOHN MCLEAN, FIRST BISHOP OF SASKATCHEWAN—BISHOP PINKHAM—BISHOP NEWNHAM—EMMANUEL COLLEGE—MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE IN DIOCESE OF SASKATCHEWAN—ARCHDEACON LLOYD—REV. ADELBERT ANSON, FIRST BISHOP OF QU'APPELLE, 1884—BISHOP BURN, 1893—BISHOP GRISDALE, 1896—BISHOP HARDING, 1912—ST. CHAD'S COLLEGE—THE PRAIRIE BROTHERHOOD—THE RAILWAY MISSION.

On October 12, 1820, the Rev. John West, Hudson Bay Company's chaplain, arrived at Red River after a journey of five months, to lay the foundations of the Church of England in the far West. At that time there was no Protestant church or school house in the colony. With the Episcopalians coöperated the Presbyterian settlers, who were still without a clergyman of their own communion, and very soon Mr. West was doing vigorous and effective work in a little log building that was fitted up for church purposes at St. John's. In the following year he visited Brandon and came westward on a missionary tour, spending the winter in the Qu'Appelle valley. In the summer months he proceeded to Norway House and York Factory. There he organized the first Bible Society of the Canadian West and through its instrumentality the Scriptures were, before long, available in six of the languages spoken in the great new land. Mr. West's term of service was, however, all too brief, but much useful work had been done before he returned to England in 1823.

He was succeeded by the Rev. D. T. Jones, who undertook the interesting experiment of simplifying the liturgy and order of service of the church, with a view to rendering it more acceptable to the Scottish adherents in the

Selkirk Settlement. After fifteen years of faithful service, Mr. Jones returned to the motherland. For many years he had been assisted by the Rev. William Cochran, a useful, popular and generous clergyman, whom heavy labor seemed unable to weary. For a long time his regular Sabbath duties involved a drive of thirty or forty miles and three separate services. The Rev. W. Smithers and the Rev. Abraham Cowley came to his aid in 1839 and 1841, respectively. Mr. Cowley was probably the first Protestant clergyman to extend a mission beyond the Red River.

It is manifest that the spiritual supervision of north western British North America was a practical impossibility for prelates in Eastern Canada. In 1844 Bishop Mountain of Montreal indeed effected an episcopal tour into the West, but none other was afterwards attempted. This journey of the Bishop of Montreal involved many weeks of hardship and exposure, as he travelled from place to place by canoe. At this time there were four churches in the colony and Bishop Mountain confirmed 846 persons.

This same year the Rev. J. Hunter, afterwards archdeacon, entered the country, *via* York Factory, and commenced work among the settlers and Indians at The Pas. Through his efforts the Indians of that neighborhood made rapid progress in civilization and by 1848, 420 of them had been baptized, and nearly all professed Christianity. From The Pas as centre, the missions of the Church soon spread westward to Lac la Ronge, to which district, in 1845, Mr. Hunter sent James Beardy as instructor in the Christian faith. Other pioneers of the church followed, and when, in 1847, Mr. Hunter visited Lac la Ronge, he had the happy duty of baptizing forty-eight adults and fifty-nine children.

Invitations were soon coming for missionaries from many quarters, and the development of the Church in the West caused the Rev. David Anderson to be chosen first Bishop of Rupert's Land, in 1849. The Bishopric was primarily endowed by a bequest of £12,000, which had been left it by Mr. James Leith, a chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company. Bishop Anderson established his headquarters at what had been called the Upper Church, in the Red River Colony. This he named the Cathedral of St. John's, and thirteen years later a new Episcopal Cathedral was dedicated by Bishop Anderson on the site of the old church. In 1850 the Bishop ordained the first native clergyman. This was the Rev. Henry Budd, who had commenced his life work ten years earlier as catechist at Cumberland House, and had been eminently successful.

By 1857 the Bishop numbered among his co-workers nineteen ordained clergymen. Fifteen of these were maintained by the Church Missionary Society, two by The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, one by The Missionary Society of the Colonial Church and one by the Hudson's Bay Company. Throughout its history the Canadian Church in the West has at

all times received invaluable support from the motherland, especially through the Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

In 1864 Bishop Anderson retired. Prior to the arrival of his successor, Rev. Dr. Robert Machray, in the following year, the Rev. T. T. Smith officiated in his place. The following tribute to Bishop Machray is quoted from the reminiscences of the Rev. R. J. MacBeth, a prominent Presbyterian:

"The labors of Bishop Machray were unceasing, abundant and far-reaching in their results on the history and life of the country. . . . Dr. Machray took an active part in the affairs of the country and was one of the factors in the peaceful solution of the Riel troubles in 1870. He afterwards became Archbishop of Rupert's Land and later Primate of all Canada. He took a leading part in the formation of the University of Manitoba, of which he was chancellor from its beginning until his death. In the course of his years of service the country opened up in all directions and the Church of England nobly did her part in sending missionaries to all parts of the 'New West' and as far north as man could live."

Bishop Machray's diocese extended from Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains, and from the forty-ninth parallel to the remotest North, including the valley of the Yukon. This stupendous territory was in 1872 reorganized by the formation of the diocese of Moosonee. At the same time Rupert's Land was established as an Ecclesiastical Province. The diocese of Saskatchewan was separated from that of Rupert's Land in 1874.

In 1883 and 1884 the dioceses of Qu'Appelle and Mackenzie River, respectively, were organized; that of Calgary in 1887 and that of Keewatin in 1899. For the present sketch the records of the diocese of Qu'Appelle and the diocese of Saskatchewan are of most concern.

Special mention must be made, however, of Bishop Bompas of the diocese of Selkirk, in the Far North. "His was a peripatetic episcopate," says the Rev. L. Norman Tucker, in his *History of the English Church in the West* (page 138). "He sojourned in many places, but never resided in any one—Vermilion, Chipewayan, Simpson, Norman, Wrigley, Pelly River, Rampart House, Selkirk, Carcross—moving continually from place to place. His love for the Indians was all absorbing. To serve them and to save them, he not only lived with them, but he lived like them; and at the last he so felt the burden of the Indian work pressing on his soul that he was wont to consider himself the Bishop and the missionary of the Indians, almost to the exclusion of his own kith and kin. Never was a mission more fully and more heartily embraced, and never was a work more conscientiously and more perseveringly done." The story of the life of Bishop Bompas is a stirring record of self-sacrifice for humanity's sake, of hardships sustained

with the utmost good cheer, and of tireless devotion to the interest of the Church.

Very prominent among all those to whom the establishment of the Church of England in Western Canada is owing was the Reverend Dr. John McLean, who became Archdeacon of Assiniboia in 1866. Eight years later he was consecrated the first Bishop of Saskatchewan, in which office he died on November 7, 1886. On his first episcopal journey, Bishop McLean travelled two thousand miles with a temperature often falling forty degrees below zero. At Prince Albert the Bishop built Emmanuel College, which, when opened in 1879, was the first institution for higher education in the diocese. He was profoundly impressed with the necessity of a high standard of education in his clergy, and through his influence an Act was passed by the Dominion Government making provision for the establishment of a University of Saskatchewan. The fulfilment of this dream was frustrated by Doctor McLean's death.

When the diocese of Saskatchewan was created it contained about thirty thousand Indians and only a handful of white people. There were no endowments, no missionaries and no churches. Everything had to be begun, so far as the Church of England was concerned.

Bishop McLean's first efforts were directed to securing the endowment of the episcopate. Very soon thereafter, however, his dearest charge was Emmanuel College, which he founded in 1879. This institution at Prince Albert had its origin in the Bishop's need of a trained band of interpreters, schoolmasters, catechists and pastors, who, being themselves natives of the country, would be familiar with the language and modes of life of the people. Indeed Bishop McLean felt the need for native help to be so pressing that soon after his arrival in the diocese and even before the establishment of any regular and permanent diocesan institution he undertook personally to carry on the task of training future co-workers. While the chief work of Emmanuel College was that of fitting native helpers for missionary activity among the Indians, a collegiate school was also conducted which, of course, did not confine itself to prospective missionaries.

When the Synod of Saskatchewan met, October 11, 1883, the Bishop announced that during the past year Assiniboia, which hitherto had been included in the Diocese of Saskatchewan, had been set apart as a new diocese. Other changes had also been made in the boundaries of his see, which still extended, however, from Lake Winnipeg to the mountains.

As the town of Prince Albert sprang out to a distance of three miles from the main buildings of Emmanuel College, it became necessary to maintain lecture rooms in the settlement for collegiate work, which was greatly hampered by existing conditions.

In 1885 the Rebellion prevented any meeting of the Synod of Saskatchewan. In the following year, however, it is interesting to note among the leading delegates were Star Blanket, John Smith and James Smith, three Indian Chiefs who had been largely instrumental in restraining their people within the bonds of loyalty in the preceding troublous year. At this time there were twenty-two clergymen in the diocese, almost entirely supported by the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. At Fort McLeod, Battleford, Calgary and Prince Albert the missions were self-supporting.

In 1889 Right Reverend Cyprian Pinkham, D. D., D. C. L., succeeded Bishop McLean, whose death occurred on November 7, 1886. In raising and completing the Episcopal Endowment Fund, in commencing the Clergy Endowment Fund, and in his persisting and self-denying labours for Emmanuel College the late Bishop had left an invaluable bequest to the people of the West in general, and to his successor in particular. At the time of Bishop McLean's death he had secured endowments for the work of his bishopric to the amount of but little less than ninety thousand dollars.

Until his death Bishop McLean had been himself warden and professor of divinity in Emmanuel College, and in his place Bishop Pinkham appointed Archdeacon J. A. Mackay. At one time there had been a large attendance of boys at the collegiate school affiliated with the college, but the growth of Prince Albert at a considerable distance from the college, and the excellence of its public schools had very seriously reduced the attendance.

In 1900 Archdeacon Mackay, who had been actively connected with the institution ever since 1887, resigned the principalship. Upon the creation of the new Saskatchewan University, situated at Saskatoon, Emmanuel College was transferred to that city, the venerable Archdeacon Lloyd assuming the principalship, which Archdeacon Mackay had vacated in 1900. As a theological college the institution has entered upon a period of renewed prosperity.

In the industrial school at Battleford, under Principal Reverend E. Matheson, from one hundred to one hundred and twenty Indian pupils have been enrolled annually for many years. In St. Barnelis Boarding School, Onion Lake, thirty-five or forty additional pupils were in 1897 in the care of the Reverend J. R. Matheson, the founder of the school. Mrs. Matheson, in order to increase her usefulness in her husband's mission and boarding school, at great inconvenience and self-sacrifice, took a full medical course in Toronto, receiving the degree of M. D.

Until 1903 Bishop Pinkham had the oversight of both the diocese of Saskatchewan and that of Calgary. At that date Dr. Newnham was transferred from Moonsonie to Saskatchewan, as Bishop, Dr. Pinkham retaining only the rapidly developing See of Calgary.

An interesting feature in connection with the work of the English Church in the diocese of Saskatchewan has been its system of missions. The settled portion of the diocese has been parcelled out into districts about thirty miles square. It is the intention that such a territory should fully employ a thoroughly active worker while at the same time the population that he must reach must not be so great as to prevent his keeping in close touch with all members of the Anglican communion, and maintaining some oversight over the spiritual affairs of the settlers in general. As such an unorganized district is transformed, under the administrations of the hard working missionary, it becomes first a mission, later a parish, and finally, when self-supporting, a rectory.

To man these fields the Church has relied not upon the stipends that could be offered, but upon the self-sacrifice and devotion of those who felt the call to give their services as a labor of love. The money they actually receive is about half the salary of a country school teacher. Nevertheless, this appeal to moral heroism has proved more successful than any appeal to lower motives could have done. In 1907 Archdeacon Lloyd—already very widely known on account of his invaluable services in saving from utter wreck the “All British” colony, named Lloydminster in his honor—visited England with the call for workers. The old country supporters of the movement provided each catechist with a nominal stipend of \$350.00 in addition to \$100 for a “shack” and \$250 towards the building of a church. In 1910 another such party numbering thirty came out as reinforcements and as this chapter goes to press still a third similar corps of missionary volunteers sails for Canada to augment the forces of this diocese.

The difficulties and discouragements met by these catechists are many, and for their aid and encouragement they are grouped under the supervision of certain clergymen of experience and ability. These clergymen, whom we may call superintendents, each have under their care six or eight districts, and back and forth through them they drive continually, advising the catechists, administering the sacraments and otherwise supervising the work and interests of the Church. They are expected to make the circuit of their fields six or eight times a year. During part of the year the catechists are withdrawn to be instructed in theology and biblical knowledge at Emmanuel College. At first this interval for special study and instruction was of only three months duration, the catechists coming in relays, and their companions in the field meanwhile doing double duty. At present there is provision for seven months in the College and five months on the field. Almost all of these catechists, if successful in their examinations, reach ordination in about three years.

On November 7, 1897, the Reverend John Sinclair, one of the native clergy of the Western Church, died at Cedar Hill. He was educated at St.

John's College, Winnipeg, and Emmanuel College, Prince Albert, and ordained by Bishop McLean. He served as a missionary at Stanley and at Grand Rapids.

Bishop Pinkham, speaking at Prince Albert on June 8, 1898, spoke feelingly of the recent death of Chief Ahkakoop (Star Blanket), who had been a delegate at the preceding Synod: "Who can forget that stately, gentle old Man! He was a member of the Synod from 1886 to his death. He was always present and he took a deep interest in all that was done. Those who heard him will never forget his address at the missionary meeting in connection with the synod a few years ago. He loved his God; he loved the Church of God. During the Rebellion he was conspicuous for his loyalty, and afterwards when visiting Eastern Canada he was greatly honored by His Excellency, The Governor-General."

The Qu'Appelle diocese was co-terminous with the old district of Assiniboia, extending five hundred miles from east to west and two hundred and five miles from north to south. It had at first no church, no parsonage, no organized congregation, and but one clergyman, the Rev. J. P. Sargent, later Dean of Qu'Appelle. In the early days it was his duty to minister chiefly to the natives and settlers along the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway. For many years the Church Missionary Society had conducted Indian missions at Fort Qu'Appelle, Touchwood Hills and Fort Pelly, but there had been laid merely the first stones of the foundation of the great work yet to be accomplished.

In 1884 the Rev. the Hon. Adelbert Anson, rector of Woolrich and Honorary Canon of Rochester, was consecrated first Bishop of Qu'Appelle. He at once sent forth the clarion call for missionary helpers. He promised them only the absolute necessities of life and no stipend, relying upon Christian heroism and missionary enthusiasm to supply incentives for the work. Six volunteers responded and came to Mr. Sargent's relief, and, by 1887, thirteen clergymen, with fifty-four stations, were reaching more or less effectively twenty-four hundred members and adherents of the Church of England. A theological college and boys' school were presently established at Qu'Appelle, and much work of genuine utility was being done, though the progress of settlement and the general growth of the Church proved less rapid than had been anticipated. The work he had accomplished was much more enduring and far-reaching than Bishop Anson knew, but to him it seemed all too small and as a result of his profound depression he resigned the See, in 1892. During his term of office he had organized the diocese into parishes, created the Synod, raised \$50,000 for the endowment of the See, and built twenty-four churches. It was only from the standpoint of Bishop Anson's own profound humility and enthusiasm that such record could seem inadequate.

The Right Rev. William John Burn from County of Durham, England, was chosen his successor. The Bishop was a keen worker and assiduous in visiting his diocese, even in the most remote posts. At this time a large influx of population was starting in the West, and in consequence Bishop Burn had much to do in the way of organizing and readjusting the different missions scattered over his wide See. Bishop Burn delighted in his spiritual work, and his experience and ability would have been of incalculable use, but he died suddenly of heart failure on June 16, 1896, shortly after presiding over his synod. Wherever he went he carried with him a cheerful and courteous bearing, which always won the hearts of men, and his faithful wife is still (1913) carrying on his work in England in the interests of Qu'Appelle Diocese.

Upon the death of Bishop Burn, Dean Grisdale, of Winnipeg, was chosen successor, being the first Bishop of Qu'Appelle to be elevated to such dignity by the authorities of the English Church in Canada. He was fortunate in having as coworkers a corps of faithful and industrious priests, among whom may be named Archdeacon Dobie, Archdeacon T. W. Johnson, Canon Beale and the Rev. M. McAdam Harding. Thanks to the strenuous labours of these and other clergymen under Bishop Grisdale's leadership, his episcopate was prosperous in the extreme. By 1906 the diocese contained sixty-seven churches and more than thirty-three hundred members of the Anglican communion, served by forty-eight ordained clergymen and twenty-four lay readers. By 1908 there were eighty-two churches, thirty-nine rectories and vicarages and eight parish halls.

The first Synod of Qu'Appelle had been held in 1884 at the territorial capital. There were two churches in the diocese, that at Regina under the pastoral care of Rev. H. Havelock Smith, and that at Moose Jaw in charge of Dean Sargent. In 1912 there were one hundred and fifty churches and ninety-two clergy on the roll, under the able supervision of Bishop M. McAdam Harding, who was consecrated as coadjutor to Bishop Grisdale, June 3, 1909, and succeeded him on the resignation of the latter, June 9, 1911.

The year 1907 was marked in the ecclesiastical history of Qu'Appelle diocese by the establishment of St. Chad's Hostel at Regina. This college had its inception in Shropshire, England, when at a meeting held in Shrewsbury the Church people decided to assist the Church in the Diocese of Qu'Appelle by supporting a Hostel which should have as its object the training of candidates for Holy Orders. The Rev. C. R. Littler, who had spent about twenty years in Manitoba, but who had been latterly residing in Shropshire, was appointed first Warden of the Hostel and began his work in May, 1907. On his retirement, owing to ill health, in 1909, Archdeacon Dobie was appointed Warden, with the Rev. R. J. Morrice sub-warden. Already about fifteen of the alumni of St. Chad's are at work in

the diocese, and the Bishop in his charge to the Synod, in January, 1913, spoke highly of their work and ministry. The College was affiliated with the University of Saskatchewan in 1912. New and commodious quarters are being erected in the capital city in 1913. St. Chad's College is the first of a scheme of buildings which will eventually include the Bishop's Residence, Boys' School, Synod Office and a Cathedral Church.

In 1908 steps were taken to organize a Prairie Brotherhood, similar in character to the Bush Brotherhood that has done such effective service in Australia. Behind this movement stood the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Its work was chiefly among the many thousands of new settlers that are establishing homes in the southwestern quarter of the diocese. The organization disbanded, however, in May, 1913.

From the point of view of church history a quite exceptional interest attaches to the system of so-called Railway missions in the diocese of Qu'Appelle. To avoid a possible misunderstanding, it may be stated that these are quite distinct from those forms of missionary enterprise commonly associated with railway construction works. The scheme simply embodies a policy by which the railway lines are made the basis for dividing the country into missionary districts and establishing the Church in the new communities that spring up like mushrooms along the railway line. Acting upon the suggestion of Archbishop Matheson, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, in December, 1909, made an appeal for men and money to assist in Church extension work in North Western Canada. Fifty volunteers and an annual allowance of £10,000 for the North West was thus secured. Early in 1910 the Rev. W. G. Boyd assumed charge of this work at Edmonton, and a few months later the Rev. Douglas Ellison undertook like duties at Regina in the interest of the Qu'Appelle diocese. Rev. W. H. White, Vicar of Lanigan, rendered valuable assistance in the work of organization and the enterprise was in active operation by October, 1910, with four ordained clergymen in the fields. To each of these was assigned a strip of railway about one hundred miles in length, with the adjacent countryside. In 1913 this force had increased to twelve priests and six laymen. Within two years twenty-four churches had been established, \$30,000 had been raised from local sources and Church services were being conducted in sixty-seven places. Upon being assigned his strip of railway, the missionary makes it his business during the first year to find in what localities the Church of England population is strongest. There he leads the people in the building of a church by local funds, encouraging the pioneers by assuring them of free pastoral service for the period of twelve months. In the second year the new congregation assists in the maintenance of the missionary and in the third year every effort is made to render the charge self-supporting. The headquarters of the mission is the Clergy House at Regina. In the autumn

of 1912 His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught laid the cornerstone of the present Clergy House. Here each of the missionaries has a room, and from Regina he works his territory by means of the railways. The advantages of such a plan in connection with districts in which the Church population is small and not yet particularly affluent, are obvious.

In 1912 Mr. Ellison devised a Hospital scheme to serve the needs of the smaller towns. The town itself erects the building and the mission maintains it and supplies the necessary staff of nurses. Davidson and Rosetown were the first places to take advantage of this offer, building hospitals capable of serving about sixteen patients. Additional nurses not yet required for such institutions as these are, under direction of the mission, doing private prairie nursing in the meantime (1913).

Of the several great British Missionary Societies to which Saskatchewan owes a debt of gratitude, special mention must be made of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. This venerable association celebrated its second centenary in 1901. It has done invaluable works in many parts of the world, the Church in the United States being practically founded by it. By the beginning of the present century it had expended nearly \$1,900,000 in Canada and Newfoundland.

In 1901 the Anglican Church stood fourth, numerically, among the great religious bodies of the Province of Saskatchewan, 75,342 of our citizens registering themselves as members or adherents.

CHAPTER XLIX

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN SASKATCHEWAN

FIRST PRESBYTERIANS IN WEST FOR A GENERATION WITHOUT A MINISTER—PRESBYTERIAN SERVICES UNDER LAY LEADERSHIP, FROM 1813—FUTILE EFFORTS TO SECURE A MINISTER—COMING OF REV. JOHN BLACK, 1851—REV. JAS. NISBET, FIRST PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONARY IN SASKATCHEWAN, 1866—REV. MCKELLAR—MR. JOHN MACKAY—FIRST PRESBYTERY, 1870—REV. JAMES ROBERTSON, THE GREAT PIONEER SUPERINTENDENT—FINANCING WESTERN MISSIONS—REV. E. D. McLAREN, GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT OF MISSIONS—DR. A. S. GRANT—DR. CARMICHAEL'S GREAT WORK—PRESBYTERIANISM IN SASKATCHEWAN IN 1913.

The cradle of Presbyterianism in Western Canada was the Parish of Kildonan in the Selkirk Settlement on the Red River. A very large proportion of the immigrants brought into the West by Lord Selkirk were Presbyterians from a parish named Kildonan in the north of Scotland, and a minister of their faith, Reverend Mr. Sage, from the same locality, was engaged by the great colonizer to come to Canada as their spiritual advisor. For some reason, however, Mr. Sage did not come out, and for more than a generation the Presbyterian settlers were without a minister of their own. It is a remarkable evidence of the religious tenacity of these hardy pioneers that during this long and disheartening interval they never lost their grip upon the teaching and customs in which they had been indoctrinated by their national church. Their clergy of an earlier date must indeed have performed their functions thoroughly. Meantime, before the Presbyterian settlers had an ordained minister of their own, they much appreciated the Christian courtesy of the Anglican clergymen, especially the Rev. D. T. Jones, with whose congregation the Scottish pioneers worshipped for many years.

Prominent among the settlers was Elder James Sutherland, in whom, though not an ordained minister, was vested special authority to administer baptism, solemnize marriages and expound the Scriptures. To few men in Canada has the Presbyterian Church owed so much. Through the ministration of this devoted layman, the Presbyterian settlers maintained services among themselves from as early as 1813.

Selkirk had definitely promised to send a Presbyterian minister to the settlement, but apparently owing to the stress of his legal difficulties he was unable to fulfil his pledge. After his death the settlers appealed to the authorities of the Hudson's Bay Company to carry out his promises, but without success. At last, in 1846, they laid their case before the authorities of the Church of Scotland, but the Red River was far away and few knew or cared seriously for the needs of the lonely pioneers. Three years elapsed before the petition was even answered, and then no one was sent. The settlers, however, were steadfast in their determination, and in 1850 they took steps to obtain a grant of land for church, school house and glebe purposes, in addition to £150 for the surrender of their claim on what was known as the Upper Church. This establishment they held to be theirs by gift of Lord Selkirk, but for many years it had been in the hands of the English Church.

The Presbyterians then appealed to the Presbyterian Church of Canada, and on September 19, 1851, the Reverend John Black was welcomed by the congregation which had been waiting for so many weary years. On his arrival he found three hundred persons ready to take part in his first communion. Speaking of this remarkable man, the Reverend R. G. MacBeth has written as follows:

"John Black, afterwards Doctor Black, was a man of unusual power as a preacher and a theologian. Intense of nature and profound of conviction, his influence on the religious and educational life of the country was tremendous. His parish became the centre; and as new people began to come into the West, they came under the influence of that remarkable community. From that parish men and women scattered over the country, carrying their convictions with them and leavening the incoming settlers with their faith. In that parish plans were made for the planting of missions not only in the settlements near by, but as far northwest as the North Saskatchewan. In that parish Manitoba College was built, as the mission institution from which men have gone by scores out to the fields of the church, both at home and abroad."

Fifteen years after the formal establishment of the first Presbyterian congregation in Western Canada, the Kildonan settlers sent forth into the western wilderness a missionary party, outfitted largely by the congregation, to carry the Gospel and establish a Presbyterian Church in what is now the Province of Saskatchewan. The Reverend James Nisbet, who had been actively engaged in ministerial work in the settlement since 1862, was at the head of the party. With him went Mr. John MacKay, a famous native buffalo hunter, his wife and Mr. Adam MacBeth, in addition to some assistants. The caravan moved with their ox carts across the plains for forty days, and ultimately established a mission at a point which Mr. Nisbet, in honour of the Prince Consort, named Prince Albert. This was the

nucleus of the now flourishing city. Mr. Nisbet devoted eight years to unremitting and most successful labours, chiefly among the Crees, at the end of which time the health of both him and his wife had been shattered. He took her home to Kildonan, but the end was near. She died a short time afterwards in her father's house, and a few days later was followed to her rest by her devoted husband.

In the Presbyterian Church at Prince Albert, however, there is a tablet to Nisbet's memory; but shared by Robertson and Carmichael, the real monument to this heroic missionary and his wife is whatever Presbyterianism stands for in the Province of Saskatchewan.

Mr. Nisbet was succeeded at Prince Albert by the Reverend Mr. McKellar. Mr. Nisbet's devoted companion and assistant, Mr. John MacKay, had accompanied him chiefly to act as interpreter, and to supply the mission with food. In time, however, he was ordained to the ministry himself and stationed on the Cree reserve of Mistawasis, near Prince Albert. He performed valuable services in connection with the negotiation of several of the treaties between the Canadian Government and the Indians, and in the troubles of 1885 he restrained the redmen of his district from joining the insurgents.

By 1870 there were five ordained Presbyterian ministers in the West, and the Presbytery of Manitoba was organized, with jurisdiction extending almost indefinitely through the vast interior. It is characteristic of Presbyterianism that even in those early days it was recognized that sound scholarship was an essential qualification for the most successful religious work among the pioneers and even among the native races; in consequence Manitoba College was organized under the aegis of the Presbyterian Church. The Reverend George Bryce, for many years connected with Knox Church, Winnipeg, was in 1871 appointed the first professor.

Knox Church, Winnipeg, becoming vacant, it was bold enough to invite the Reverend William Cochrane, convener of the Home Mission Committee, to himself assume charge of this field. This he was not able to do, but in his stead he sent the Reverend James Robertson, who for many years was to be the outstanding personality in western Presbyterianism. MacBeth's pen picture of this rugged prophet, statesman and organizer recalls to the mind's eye of many thousands yet living the impression produced by this great Presbyterian Bishop—for Episcopus he was in all reality: "That tall, spare, highland figure with the plain face and the eyes that could melt with sympathy or blaze with righteous indignation haunts us yet; the deep, intensely earnest voice still cries to us, and the strong grip of the sinewy hand still remains to us as assurance of a great genuineness of soul and purpose."¹ The biography of Dr. Robertson as written by his staunch co-

¹ *Our Task in Canada*, page 34.

worker, the Reverend Charles Gordon ("Ralph Connor") is a book which no Presbyterian, indeed, no Canadian who respects religious heroism and national righteousness, can afford not to read.

Rev. Canon L. Norman Tucker, General Secretary of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, speaking at the Canadian Missionary Congress held in Toronto in 1909, spoke as follows at a great meeting in Massey Hall: "Long before settlement began to pour into the West, there stood a man on the prairie, a prophet, a patriot, a great statesman, a missionary who foresaw the marvellous developments that were coming, who wisely prepared to meet them. Dr. Robertson staked out that great country, occupied its strategic points, early aroused his church to its needs and opportunities and dotted the whole land with Presbyterian Churches and manses, and thus enabled the Presbyterian Church of Canada to work its noble and manly spirit into the very fibre of our national eye." This tribute to Robertson brought the whole audience to its feet and precipitated an outburst of unprecedented enthusiasm.

Six years after coming to Knox College, Winnipeg, Robertson was (1881) made Superintendent of Missions for Manitoba and the North West. "His parish," says MacBeth, "was from Lake Superior to the Yukon, but his sphere of operations was everywhere over the East and in the old land, where with resistless power he preached the flaming evangel of western opportunity. I met him in all sorts of places and situations during the great days of his superintendency—in buckboards on the prairie, on trains in the mountains, and in wayside inns where he got his meals, and wrote his letters—sometimes all night long so that he could catch conveyance stage or train, or ride to some farther point in the morning. More than any man of his day, he saw what the West was going to be, and the amazing development of these last few years would not have surprised him, for he saw it coming long ago. I have known personally most of the leading men of the West, splendid men, who developed the unknown resources of the country. I have known the ministers of the Crown who have planned important legislation, the men of business in the growing cities, the railroaders who have gridironed the lonely prairie, and who drove their iron horses over the mountains to drink on the Pacific shore, and I give them the tribute of great respect; but above them all as a real maker of the West I place the great superintendent who laboured to keep vivid in the new land the sense of God, who paid with his life the full price of his devotion to a noble cause." (*Our Task in Canada*, pages 34-5.)

In 1877 Robertson founded the first railroad missions in connection with the Presbyterian Church in the West. Four years later there were twenty-one ordained missionaries and fifteen catechists maintained by the Manitoba Presbytery. It was at this time that the new office of superintendent was

created (largely through the influence of the Reverend Dr. Black) and Robertson immediately gave up his pastoral charge in Winnipeg and entered upon his new work. His subsequent missionary journeys totalled a distance that would ten times girdle the earth.

In season and out of season, Doctor Robertson emphasized the necessity of giving visibility and prominence to the work of the Church, and of promptly occupying strategic points throughout the mighty region entrusted to his supervision. He accordingly established a special Church and Manse Fund and in the face of enormous difficulties he raised over sixty-three thousand dollars for this purpose within a few months. Through the instrumentality of this fund, four hundred and nineteen churches, ninety manses, and four school houses were erected in the North West before Robertson's death.

The year after the creation of the superintendency a Presbyterian mission was established at Fort Qu'Appelle (1882) and very soon there were flourishing charges in almost all centres of settlement throughout Saskatchewan. In 1883 the Presbytery of Manitoba was divided into three, the Presbytery of Winnipeg, Rock Lake and Brandon, the latter including the North West Territories. Shortly afterwards the first synod came into being. It had within its jurisdiction forty-seven missions with their associated stations. In 1885 development justified further subdivision and the Presbytery of Regina was established, with thirty-four congregations and mission stations. It held its first meeting at Regina on July 15, 1885, when Robertson was elected moderator.

Thanks to the influence of such men as Dr. Robertson, Principal John M. Young of Manitoba College, Professors Bryce, Hart, and Baird, Doctor John Campbell, of Victoria, B. C., and their numerous devoted lieutenants, the eyes of the Presbyterian Church in Canada had now been seriously turned towards the opportunity and privilege offered in western Canada, a fact evidenced by the meeting of the General Assembly at Winnipeg in 1887. During the preceding five years mission stations had been created under Robertson's supervision at the rate of one per week, and the churches had increased in number from fifteen to nearly one hundred. The Assembly met in Winnipeg again in 1897, in Vancouver in 1903, and in Edmonton in 1912.

Outside support for Presbyterianism in the Territories prior to 1894 came almost exclusively from eastern Canada. In that year, through the instrumentality of the Reverend Charles W. Gordon, greatly increased support began to come from the mother church in Scotland. Two years later Robertson himself visited the old land and secured a considerable sum of money and undertaking to support forty missions. It is noteworthy, however, while in certain times of stress appeals have been made to the

Presbyterian Church of Scotland, these have not been characteristic of Presbyterian methods in meeting the situation in the Canadian West; indeed, thoughtful critics within and without the Presbyterian communion have accounted for the remarkable success of Canadian Presbyterianism by citing the fact that it has been marked by a sturdy independence that has conduced to generous giving both in eastern Canada and in the pioneer districts themselves. Thus in 1913 the Synod of Saskatchewan alone undertook to contribute \$80,000 to mission work. For many years no financial aid has been either received or asked by the Canadian Presbyterian Church from beyond the boundaries of Canada.

When the Yukon commenced to attract large immigration (1897-8), Robertson sent into that remote territory a group of missionaries whose names will be forever fragrant. Among these were Mr. R. M. Dickey, a student from Manitoba College; A. S. Grant, who went by the White Pass trail to Dawson along with the miners; the Pringle brothers, John and George; J. J. Wright, of White Horse, and J. A. Sinclair. To record the heroic service rendered by these men, and others who followed them or coöperated with them, would, however, take us too far afield.

In all this mighty enterprise Dr. Robertson, through good report and bad report, had ever been in the forefront of the battle. The degree to which he threw himself into his work is evidenced by the fact that during a period of sixteen years he was home but once for Christmas, and on that occasion he was ill. To a man of his deep family affections such a life was one of continual sacrifice, but in it he was unfailingly supported by the sympathy and encouragement of his noble wife. The task which his genius had created was, however, too great for any one man alone to perform, and doubtless hastened his death, which occurred in 1902. He was succeeded by the Reverend Dr. E. D. McLaren, of Vancouver, who was given the title of General Secretary of Missions, and with whom were associated as field superintendents the Rev. Dr. J. A. Carmichael, of Regina, and the Rev. Dr. J. C. Herdman, of Calgary. Doctor McLaren himself retired eight years later to devote himself to educational work in Vancouver, and Dr. A. S. Grant, formerly of the Yukon, became General Superintendent. With him were associated the Rev. J. H. Edmison as resident secretary at Toronto, and ten district superintendents, three of whom devote their whole time to the work in the Province.

The people of Saskatchewan are most concerned with the labours of Dr. Carmichael. While minister of Knox Church, Regina, he had the general supervision of a large section of the Province as convenor of the Home Mission Committee of Regina Presbytery. When an appointment had to be made after the death of Dr. Robertson it was recognized that Carmichael in a unique degree was conversant with the situation and equal to the under-

taking. Accordingly, he was appointed Superintendent of Missions for the Synod of Manitoba and Saskatchewan in the year 1902, and from that day forth he gave himself without stint to the furtherance of the missionary cause. He travelled eastern Canada and in Britain in the endeavor to enlist the services of men for this work. Occasionally he had to make special appeal to his Church at large to meet the growing financial obligations. He organized hundreds of fields, visited missionaries in lonely places, and stirred up his Church at large to nobler efforts. During his latter years he came into close touch with what has come to be known as the Independent Greek Church, an institution in the framing of whose constitution the aid of the Presbyterian Home Mission Committee at Winnipeg had been asked and granted. In this way Dr. Carmichael and his associates sought to provide for the religious needs of Ruthenians, large numbers of whom he found destitute all over the prairie, and whose representatives appealed for guidance to Carmichael and the authorities of Manitoba College.

Owing in a great degree to the lasting and growing success of the work inaugurated by Dr. Robertson, Dr. Carmichael within Saskatchewan alone had oversight over far more fields than Dr. Robertson had at the time of his death, in the undivided North West. Tireless in his work, he left it all too soon, and when he died, in 1911, it was no small tribute to him that the Church for which he toiled was, as shown by the Dominion census, numerically the largest Christian denomination in Saskatchewan, and had contributed to the educational and political life of the Province even more generously than its membership would warrant.

Between 1904 and 1912 the gifts of the Presbyterian Church to Home Missions, chiefly for expenditure in the North West, have increased tenfold, largely through the influence of the Women's Home Mission Society, the Laymen's Missionary Movement, and the leadership of ecclesiastical statesmen like Dr. A. S. Grant. Schools and missions have been established among Indians of Saskatchewan at File Hills, Mistawasis, Prince Albert, Hurricane, Moose Mountain, Round Lake and elsewhere. Among the best known of the pioneer missionaries have been the Rev. Hugh McKay and Miss Baker, who have laboured heroically among the Sioux Indians of the Prince Albert district. Hospitals are supported by the Woman's Home Mission Society, which are devoted to the care of non-English-speaking people who otherwise would have no medical assistance. One of these institutions is situated at Wakaw, near Humboldt.

CHAPTER L

EDUCATION IN SASKATCHEWAN

EDUCATIONAL BEGINNINGS IN THE NORTH WEST UNDER ECCLESIASTICAL AUSPICES—BEGINNING OF GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE, 1878—OLIVER'S SCHOOL BILL INTRODUCED, 1883; PASSED 1884; IN OPERATION, 1886—FIRST BOARD OF EDUCATION—FIRST INSPECTORS—RELIGIOUS DISPUTES AND ABOLITION OF TERRITORIAL BOARD OF EDUCATION—TRAINING OF TEACHERS—DOCTOR GOGGIN—COUNCIL OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION REPLACED BY DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, 1901—SYSTEM OF SCHOOL GRANTS—INSUFFICIENT NUMBER OF TEACHERS—CREATION OF HIGH SCHOOL SYSTEM—ESTABLISHMENT OF PROVINCIAL UNIVERSITY—SUPPLEMENTARY REVENUE ACT—PROVINCIAL EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION—DEPARTMENTAL CHANGES—CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF SASKATCHEWAN SCHOOL SYSTEM—EDUCATIONAL FORCES APART FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM.

In the present chapter it will be our purpose briefly to co-ordinate the various outstanding events in connection with the educational history of Saskatchewan, merely recalling some of these in passing and treating of others more fully than has proved convenient in the preceding pages of this work.

The first schools in the West were established under the initiative of the early missionaries and other clergymen. The Reverend John West founded the Mission School at St. John for the children of Selkirk Settlers and employees of the Hudson's Bay Company soon after his arrival in 1820. In course of time the Scottish settlers established another school to which the Reverend John Black gave such enthusiastic support that out of it may be said to have grown Manitoba College, which was founded in 1870 at Kildonan, but later removed to Winnipeg. Even before the arrival of the Reverend John West a Roman Catholic Mission School had been founded at Saint Boniface (1819). From these centres the institutions of elementary education gradually spread over the West with the slow advance of settlement. As early as 1850 the Methodist Church had mission schools in operation in the far North West and in 1866 the Presbyterian Church organized such a school at Prince Albert under the charge of Mr. Adam MacBeth.

Writing in 1873 Chief Factor Christie mentions visits he had paid to Anglican and Roman Catholic Mission Schools at Fort Simpson and at Providence and Isle a la Crosse, respectively. Four years later the University of Manitoba was founded by Lieutenant-Governor Morris as the pioneer western institution of higher learning.

It will be remembered that some of the most interesting business that came before Mr. Laird's Council at its first session of 1877 arose out of a petition for the granting of aid to a school at St. Laurent. The Council, however, regretfully confessed its inability to act in this matter, and referred the subject to Hon. David Mills, Minister of the Interior. In January of the following year that gentleman replied, agreeing that the North West Council had no authority to impose direct taxation. He suggested the inclusion of a school allowance in the estimates and recommended the early establishment of local school corporations with the right of self-taxation. Upon the first of these proposals action was taken in 1878, when provision was made for a grant of two thousand dollars in aid of public schools for the fiscal year 1879-1880. Mr. Laird pointed out to the Minister, however, that the wording of the North West Territories Act made no provision for the possibility of local taxation except in electoral districts having a thousand inhabitants, and as yet there were no such districts. However, in the course of the year, as we have seen elsewhere, some provisional arrangements were made on the basis of which a few schools received the greatly needed financial assistance of the Government. The first definite action in this regard taken by the civil authorities was embodied in a circular issued by Mr. Laird in December of 1880 promising pecuniary aid to schools having a stated attendance. Interesting correspondence in this connection has already been quoted.

The next important step in advance was taken when, on September 13, 1883, Mr. Frank Oliver introduced a Bill for the organization of Public and Separate School Districts in the North West Territories. This measure was printed, distributed and reported by the Committee of the Whole Council and discussed at great length but did not reach its final stage in this session. In his speech from the throne in July, 1884, Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney referred to the wide-spread interest that had been taken in Mr. Oliver's Bill and to the increased information now available for the guidance of the Council. In due course Mr. Oliver's School Bill, amended with a view to rendering it more workable and to eliminating certain objectionable features, was finally passed on August 6, 1884, upon resolution of Messrs. Rouleau and Macleod. During the following legislative recess sixty-five applications were received for the erection of school districts. Thirty-eight new districts were duly proclaimed before the Council met again, in addition to the twelve that had already been receiving aid under the previous arrangement, and the

real establishment of the North West School System dates from 1885,—or rather, from March, 1886, for the necessary expenditures were not provided for until that date.

The early minutes of the Territorial Board of Education provide interesting reading, but our space will permit us to call only a few items. The first meeting was held at Regina on March 11, 1886. Present were: His Honor Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney (Chairman), Father Lacombe, and Messrs. Secord and Marshallsay, together with Mr. James Brown, the secretary. For a long time Mr. Brown and a single assistant practically constituted the Education Department, and no other man has been more intimately associated with the efficient development of our school system than this talented and popular civil servant.

At the first meeting of the Board the following inspectors were appointed:

Mr. Thomas Grover, B.A., for the Protestant Schools of western Assiniboia.

Mr. John Hewgill, for the Protestant Schools of Eastern Assiniboia.

Father Lebret, for the Roman Catholic Schools of Assiniboia. Rev. Mr. McLean, for the Protestant Schools of the Calgary and Macleod Districts.

Mr. I. W. Costello, for the Roman Catholic Schools of the Calgary and Macleod Districts.

Rev. Mr. A. B. Baird, M.A., B. D., for the Protestant Schools of Edmonton District.

Father J. M. Lestanc, for the Roman Catholic Schools of Edmonton District.

Mr. P. G. Larie, for the Protestant Schools of Battleford District.

Mr. E. E. Richard, for the Roman Catholic Schools of Battleford District.

Rev. Canon James Flett, B.D., for the Protestant Schools of Prince Albert District.

Father Alexis Andre, for the Roman Catholic Schools of Prince Albert District.

The salaries payable to these gentlemen were fixed at sums varying from twenty-five dollars to five hundred dollars, in addition to travelling expenses. In view of more recent regulations, it may be of interest to note that on October 11, 1886, it was resolved that the expense allowance of each inspector should be five dollars per diem. Twenty dollars per school was made the basis of the regular salary.

The Rev. F. W. Pelley and The Rev. Father J. Hugonnard were constituted the first Board of Examiners for the Territories.

In accordance with the requirements imposed by section fourteen of the North West Territories Act, definite provision was made for state aid to

Separate Schools, Protestant and Catholic. Among the teachers whose names are noted in the school records of these times are those of a number of gentlemen who have long been prominent in Saskatchewan affairs. Of these we may mention Mr. H. W. Newlands of Prince Albert, Mr. D. S. McCannel of Regina, and Mr. John Hewgill of Moosomin.

By October, 1886, the Territories had ninety schools and in 1887 the Lieutenant-Governor reported one hundred and thirty-seven with a total enrollment of six hundred and ninety pupils. In this year some effort was made to extend Government assistance to High Schools, but the Privy Council vetoed this proposal in a dispatch dated November 29.

During the period of 1888 to 1891 the vexed question of the relations between the ecclesiastical and educational authorities was the subject of much controversy. The central Board of Education consisted of a Protestant and a Catholic department, each of which exercised a very free control of the schools belonging to citizens of its faith. This caused inevitable embarrassment, especially in districts where the population was not homogeneous as regards religion, consequently the Board in 1892 was abolished and the educational affairs of the Territories were placed directly in the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor's Executive Council. In this capacity that body was known as the Council of Public Instruction and with it sat two Protestant and two Catholic appointees, who, however, had no votes.

In its report for 1886 and 1887 the Board of Education had called attention to the need of some central training school for the professional instruction of teachers, but the demands on the public purse were many and several years elapsed before a Normal school was established. In March, 1889, the Board passed a resolution requiring every union school—that is every graded school having classes above the ordinary public school grades—upon requisition of the Territorial Board to maintain a Normal Department. Mr. A. H. Smith, B. A., of Moosomin delivered lectures to teachers in training under this arrangement in 1889 and 1890. In September of the latter year the Territorial Board directed the establishment of Normal departments at Regina and Moosomin to be conducted by the Inspectors. No candidates presented themselves at Regina, however, but at Moosomin six teachers were trained by Inspector Hewgill. In the following year there were no Teacher Training Classes held in the Territories, but in 1892 and 1893 the work was continued at the previously mentioned centres by Inspectors John Hewgill and William Rothwell, B. A., of Regina. The Board also offered to conduct such a class in Alberta, but no students were forthcoming. In the three years preceding the establishment of Regina Normal School fifty-five students were trained by inspectors.

In 1893 Doctor Goggin, formerly Principal of Manitoba Normal School, was appointed Superintendent of Education for the Territories, and Prin-

cial of the new Normal School at Regina. For the next decade Doctor Goggin was the guiding spirit in educational affairs. To the energy, tact, administrative capacity and broad knowledge of educational problems which he possessed, Saskatchewan of today is largely indebted for its advanced educational system and for the absence of friction which to a large extent has marked its working. Those who are familiar with school administration need not be reminded that in actual practice peace and efficiency depend quite as largely upon the judicious framing and enforcement of Departmental regulations as upon the Ordinances passed by the Legislature. This work was so well performed by Doctor Goggin and his associates that until the time of his resignation in 1902 the Territorial School System experienced a quiet and unostentatious development into the forefront of Canadian Educational Systems. During that time Regina Normal School trained an average of about ninety students per annum. More than twenty-five per cent. of these came from Ontario.

In 1901 a beginning was made in the manual training movement. Centres were established at Calgary and Regina with Mr. L. H. Bennett as director, and summer courses in manual training were offered for teachers.

During the same year the Council of Public Instruction was replaced by a Department of Education with the Hon. F. W. G. Haultain as Commissioner. The School Ordinance which came into force the beginning of 1901 based the system of school grants upon (1) the assessable area of the school district; (2) the number of days the school was in operation; (3) the certificate of the teacher; (4) the regularity of the pupils' attendance; and (5) the equipment and general efficiency of the school. This system has had a very valuable effect in improving the schools, as the various grants derivable from the Government rose or fell more or less in accordance with the interest shown by the local authorities.

With the first decade of the century the difficulty of supplying a sufficient number of adequately trained teachers commenced to become increasingly onerous. In 1903 one hundred and fifty students received Normal training in the Territories, fifty-five per cent. of these coming from the East; and two hundred and twelve other teachers were brought from outside points. Nevertheless, it proved necessary to increase to eighty-two the number of "permits" or provisional certificates granted. There were this year within what is now the Province of Saskatchewan alone four hundred and seventy-seven school rooms and in 1904 and 1905 this number increased to six hundred and thirty-three and eight hundred and twenty-one. On September 1 there were eight hundred and ninety-six school districts. Some of these of course had no schools as yet.

Shortly after the passing of the Saskatchewan Act D. P. McColl, B. A., who had succeeded Principal Goggin in the Normal School in 1902, became

Deputy Commissioner of Education and the oversight of Regina Normal School passed to Mr. T. E. Perrett, B. A.

In the following year Principal Perrett provided that a short professional course for third class teachers should precede their admission for training for the higher certificates. Every effort was made to encourage as many as possible to take advantage of this brief professional course and classes were organized from year to year at various centres under the immediate management of the Inspectoral staff. Nevertheless, the number of untrained teachers in the schools has steadily increased. Inspector A. H. Ball in his report for 1906 comments on the fact that more than twenty per centum of the teachers in his inspectorate were teaching on permits. In 1912, to meet the ever increasing demand a second Normal School for Saskatchewan was established at Saskatoon under Principal J. A. Snell. In spite of all measures that have been taken, however, the proportion of non-certificated teachers has continued to increase. In the first quarter of the year 1913 there were approximately three thousand schools in the Province, and during the preceding twelve months the Department of Education found it necessary in some fourteen hundred cases to grant permission to trustees to employ teachers holding no certificates valid in this Province. Here lies one of the most important problems confronting the Educational authorities of Saskatchewan.

A number of very important statutes bearing upon education have been passed since the inauguration of the Province. Early in 1907 the Honorable James A. Calder, Commissioner of Education, and his deputy, Mr. McColl, held meetings through the Province to consider the creation of High Schools. The curriculum characteristic of such institutions had hitherto been incorporated with that of the Public Schools in the work outlined for what were called Standards VI, VII and VIII.¹ The result of these conferences was the passing of the Secondary Education Act at the next session of the Legislature. Before the end of the year six high school districts had been created—at Regina, Moosomin, Prince Albert, Moose Jaw, Weyburn and Qu'Appelle.

A University Act was also passed in April, 1907. In 1883 at the instance of Bishop McLean the Dominion Parliament passed an Act providing for the creation of a University of Saskatchewan, but this measure proved a dead letter. In November of 1903 the North West Legislature also passed an Ordinance to incorporate and establish a University, but the time was not yet ripe, and the proposal came to nothing. The Provincial Legislature was

¹ This shrewd method of dealing with the question of secondary education by leaving it to the rate-payers and others directly interested, to determine how advanced a course was to be included in the curriculum of the local school was recommended in the Report of the Board of Education for 1888 and promptly incorporated in the School Ordinance. The first "Regulations with Request to Union Schools" were adopted March 14, 1889. The first union schools to be established were those of Regina, Moosomin, Moose Jaw, Calgary, Lacombe and Prince Albert.

now, however, working under different conditions and a live Provincial University was soon in active operation at Saskatoon. Of the organization of this important institution under President Murray we have spoken elsewhere.

Closely connected with the Secondary Education Act and the University Act was the Supplementary Revenue Act which was passed in the same session. As we have already considered its provision when dealing with the political history of this period it need be but mentioned in passing.

The year 1907 was also notable for the promulgation of a new course of studies for the Public Schools. An eight grade system was inaugurated in accordance with prevailing practice elsewhere.

In 1898 the sub-examiners when assembled to read papers in connection with the departmental examinations organized the North West Teachers' Association. One of the most noteworthy enterprises undertaken by this body was the creation of a Teachers' Bureau which, in the course of time, became an independent institution, and which has been of great service in securing for the schools of the Province teachers from older settled communities,—Ontario in particular. In 1908 the chief functions of the former association were taken over by a new organization, the Saskatchewan Educational Association, which has rapidly developed in membership and influence so that its annual conventions are events of the first importance in the educational life of the Province. At the gathering in Easter, 1913, held at Regina, more than one thousand teachers and trustees were in attendance.

During the first six years of Saskatchewan history as a Province the minister responsible for educational affairs was the Honorable J. A. Calder. In 1912, however, a re-adjustment of departmental folios occurred, under which the Premier himself, Hon. Walter Scott, became Minister of Education. Shortly previous to this (March 1, 1912) the former deputy, Mr. D. P. McColl, was appointed to the newly created office of Superintendent of Education, which since the time of Dr. Goggin had been discontinued. Mr. Augustus H. Ball, M. A., LL. B., previously of the inspectoral staff and latterly of Regina Normal School, then became Deputy Minister of Education. In 1912 Mr. T. E. Perrett, the veteran inspector and Normal School Principal, entered the service of Regina School Board as City Superintendent, and in December he was succeeded in the Normal School by R. A. Wilson, M. A., Ph. D.

It may be well now to summarize briefly the outstanding features of the system of public education in the Province of Saskatchewan. Rural school districts are as a rule about five miles long and four miles wide. They are erected whenever within the area concerned there are twelve children between the ages of six and fourteen, and school grants continue to be paid in undiminished amount as long as there are half this number in actual average

attendance. Very generous Government grants are paid to all schools and special provisions exist for the assistance of new or weak school districts. As a general rule the organization of school districts is left to local initiative, but when this is not sufficiently active, as sometimes in communities of non-English speaking immigrants, this duty is performed by members of a special staff of school organizers acting under the direction of the central department of education.

In view of the liberal provision made for the schools out of the public funds, the department exercises through its inspectors a strict oversight upon the elementary and secondary schools. It prescribes the curriculum which is uniform throughout the Province, alike for urban and rural schools, thus facilitating the transfer of children from one school to another as family circumstances may require. The Department also prescribes a uniform system of text books and retains under its sole control the certificating of teachers.

The local management of the school, including the employment and dismissal of teachers, is vested in Boards of Trustees elected by the local rate-payers. The system may thus be said to combine the maximum of supervision by the central authorities with the compatible maximum of control by the local citizens most concerned in rendering the school efficient.

In the cities public kindergartens exist and provision is made for special instruction in music, art, domestic science and manual training. In most cities a special superintendent is employed by the School Board to guide the general management of the school and keep the trustees in touch with the best modern methods.

The Public Schools are free to all pupils residing in the district; on the contrary the High Schools are by statute free only to students from rural districts. This curious distinction results from the fact that a small percentage of the funds derived from the supplementary revenue tax on rural lands is applied for the support of High Schools and Collegiate Institutes. The latter are simply High Schools reaching a certain grade as regards equipment, efficiency and the qualifications of the teachers. In actual practice all High Schools and Collegiate Institutes are, as a rule, by law, free to all comers having the necessary qualifications for admission.

The course of study in the High Schools and Collegiate Institutes ordinarily covers four years. Provision is made for the large number of students who simply desire an introduction to the elements of general culture, or preparation to commercial life. Other courses are offered for those desiring to enter the professions or to prepare for Universities and for those looking forward to service as teachers. Academic work is thus practically excluded from the Normal Schools of Saskatchewan, which devote themselves exclu-

sively to educational history and training in the theory and practice of the teachers' art.

From the High School, students may pass directly into the Provincial University, entering either the classes of the first or of the second year, according to whether they have taken the junior or the senior matriculation examinations upon leaving the High School.

A word must be said regarding separate schools as they exist in Saskatchewan. These are few in number and differ in little but name from ordinary Public Schools. They are subject to the same general laws and regulations as regards curriculum, et cetera, and are supervised by the same inspectors as our Public Schools. Special religious training is by law confined to the last half hour of the school day.

The amazing growth of the school system of Saskatchewan is strikingly reflected in the following statistical return. The total grants for education in the whole North West Territories was \$25,000 in 1886. For the financial year 1913-1914 the estimates for Saskatchewan alone amount to \$740,250, exclusive of the funds derived from the Supplementary Revenue fund, which bring the total expenditure for education considerably over \$1,100,000.

Various private and denominational schools exist especially to meet the needs of students who have lacked early advantages or who desire special training, particularly in music. Such institutions, however, receive no government aid.

Apart from the school system proper, important educational functions are performed by various societies. Prominent among these is the Regina Society for the Advancement of Art, Literature and Science, organized chiefly on the initiative of Magistrate Trant, who for a quarter of a century had been a leader in almost every movement of a literary or scientific character. As this organization is the pioneer in its field, it deserves some special mention. It was organized in the season of 1909 and 1910 to constitute a bond of union among the studiously inclined, to facilitate systematic study in any direction desired by a sufficient number of its members and to secure the advantage of hearing scholars and artists from other parts. Independent societies of kindred aims may affiliate on terms approved by the Board of Directors. The annual Art Exhibits held under the auspices of this society have been the most noteworthy events of this kind that have occurred in Saskatchewan. Courses are offered annually totalling between sixty and seventy lectures, covering work in Art and Architecture; Psychology and Child Study; Astronomy; Literature; History and Economics and Music.

Another association the establishment of which likewise indicates the development of the Province along aesthetic lines is the Saskatchewan Musical Association which, chiefly through the initiative of Mr. F. W. Chisholm

of Indian Head and Mr. F. Laubach of Regina, was organized in May, 1908, with Mr. A. F. Angus of Regina as President and Mr. James Brown as Vice President. Under the auspices of this society the Saskatchewan Musical Festival has become an annual event to which the whole Province looks with interest. In 1909 there were forty-four entries in connection with the various contests, and by 1912 entries had risen to one hundred and thirty-five. The musicians actually participating in the festival for this year numbered about seven hundred and fifty. It would be hard to exaggerate the importance of the effect produced under the encouragement of this flourishing society.

Many other societies more or less similar in aims have contributed to the higher education of Saskatchewan, but these two organizations, by virtue of the scope of the work undertaken, are specially significant and at the same time typical of the rest.

CHAPTER LI

THE ROYAL NORTH WEST MOUNTED POLICE

EARLY ADVOCATES OF A MOUNTED CONSTABULARY—CREATION OF THE FORCE, 1873—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL FRENCH APPOINTED COMMISSIONER—SERVICES OF NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS—MAJOR WALSH, WITH THE RIGHT WING, COMES WEST *via* DAWSON TRAIL, 1873—LEFT WING, UNDER COMMISSIONER FRENCH, COMES *via* FARGO, 1874—THE MARCH INTO THE WILDERNESS, 1874—COLONEL MACLEOD APPOINTED COMMISSIONER, 1876—DEALINGS WITH RECALCITRANT INDIANS—THE POLICE FOUND THE CANADIAN RANCHING INDUSTRY—A FAMOUS POLICE BALLAD—CATTLE RUSTLING—BUILDING OF THE C. P. R.—COLONEL IRVINE APPOINTED COMMISSIONER, 1880, AND HEADQUARTERS TRANSFERRED TO REGINA (1883)—THE POLICE IN THE REBELLION OF 1885—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HERCHMER APPOINTED COMMISSIONER, 1886; SUCCEEDED BY COMMISSIONER PERRY, 1900—MANIFOLD DUTIES OF THE FORCE—TALES OF HEROISM: CORPORAL D. B. SMITH; CONSTABLE CONRADI; CONSTABLE PEDLEY; CORPORAL FIELD—THE CHARLES KING MURDER—THE RETURN OF INDIAN REFUGEES—THE TRAGEDY OF ALMIGHTY VOICE—ARREST OF NOTABLE DESPERADOES: COWBOY JACK; IDAHO KID; BILL MINER—THE POLICING OF THE YUKON—THE R. N. W. M. P. AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—PATROLLING OF THE FAR NORTH: INSPECTOR PELLETIER'S EXPEDITION, 1908; INSPECTOR FITZGERALD'S DISASTER, 1910; NUMEROUS SIMILAR PATROLS—VARYING STRENGTH OF THE FORCE—RELATIONS OF MOUNTED POLICE TO PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

Many years ago an old Indian chief, speaking at a council and addressing a representative of the Royal North West Mounted Police, said: "Before you came, the Indian crept about. Now he is not afraid to walk erect." It is the proud boast of the force that since its celebrated march west in 1874 neither white man nor Indian has been afraid to walk erect, whether on the prairies, in the hinterland of the Hudson's Bay or in the far-away Yukon. It will be the purpose of the present chapter to sketch how the extraordinary sense of security enjoyed in the Great North West has been achieved. The topic is one familiar to all westerners, but one to which they



COMMISSIONERS OF R. N. W. M. P.

Major-Gen. Sir Geo. A. French, K. C., M. G., 1873-1876.

Lieut.-Col. James F. Macleod, C. M. G., 1876-1880.

Lieut.-Col. A. G. Irvine, 1880-1886.

Lieut.-Col. Lawrence W. Herchmer, 1886-1900.

Lieut.-Col. A. Bowen Perry, C. M. G., 1900.

ever revert with pride. In our days of crude commercialism it is refreshing to turn to an institution of our very own that combines the sanest acumen and business-like administration with the glamour and legitimate paternalism of the best things in the age of chivalry. Therefore, it is with no fear of failing to interest that the writer invites attention to the following recital of things new and old, bearing on the organization and achievements of the most famous mounted constabulary in the world.

The creation of such a force came under consideration immediately after the annexation of the Hudson's Bay Territories. Mr. Donald A. Smith had recommended it to the authorities in 1870, as also did Captain Butler in 1871. In 1872 Colonel Robert Ross, subsequently Adjutant-General, had been despatched by the Canadian Government to make a reconnaissance and to report upon plans for the preservation of peace and order, and had made a like recommendation. The establishment of such a body had been urged by Captain Louis de Plainval, the head of the Manitoba Provincial Police, and numerous other prominent westerners. In the minutes of the North West Council for March 10, 1873, occurs the following entry:

"That in the opinion of Council it is necessary that for the maintenance of peace and order in the North West Territories, a sufficient force of Military and Police, the latter under military discipline, and either wholly or in part mounted, should without delay be stationed in the Territories."

The need was certainly great, but it may be doubted whether it would have been met so promptly as it was had not the public conscience been shocked into activity by the hideous massacre of Canadian Indians at the hands of American whiskey traders and other desperadoes among the Cypress Hills. At least a few public men were wise enough to see that, in the default of firm and just precaution, the Canadian West was about to see duplicated the bloody drama familiar to all the western American states—outrages of lawless white men, massacres of settlers by the Indians, costly punitive expeditions and all the nameless horrors of a war of extermination. Accordingly, as we have seen in previous chapters, provision was made for a force of mounted police by an Act of the Dominion Parliament in the year 1873. This measure was introduced by the Premier, Sir John A. MacDonald, who always retained a special interest in the force. In September of 1873 the first steps were taken towards actual organization, the command being entrusted to Lieutenant-Colonel George A. French, who accepted the post in October and proceeded at once to Manitoba. This distinguished officer retained the commissionership only until July, 1876, when he returned to the Imperial Army. In the meantime, however, he had shared in the performance of a task entitling him to the permanent gratitude of Canada.

The plans at first involved the present enrollment of a maximum of only

three hundred men. Most of those accepted had had previous military experience, and several of the officers and non-commissioned officers had taken special training at the Royal Military College, Kingston, with a view to serving in the prospective force.

It is no reflection upon the officers of higher rank when one assigns to their non-commissioned coworkers a major part of the credit for the success of the force. "No matter what anybody else says or who may claim it, it was the non-commissioned officers that made the Mounted Police," said Colonel Steele to the present writer. As a matter of fact, no one seems inclined to dispute this verdict. The original non-commissioned officers in particular were an exceptional group of men, all thoroughly well fitted to exercise the duties of a rank much superior to that in which they were employed, and all absolutely devoted to the service and seemingly indifferent to promotion.

The regulations required that each recruit should be between seventeen and forty years of age and able to read, write and ride. Those accomplishments constitute "the three R's" of a policeman's education. The period of service was to be three years. A fine not exceeding two hundred dollars might be imposed on any person refusing food, shelter or transport to any member of the force when suitable compensation was offered. The Commissioner and each of his superintendents were *ex officio* Justices of the Peace, and the force was to have jurisdiction throughout Manitoba and the whole of the North West Territories.

Major Walsh, with the right wing, numbering one hundred and fifty, came west first, in 1873, shortly before the coming of Commissioner French. Major Walsh followed almost the same line of march as that of the Wolseley expedition, which Colonel Steele and some other members of the new force had accompanied. Though this second march, being over somewhat familiar ground, was relieved of some of the stupendous difficulties of the first, it was arduous enough, and the left wing followed a different route, *via* American territory. The right wing spent the winter in Winnipeg in training before the left wing arrived in the West. Sixty raw bronchos supplied the recruits with material for practice in horsemanship. Major Walsh and his fellow officers had been allowed practically no time for the proper selection of their men and it is not surprising that a number of the recruits had to be eliminated subsequently. From this and other causes the numerical strength of the first contingent was considerably impaired.

Commissioner French returned to Ontario in February, 1874, to arrange for the recruiting of the force up to the limit of three hundred indicated in the Act under which it was organized. By April most of the new recruits were in training at Toronto. Before leaving for the West with the second contingent, June 6, 1874, Commissioner French gave the weak-kneed two

opportunities for withdrawal. No one was wanted who was not prepared for genuine hardships. After six days' railway journey the force reached Fargo, North Dakota, on June 12, 1874, and three days afterwards it began the famous march into its vast western domain. On June 17th we find the column one hundred and sixty miles northward, at Dufferin, Manitoba (now known as Emerson), where it was joined by the Fort Garry contingent.

Many stories could be told of this famous initial expedition into the wilderness. The following is but an example. While the police were at Fort Dufferin, a terrific thunderstorm and gale swept over the encampment about ten o'clock at night. The wind tore away from a "prairie schooner" its canvas covering, carrying it into the air over the already terrified horses. They were seized with panic and some two hundred and fifty of them stampeded, charging over the heads of their sleeping masters, six of whom were injured. Fortunately, a few of the horses were gotten under control and upon one of these, followed at a considerable distance by some troopers, Colonel Walker pursued the panic-stricken herd through the darkness and tempest. Most of the stampeded horses were recovered within thirty-five miles after a search of thirty hours; but many days were lost before the search for the other animals was given over. The actual loss was eventually reduced to one horse. The search involved terrific rides for the new police and proved the ability and endurance of the force. It also helped to eliminate, before the real beginning of the great march west, the remaining "unfits." The column then proceeded westward in the second week in July.

It was a scene that appeals to the imagination. First, in command of Inspector Jarvis, came Division A, forty-one in number, mounted on splendid dark bays and followed by thirteen wagons. Division B, forty strong, came next, riding dark brown horses. Division C, forty-three in number, were on bright chestnuts and convoyed the guns and ammunition wagons. With Division D, numbering in all sixty-one, mounted on greys, rode the four staff officers. Division E consisted of forty-eight men on black horses, and the forty-three members of Division F were mounted on light bays. Behind the main body came a long procession of ox carts, cattle, wagons and agricultural implements. The marching-out state on July 8, 1875, showed twenty-one officers, two hundred and ten horses, two field guns, two mortars, one hundred and forty-eight oxen, one hundred and fourteen ox carts, seventy-three double wagons, and ninety-three milch and beef cattle.

After a journey full of hardships the force reached the site of the present town of Lethbridge, Alberta, on September 11, 1874, having ridden some 789 miles since leaving Dufferin. No human habitation save a few wigwams had been passed for over 760 miles. Assistant Commissioner Macleod advanced to the Belly River in the vicinity of Fort Whoop Up. There he established local headquarters in the midst of the Blackfoot coun-

try, for the supervision of the Indians and the repression of the liquor traffic illicitly conducted by American desperadoes. He built Fort Macleod on Old Man's River and from that centre so efficiently policed the wilderness that at the end of the year the whiskey trade had been all but completely stamped out, and the riots, robberies and assassinations of the recent past came to an end forever. Meantime, the commissioner himself had returned to Dufferin. It had been decided to transfer the headquarters to Fort Pelly, near Swan River, but the barracks there was not ready. Commissioner French administered the affairs of his office from Fort Garry.

In summarizing the salient features of the famous march of 1874, Commissioner French reported as follows:

"At this latter place (Emerson) the whole force was divided into six divisions or troops, and on July 8 started on an expedition which veteran soldiers might well have faltered at. Tied down by no stringent rules or articles of war, but only by the silken cord of civil contract, these men, by their conduct, gave little cause for complaint. Though naturally there were several officers and constables unaccustomed to command and having little experience or tact, yet such an event as striking a superior was unknown and disobedience to orders was very rare. Day after day on the march, night after night on picquet guard and working at high pressure during four months from daylight until dark,—and too frequently after dark— with little rest even on the day sacred to rest, the force ever pushed onward; delighted when a pure spring was met with, there was still no complaint when acrid water or the refuse of a mud-hole was the only liquid available. I have seen this whole force obliged to drink liquid which, when passed through a filter, was still the color of ink. The fact of horses and oxen falling and dying for want of food never disheartened or stopped them, but, pushing on on foot with dogged determination, they carried through the service required of them under difficulties which can only be appreciated by those who witnessed them. Where time was so valuable there could be no halting on account of the weather; the greatest heat of a July sun or the cold of November in this northern latitude made no difference: ever onward had to be the watchword, and an almost uninterrupted march was maintained from the time the force left Dufferin with the thermometer 95 to 100 degrees in the shade till the balance of the force returned there in November, the thermometer marking 20 to 30 degrees below zero, having marched 1959 miles."

Gradually the little band of three hundred men were systematically organized into divisions and distributed far and wide over the Great New Land. At the close of 1877 thirty-one members of the force were operating from bases in Manitoba (Swan River and Shoal Lake); seventy-nine were in what is now Saskatchewan (Qu'Appelle, Battleford, Wood Mountain, and Fort Walsh), and the remainder were assigned to what is now Alberta (Fort Macleod, Pinto Horse Butte, Milk River, Fort Calgary and Fort Saskatchewan).



Asst. Commissioner Walsh, who commanded the first contingent of the N. W. M. P. to arrive in the West, 1873. Lieut.-Col. Fred White, C. M. G., Comptroller of Mounted Police, 1873-1913. Lieut.-Col. Jas. Walker, a distinguished member of Mounted Police in early days.



Fort Whoop-up, 1874, a notable post of the notorious American traders largely for whose suppression the Great Force was organized.

In 1876 Colonel J. F. Macleod, C. M. G., succeeded Colonel French as Commissioner. Fort Macleod became the headquarters of the force, but a few years later it was shifted one hundred and seventy miles eastward, to Fort Walsh.

In 1876 Colonel Walker was transferred to Battleford and organized police patrols at Ile à la Corne, Prince Albert, Fort Pitt, Duck Lake and Carleton. During this period the police performed valuable services in connection with the consummation of the Indian treaties, to which a previous chapter has been devoted.

When Treaty Number Six was signed at Fort Carleton, Chief Beardy, of Duck Lake, was recalcitrant. He sent word to the Lieutenant-Governor that unless certain supplies that he had desired were instantly sent to him he and his followers would loot the stores at Stobert and Eadon's Trading Post. The Lieutenant-Governor entrusted to Colonel Walker the duty of preventing this outrage. Walker and three companions immediately rode to the trading post, where they were in waiting when Beardy and his warriors in full war paint galloped up to the gate of the stockade, firing their guns and making the air ring with their war whoops. Beardy dismounted at the open gate, and, entering, found to his discomfiture the four police officers ready to welcome him. After saluting Beardy, Colonel Walker commanded his men to load their weapons and stand in front of the store. He then addressed the astonished warrior to the following effect: "I have been informed that you have come here for the purpose of attacking the stores, and that you and some of your band have openly offered insult to both the Queen and the Governor. Now, the stores are in the building there, so all you have to do is to enter and take them, but I have given instructions to those three men who are on guard there to fill full of lead the first man who attempts to enter." This pointed oration had the desired effect and Beardy assured the Colonel that he and his men were the most loyal of Indians and innocent of all desire to do mischief.

As we have seen in former chapters, the Indian situation in the seventies and early eighties was complicated by the presence in Canadian territory of many thousands of warlike American Sioux. A large number of these had settled in Manitoba near Portage la Prairie, after the Minnesota Massacre of 1862. Ten years later these unwelcome refugees numbered approximately ten thousand, and after the Custer Massacre of 1876 their numbers were augmented by the ingress of Sitting Bull and his warriors.

Meantime, however, the Canadian North West had been the scene of a bloodless revolution in which the Mounted Police had played an important part. The warring tribes had settled into permanent peace, and hostility to the whites had almost ceased to be dangerous. Indeed, the aborigines had now come to recognise in "the Riders of the Plains" their best friends and

guardians. We have already commented upon the admiration for the police which took possession of Sitting Bull himself and upon the warm personal friendship established between him and Major Walsh and other officers of the force. The details of the Sitting Bull episode have already been recounted elsewhere.

It was through the instrumentality of the Mounted Police that the ranching industry was first established in the Canadian West. Fresh horses were continually required for the force itself, as the work was very severe. For example, the police escort assigned to duty in connection with the tour of the Marquis of Lorne travelled two thousand and seventy-two miles at an average rate of thirty-five miles a day. Upon the representations of Major Walsh a police farm was accordingly established near Fort Macleod.

In the *Saskatchewan Herald* of September 23, 1878, there appeared anonymously a stirring ballad which well depicts the work of the police in these early days, and, indeed, fairly represents their spirit and duties from that time to this:

"THE RIDERS OF THE PLAINS

"We wake the prairie echoes with
The ever-welcome sound—
'Ring out the boots and saddles'—till
Its stirring notes resound.
Our horses toss their bridled heads,
And chafe against the reins—
Ring out, ring out the marching call
Of the Riders of the Plains.

"Full many a league o'er prairie wide
Our pathless way must be;
And round it roam the fiercest tribes
Of Blackfoot and of Cree.
But danger from their savage hands
Our dauntless hearts disdain—
The hearts of those that wear the helms
Of the Riders of the Plains.

"The thunderstorm sweeps o'er our way,
But onward still we go;
We scale the weary mountain's range,
Descend the valley low;

We face the broad Saskatchewan,
Made fierce with heavy rains—
With all its might it cannot check
The Riders of the Plains.

"We track the sprouting cactus land,
When lost to white man's ken;
We startle there the creatures wild,
And fight them in their den;
Where'er our leaders bid us move,
The bugle sounds its strain;
In marching sections forward go
The Riders of the Plains.

"For us no cheerful hostelries
Their welcome gates unfold;
No generous board or downy bed
Await our troopers bold;
Beneath the starry canopy
At eve, when daylight wanes,
There lie the hardy slumberers—
The Riders of the Plains.

"We muster but three hundred
In all this 'Great Lone Land'
Which stretches from Superior's waves
To where the Rockies stand;
But not one heart doth falter,
No coward voice complains—
Though all too few in numbers are
The Riders of the Plains.

"In England's mighty empire
Each man must take his stand;
Some guard her honoured flag at sea,
Some bear it well by land;
Not ours to face her foreign foes—
Then what to us remains?
What duty does our country give
To the Riders of the Plains?

"Our mission is to plant the rule
Of British freedom here;

Restrain the lawless savage
And protect the pioneer;
And 'tis a proud and daring trust
To hold these vast domains
With but three hundred mounted men—
The Riders of the Plains.”¹

The practical extinction of the buffalo herds in the later seventies and the early eighties reduced the Indians to the direst extremities and greatly increased the difficulties of the police in their efforts to restrain the wretched aborigines from depredations. The degree to which they were successful reflects great credit alike on the force itself and upon the care-burdened chieftains who coöperated in teaching their braves respect for the law. Horse stealing, of course, was very common, and among the Indians themselves there were very few who viewed it as a crime.

This rendered exceedingly hazardous any attempt to arrest an Indian “rustler,” but the police never flinched from their duty. If space would permit, many stirring anecdotes might be told in this connection. The following are typical:

A party of Sioux had all their horses stolen by some Assiniboins and Grosventres. The Sioux called upon Assistant Commissioner Irvine for succor. With six men he located the stolen horses in an encampment of three hundred and fifty lodges, which he entered with four companions and Sub-inspector McIlree. The balance of the story may be told in the words of Irvine’s report:

“It was quite dark when I got into the camp. I went straight to the chief’s lodge. It was surrounded with Indians. I told the chief I knew he had the stolen horses in the camp and had come to get them. He said he did not think his young men would give them up, and that the Americans were very strong, and would not allow any white man to harm them. I told him we could not allow anyone to steal horses on this side of the line, and that he should have to answer before I left his lodge. He then said, ‘When you come in the morning, I will hand you over every one of them.’ I went in the morning and they handed me over all they could find. It would have been impossible for me, with only four men, to have made any arrests; besides it would have been difficult to find the guilty parties. However, I gave them a good lecture, and they promised to behave themselves in the future.”

In May, 1877, Major Walsh, with fifteen men, entered an encampment of two hundred excited warriors who had put the police at defiance, and arrested a number of turbulent braves on the instigation of other Indians

¹ This poem was dated Coburg, July, 1878, and was signed “W. S.’ N. W. M. P.” A few verbal alterations have been made in the text.

who had been molested. Indeed, such exhibitions of nerve and of the dominating powers of strong personalities were of everyday occurrence. Frequently Macleod, Walsh, Irvine, Steele, or some other distinguished officer was the hero of the tale; as frequently it was a nameless private.

On the 4th of May, 1882, Inspector Macdonell, of Wood Mountain, was advised by Mr. LeGaré, the well-known trader to whom frequent references have been made in preceding chapters, that on the evening of the 28th of April a war party of thirty-two Crees took possession of his encampment. He had with him a Halfbreed and a Sioux Indian. During the night Mr. LeGaré heard the Indians arranging to kill him and the Sioux; but in the morning it was decided to allow Mr. LeGaré and his friends "to eat once more" before their execution. When LeGaré commenced preparations for leaving camp a terrific uproar occurred, some of the Crees crying for the scalps of the whole party, others wishing to kill only the Sioux. Two attempts at firing were made, but, fortunately, the guns missed fire both times. Finally, LeGaré succeeded in buying the lives of his men at the cost of his outfit. Macdonell determined to arrest the perpetrators of this outrage at any cost, and ultimately located some of them in a camp of about forty-five lodges. At first the presence of the criminals was denied, and there was every prospect of armed resistance to the police. Nevertheless, Macdonell, covering the ringleader with his revolver, so cowed the assemblage that they surrendered the miscreants. It became a tradition of the force that discrepancy of numbers was an irrelevant consideration when dealing with angry Indians. "*Fortes fortuna juvat.*"

Another of the innumerable examples of the extraordinary influence exercised by the police is recounted in the reports for 1883. An Indian called Crow Collar had destroyed some property, and when an officer was sent to arrest him the head chief, Bull's Head, refused to give him up. Accordingly, Irvine ordered the arrest of Bull's Head also. When he was seized he resisted violently and called on his braves to assist him. They were in a most excited state and Irvine saw the arrest could not be made at that moment without bloodshed. He accordingly retired for the night to the agent's house, but in the morning he returned to the Indians, and intimidated them into producing Crow Collar. Bull's Head himself sent word that he would come the next day, and this he did, accompanied by most of his braves, and Irvine put the dismayed dignitary into a cell. There he kept him for a couple of days, when, after explaining to him in what a very wrong manner he and his tribe had behaved, the commissioner released him.

During the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway it was the duty of the Mounted Police to suppress the traffic in intoxicants among the employees, keep a general oversight over the railway camp, and preserve order

along the right-of-way. In a letter dated January 1, 1883, Sir William Van Horne expressed his gratitude for the efficient manner in which these onerous duties were performed. "On no great work within my knowledge where so many men have been employed," said he, "has such perfect order prevailed."

When the great American transcontinental roads were under construction they were continually impeded by the Indians. A few sporadic attempts in this direction were made in Canada, but the energy and *sang froid* of the police prevented any serious trouble.

On one occasion Chief Pi-a-pot and his band resorted to the stratagem of passive resistance, deliberately encamping on the right-of-way and refusing to move. A complaint was duly registered with the police authorities and a sergeant and a constable were sent to move the troublesome band. Accompanied by a jeering mob of the barbarians, they went directly to Pi-a-pot's tent, conveyed the command for him to remove his encampment and informed him that if the order were not obeyed forthwith they twain would undertake the task at the end of fifteen minutes. The proposition was received with laughter. The sergeant accordingly took out his watch and he and his companion stood at attention beside the tent door for a quarter of an hour, much to the entertainment of the Indians. When the time had expired the sergeant returned his watch to his pocket and, without further parley, the two constables cut the guy ropes of Pi-a-pot's tent, causing it to collapse on the heads of its surprised occupants. The whole encampment was instantly in an uproar and nothing but the chieftain's vigorous personal efforts saved the lives of the policemen. Pi-a-pot was no fool. He understood well enough that these two audacious Red Coats had behind them the whole might of Canada and the King, and he promptly ordered his braves to strike camp and leave the railway line free of obstruction.

The third commissioner of the North West Mounted Police was Colonel Irvine, who on November 1, 1880, succeeded Colonel Macleod. It will be remembered that at this time the force was administered chiefly from Fort Macleod and Fort Walsh, the latter having recently been given special importance because situated in the midst of the region most directly affected by the recent Sioux incursion. In 1883 the headquarters of the force was transferred from Fort Walsh to Regina, though the barracks at the new Territorial Capital was not completed until 1886. Commencing on May 23, 1883, however, Irvine had demolished old Fort Walsh, which was off the line of the coming railway and otherwise ill-suited to remain the seat of police administration.

Of the part played by the police in rebellion days, sufficient has been said in previous pages. If the warnings of the commissioner and other prominent police officials and civilians had been heeded, there would have

been no insurrection, and if, when the ill-starred outbreak occurred, the force had been suitably augmented and given the necessary freedom of action, it seems unquestionable that it could have met successfully this great emergency as it has so many others, and that the rising would have cost Canada much less than it did, both in blood and treasure. As it was, it was the police more than anyone else who kept the disorders from spreading.

For several years after the rebellion it was necessary to issue relief every winter to large numbers of the Halfbreeds, who had been ruined in the rising. The oversight of this matter fell to the police. These were hard years, and poverty was widespread, but hard times did not bring its usual concomitant—an outbreak of lawlessness. In 1888 considerable treaty money was paid to the rebel Indian tribes, upon the recommendation of the Indian agents. In speaking of the numerous Indians in the Prince Albert district, the Superintendent was able for the third time to comment upon the excellent conduct of the Indian population. Not a single crime had been committed among them. Indeed, in his report for 1888 the commissioner comments on an almost entire absence of crime in the Territory during the preceding year. In all quarters of the Territories except the southwest the Indians were making rapid strides toward self-support. Some of their chiefs rendered very valuable assistance to the police in the enforcement of law and the capture of criminals.

Space will not permit more than a brief glance at the varied activities of the Mounted Police during the period of Lieutenant-Colonel Herchmer's tenure of office as commissioner (1886-1900). The following note from the report of Superintendent Perry² for 1893 speaks for itself, however. What it implies must be left to the imagination of the intelligent reader. It is to be remembered that the Superintendent is speaking merely of the men of his own division:

"In Wood Mountain our men are found acting as cowboys, rounding up and driving back across the boundary vast herds of American ranch cattle which again and again wandered northward in search of better feed and more water. At Estevan and Gretna they are seen in charge of large herds of quarantined cattle; tending sick milch cows; and at the expiration of the term in quarantine driving them long distances by trail, loading them on trains, and conveying them to their destination. In Manitoba they are engaged in enforcing the customs laws, aiding the regular customs officials whose duties they at times perform, and executing the Crown Timber and Dominion Lands regulations, and in addition to this work of a special nature they are carrying out their regular duties of detecting crime, aiding the administration of justice, acting as prairie fire and game guard-

² Superintendent Perry was promoted to the office of commissioner in 1900, assuming command on August 18, in succession to Lieutenant-Colonel Herchmer, retired, and at the time of writing (1913) is still at the head of the Force he has served so long and so efficiently.

ians, and maintaining a patrol system which covers weekly some twelve hundred miles."

To the varied catalogue of duties indicated above many others might be added. For example, in 1905 the police took the census of the old District of Assiniboia, Saskatchewan and Alberta. This meant a house-to-house visitation involving 65,873 whites and 7,633 Halfbreeds sparsely scattered over a stupendous area, and the magnitude of the task, assumed in addition to normal duties, is rather appalling. Such visitation, however, had



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many advantages to the police in the execution of their ordinary functions, by increasing their familiarity with the whole citizen body. At all times the police patrols go and come, not as spies and ministers of outraged justice, but as the settlers' friends, and as such they are and always have been recognised—especially by the lonely homesteaders who often would be overtaken by actual destitution but for their aid and familiarity with pioneer conditions.

For instance, in his report for 1904 the Commissioner specially com-

ments upon the heroic work of Corporal D. B. Smith, of Norway House, in connection with his public services during an epidemic of scarlet fever and diphtheria. Corporal Smith supplied the stricken people with food, disinfected their houses, helped nurse their sick and buried their dead. Indeed, one of the important duties of the Mounted Police is to care for the settlers in remote districts if for any reason they are overtaken by actual need that friendly hand can and may properly relieve. This happened to very many in 1907. The Commissioner reports that west of Saskatoon and south of Battleford, along the route of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway and the Wetaskiwin branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway, relief was given to some one hundred and forty-five families, and patrols visited other settlers. The snow was very deep and there were no trails. A winter of great severity had set in much earlier than usual, and but for the vigilance of the police the sufferings of the pioneers would have been much more serious than they were.

The ever-present dread of the isolated settler on the plains is that of the prairie fire. Hundreds occur yearly; sometimes small, sometimes great; sometimes expending their fury in uninhabited expanses, sometimes bringing ruin and at times death to the pioneer; sometimes quickly extinguished, sometimes travelling far and fast and lingering long. The police, of course, are ever on the alert as fire guardians, and are continually saving valuable property and at times human life itself. Space will permit us to note but a single characteristic instance. On October 5, 1905, a constable by the name of Conradi saw a tremendous prairie fire and learned that in the threatened country there was a settler with a wife and ten children, but he was warned by other settlers that it would be foolhardy to try to reach the doomed homestead. It was his to make the attempt, however, and fortunately he arrived at the settler's dwelling ahead of the conflagration, and helped plow a fire guard. Conradi then started a back fire with the assistance of the settler and his family. This did not prove successful, however, and the torrent of flame rolled on. The smoke and flames were so thick it was impossible to see more than a few yards. The constable ran through the fire and found the women and children in a slough. Two of them he carried away and the rest he led to what proved a place of safety, though they were nearly suffocated. Conradi was badly burned himself, and lost his own horse. The settler reported the affair to the authorities, stating that he and his family owed their lives to the constable.

Some of the reports of the activities of the force are most pathetic, especially those referring to the care of the all too numerous unfortunates whom the solitude and hardships of the wilderness have bereft of reason. Almost all westerners will be familiar with the story of Constable Pedley's heroic conduct on behalf of such an unfortunate and of the fearful cost at

which he did his duty. This officer was stationed at Fort Chipeweyan, and in that far-away region in 1904 a Presbyterian missionary went insane. Pedley took him in charge and on December 17th set out with his demented prisoner for Fort Saskatchewan, five hundred miles away. The madman was refractory in the extreme. For a time he refused nourishment and had to be fed forcibly. Sometimes he had even to be carried. At all times he had to be watched and guarded with the utmost vigilance. Pedley reached his destination on January 7, 1905, and the unhappy missionary was turned over to the care of physicians, and in due time entirely recovered his reason. Meantime, his rescuer commenced his return trip to Fort Chipeweyan, but before reaching that post the hardships of the trip and his anxiety for the safety of his charge had produced their effect. At Lac La Biche he himself went violently insane. He was committed to Brandon Asylum. It is a relief to know that kindly care and skill at length restored him to such an extent as to enable his return to his duties. When his term of service expired he was reëngaged.

The official reports teem with such cases. One more I cannot refrain from recording in at least its bald outlines. Far away in the Haye River country a man went insane and Corporal Field sallied forth from Fort Chipeweyan to his rescue, subsequently reporting as follows under date of January 30, 1906:

"A few days before Christmas some of the Indians from the North were coming into Chipeweyan. A man named William Brown found out where they were going and immediately followed them, carrying neither blankets nor provisions with him. . . . I went out in search of him and found him wandering about on the lake. I saw at once that the man was insane, and unfit to be at large. I took him across and put him in the guard room. I thought possibly after a few days' rest with good food he would get around again. . . . January second he took a very bad turn, becoming a raving maniac, refusing food or nourishment of any kind. I made preparations and started for Fort Saskatchewan as soon as possible with him, as I saw he required medical attendance. January 11 I left Chipeweyan with lunatic Brown and Special Constable Daniels, and the detachment dog train. I also had to hire another man with his team of dogs to carry the provisions and dog food for the trip. . . . I arrived at Lac La Biche January 24. I left the train dogs here with the Hudson's Bay Company to be fed until my return. I hired a team and left the following day for Fort Saskatchewan, arriving on January 29."

Commissioner Perry adds the information that the round trip was over a thousand miles.

The Charles King murder occurred in September, 1904. In October of that year King rode through an Indian reservation in the vicinity of Lesser Slave Lake, northward bound. The Indians noticed that the white man's dog seemed unwilling to follow—a circumstance that was sufficient to

rouse suspicion on the part of the observant natives. Chief Moostoos heard shortly after that when the traveller had been at Swan Hill the Indians there had seen a companion with him. Moreover, shooting had been heard, and King had been noticed to have built a camp-fire of most unusual proportions. Moostoos laid his information before the police and a careful investigation was initiated. In the ashes of the camp-fire were found human remains. There was a marsh near by, and it was searched inch by inch by the Indians. In it were found a pair of shoes, a gold nugget and a portion of a needle, of which the other half had been found in the ashes of the fire. King was promptly placed under arrest, brought to Fort Saskatchewan, tried, found guilty and hanged. The moral effect of this remarkable incident and of the part played in it by the Indians was very important.

The lawless element were kept aware that no region of Canada's mighty domain was too remote to be reached by the red-coated guardians of Pax Britannica. In 1904 Inspector Genereux, of Prince Albert, was notified of a mysterious death in the remote North and promptly set out to investigate it. In due course he held a coroner's inquest in the wilderness and established that the death had been accidental. Having thus cleared up the mystery, he returned to Prince Albert on January 7, 1905, after an absence of one hundred and thirty-two days, during which he had travelled one thousand seven hundred and fifty miles by dog train and canoe. Such exploits are almost numberless in the history of the force.

Superintendent Dean, in 1896, reported the return to Canada of a large number of Indian refugees expelled from American territory, into which they had fled after the rebellion of 1885. They were rounded up by American cavalry and brought to the boundary. Much amazement was shown by the American military forces and much amusement caused in the country when a couple of Mounted Policemen would replace fifty American cavalrymen at the boundary line to undertake the escort duties across the prairie. Among the returning Indians were found some of the Frog Lake murderers, who were immediately arrested, but no one was molested for participation in the rebellion itself. The repatriated Indians caused no trouble at all. For example, Sergeant Caudle with two constables and a wagon escorted one hundred and twenty of the refugees, with three hundred and eight horses and twenty-five vehicles, a distance of one hundred and fifty-one miles.

Of course, it would be folly to suppose that, in a force as large as the Royal North West Mounted Police, scattered over so vast an area, and necessarily subject to so little immediate supervision by their far-away superiors, mistakes, and episodes more discreditable than mistakes, have not sometimes occurred. The marvel is that they have been so few. An instance in which mismanagement was all too apparent is that of Almighty

Voice. This was a well-known and popular young Indian athlete whose farm was in the Prince Albert country. In 1905 he was charged with a petty offence, and despite his protests and promises to come without resistance, the police officer insisted on handcuffing him. To be led into town a manacled captive broke the heart of poor Almighty Voice, and transformed a good Indian into a bad one. If this were the place, it might be shown that the young Indian had still juster and more serious grounds for swearing vengeance on the police. Presently he escaped from custody. He was pursued and tracked for several days by Sergeant Colebrook, who overtook him on the morning of the fourth day, and was promptly shot dead. Every effort was subsequently made to effect the murderer's recapture, but without success that season. In May of the following year a police patrol came upon Almighty Voice after a hunt of almost a twelvemonth. After seriously wounding a scout he took to cover in a bluff, where, with two companions, he was finally killed, but not until he had slain Civilian Grundy, Corporal Hocken and Constable Kerr, and wounded Inspectors Allan and Raven seriously. In the final battle with Almighty Voice a nine-pounder from Regina and a seven-pounder from Prince Albert were used.

Such occurrences as this have been exceedingly exceptional. Indeed, the success of the Mounted Police in dealing with desperadoes of all sorts is a matter of universal acknowledgment. A hundred good and entirely authentic stories could be told by way of illustration. For example, an interesting police report for 1906 relates to the arrest at North Portal of a notorious "bad man" known as Cowboy Jack. On the 17th instant, states the report, Corporal Hogg was called to the hotel at North Portal to quell a disturbance. The hotel was full of cowboys, who, under the leadership of Cowboy Jack, were proceeding to enact the customary melodrama of wild-west shows. Hogg induced the ringleader to follow him into an adjoining room. When they had both entered, the officer locked the door and threw the key away. These details are omitted in the officer's report, however. Indeed, that document is delightfully laconic:

"On the 17th inst., I, Corporal Hogg, was called to the hotel to quiet a disturbance. I found the room full of cowboys and one Monaghan, or Cowboy Jack, was carrying a gun, and pointed it at me against sections 105 and 109 of the Criminal Code. We struggled. Finally I got him handcuffed behind and put him inside. His head being in bad shape, had to engage the services of a doctor, who dressed his wound and pronounced it nothing serious."

Whilst the doctor was in attendance Monaghan remarked that had Hogg not captured his gun, another death would have been recorded in Canadian history. An official note also records that "during the arrest of Monaghan the following Government property was damaged; door broken; screen

smashed up; chair broken; field jacket belonging to Corporal Hogg spoiled by being covered with blood; and the wall plastered with blood." The *Toronto Globe* in commenting upon this report spoke as follows:

"It is too bad about the chair and the screen, and we trust that the Government will promptly see to their proper repair; and perhaps money for a new coat for Corporal Hogg can be spared out of Mr. Fielding's big surplus of last year. If the Government should in addition see fit to carry out Commissioner Perry's recommendation of a grant of \$25 to Hogg in recognition of his service, the country will not disapprove."

A somewhat similar arrest which was greatly appreciated by the citizens generally was effected by Constable Lett at Weyburn in May, 1903. A desperado rejoicing in the title of "Idaho Kid" undertook to "shoot up the town." Among other pleasantries in which he indulged was that of compelling citizens to hold up their hats while he shot holes in them. At the same time he announced that there was nobody in Canada who could arrest him, and, indeed, offered to put up a bet of \$25 to that effect. Constable Lett rode in from Halbrite and promptly captured the bad man, took his revolver from him and then with the same weapon compelled him to hold up his hands while being handcuffed. The same officer has frequently distinguished himself by his courageous defense of law and order. In 1907 an Ontario desperado broke jail and, when a subsequent attempt was made by county constables to arrest him, his immense strength brought him off victor in an encounter with three of them on the streets at Orangeville. Some time later another attempt was made to secure him, but the outlaw drew two revolvers and drove the constable away. The county council then placed a reward of a hundred dollars upon his head and he hastily removed to Saskatchewan, where he fell into the hands of Lett, now a sergeant. The desperado's domestic arsenal consisted of a brace of revolvers, a rifle and a shotgun, all loaded, which indicated that he had not anticipated being deprived of his liberty quite so suddenly and peaceably.

In 1906 Canada was startled by the news that the train robbing fraternity had perpetrated a "hold-up"—the first event of its kind to occur in the Territories. This was a challenge to the Mounted Police, and they were not slow to act upon it. The reply of the violated Justice of Canada was given a few days later, when after an exciting chase and effective exchange of bullets, the notorious American train-robber, Bill Miner, was captured by the Mounted Police and promptly consigned to the penitentiary. The easy trade of the train-robber will never gain a foothold on the Canadian prairies until the R. N. W. M. P. force is abolished!

In the middle nineties, as the gold fields of the Yukon commenced to attract miners and adventurers from all parts of the world, it became necessary to give special organization to the work of the police in that part of

Canada. It was determined in 1895 that a party of twenty inclusive of officers should be dispatched to the Yukon for duty there, and Inspector Constantine, an officer of great determination and ability who had been in that country the preceding year, was selected to command, the other officers being Inspector Strickland and Assistant Surgeon Mills. They left Seattle on June 5 and arrived at their destination on July 24, where, at Fort Cudahy, after a journey of 4,800 miles, they constructed their barracks. This year about \$300,000 worth of gold was taken out of the Canadian side. In his report for 1896 the commissioner remarks that "we still occupy the Yukon with twenty men, including officers, but communication has been so irregular this year that we know very little about them." In 1897 this number was considerably increased. The output of gold this year was about \$3,000,000, that of 1897-8 between six and seven millions, and the great and turbulent flood of mining immigration was rising fast. Indeed in 1897 it was seen necessary to relieve Commissioner Herchmer from the immediate supervision of the work of the Mounted Police in this remote and difficult region and Major Walsh was accordingly made police administrator for the Yukon. For a few years (1898-1901) the normal strength of the Mounted Police detachment in the Yukon stood at 250, and in 1902 this number was raised to 300. However, the detachment was gradually reduced as during the first decade of the century the extraordinary conditions of the preceding few years disappeared. In 1910 the force in the Yukon was fixed at fifty, the lowest strength since the great influx of gold seekers in 1897. The relative security of life and property in the Canadian as compared with the American Yukon and with new and remote camps in other parts of the world has ever reflected the highest credit on the Mounted Police.

When the first Canadian Contingent sailed away to Africa to fight in support of British interests and ideals, October, 1899, numerous ex-members of the Mounted Police force volunteered. The recruiting of the second corps of Canadian Mounted Rifles was entrusted to the Mounted Police and many officers and men were given leave of absence to go to the front as members of this contingent. Besides these, more than thirty members and numerous ex-members engaged under Lieutenant-Colonel Steele, of the Strathcona Horse.

Nearly all of the officers and many of the men who were granted leave for the purpose of joining the Canadian Mounted Rifles of Strathcona Horse returned to the force during 1902. One member of the force was awarded the Victoria Cross for conspicuous bravery at Wolvespruit on July 5, 1900. This was Sergeant A. H. Richardson, a policeman of C Division, Battleford. Superintendent S. B. Steele, in command of the Strathcona Horse, was awarded a C. B. and was made a member of the Victorian Order. Inspectors R. Belcher and A. M. Jarvis were given C. M. G.'s and three other officers

became Companions of the Distinguished Service Order. Distinguished Conduct medals were won by Sergeant J. Hynes, Sergeant-Major Richards and Constable A. S. Waite. The North West Mounted Police contributed to the South African War, all told, 245 members and ex-members, of whom four were killed in action and three died of disease while in South Africa. The force also contributed thirty-four men to the new South African Constabulary, of which Superintendent Steele, C. B., M. V. O., was appointed colonel.

In 1904, in recognition of the services of our Mounted Police in Western Canada and throughout the Empire, the following was among the coronation honors announced on June 24: "His Majesty the King has been graciously pleased to confer the title of Royal on the North West Mounted Police."

"Peace hath her victories no less than War," and every year of its existence the force is winning them. From 1902 onwards one of the most interesting portions of the annual reports is that dealing with the more and more systematic supervision of the shores of the Hudson's Bay and the Arctic Seas. It is the duty of these lonely patrols to supervise the Indians and Eskimos; to collect customs duties from foreign vessels doing business in the Bay; to maintain order among the somewhat turbulent whalers; to succor shipwrecked parties and relieve destitution in general; to convey mails; to conduct explorations; and to fulfill many other useful and heterogeneous duties. One R. N. W. M. P. post is 2,500 miles from headquarters!

A record was established in various regards by Inspector E. A. Pelletier's patrol in 1908. On June 1 he and his party left Fort Saskatchewan for Athabasca Landing, proceeding thence to Fort Resolution on Great Slave Lake. Leaving that point on July 1, Inspector Pelletier proceeded to Chesterfield Inlet, Hudson's Bay, reaching that point two months later. At this point they were met by a party in the coast boat *McTavish*, which was chartered by Superintendent Moodie from the Hudson's Bay Company for the purpose of meeting Inspector Pelletier and his party. Unfortunately the *McTavish* was wrecked on the way to Churchill and the party was obliged to proceed to Fullerton, where there is a police post, and there await the freeze up. On the 29th of November they started with dog trains overland for Fort Churchill, which they reached on the 11th of January. There they remained until the 7th of February, and reached Gimli, a railway station on the west shore of Lake Winnipeg, on the 8th of March. The total distance travelled by this patrol from rail to rail was 3,347 miles. Commissioner Perry comments in his report to the comptroller that of the many long and arduous patrols performed by the R. N. W. M. P., this had been the most extended and difficult.

The hardships of the work in the Far North was brought all too forcibly to the notice of the world when, two years later, a party of police died of

starvation. Ever since the season of 1904-5 a police patrol carrying mail has been sent from Dawson to Fort McPherson and back, in the Yukon Territory. In 1910 Inspector Fitzgerald, who had had many years' experience in the Far North and had thoroughly proven his fitness for such work, was given command of this patrol. He left Herschell Island at the end of November and arrived at Fort McPherson on December 3, where he spent a fortnight in making preparations for the journey to Dawson. On December 20, 1910, he left Fort McPherson with three dog teams of five dogs each, accompanied by Constables Kinney, Taylor and Carter, the last named being employed as guide. The party never returned. A relief expedition left Dawson on February 28 to search for the missing men. On March 21 the searchers came upon the camp where lay the bodies of Constables Kinney and Taylor, and on the following day the remains of Inspector Fitzgerald and Special Constable Carter were discovered. Nothing in the annals of arctic exploration exceeds in pathos the record of this ill-fated expedition as contained in Fitzgerald's diary. The disaster was caused by the guide losing his way. Moreover, as the party wished to travel "light" the quantity of provisions proved inadequate. Fitzgerald's entry in his diary for January 12 is as follows: "37 below. Fine, with slight head wind. Sent Carter to look for portage, but he could not find it." Thus commenced the tragic search for a pathway of escape from the mountain wilderness in which the ill-fated patrol found itself. On the 17th Fitzgerald says: "Carter is completely lost and does not know one river from another. We have now only ten bags of flour and eight pounds of bacon and some dried fish. My last hope is gone, and the only thing I can do is to return and kill some of the dogs to feed the others and myself, unless we can meet some Indians."

"13° below. Wednesday, Jan. 18. . . . Killed the first dog to-night for dog feed. Hardly any of the dogs would eat him, and we had to give them a little dried fish. Our food consisted of a small piece of dried bannock and dried fish. . . .

"28° below. Thursday, Jan. 19. Very misty, with a slight southwest wind. . . . We were at times ankle deep in water. Killed another dog to-night. 21 miles.

"21° below. Friday, Jan. 20. Very strong southwest gale all day. . . . Ate the last of the flour and bacon. All we have now is some dried fish and tea.

"Zero. Saturday, Jan. 21. Strong gale. . . . Killed another dog to-night. 20 miles.

"50° below in a. m. Sunday, Jan. 22. 64° in p. m. . . . Carter's fingers badly frozen.

"64° below. Monday, Jan. 23. Misty, with strong head winds. . . .

"56° below. Tuesday, Jan. 24. Strong south wind with very heavy mist. Left camp at 7:30 and found the river open right across. Constable Taylor got in up to his waist and Carter up to his hips. We had to go into



INSPECTOR FITZGERALD,

Who, with his entire detachment, died on patrol duty in the Far North, 1911.



"NO COMPLAINTS."

Settler signing R. N. W. M. P. patrol book. From painting, property of Dominion Government.

camp at 11 a. m. . . . Killed another dog and all hands made a good meal on dog meat. . . .

"53° below. Wednesday, Jan. 25. . . . Killed another dog; our food is now dog meat and tea. 18 miles.

"21° below. Thursday, Jan. 26. . . . Going very heavy in deep snow and all hands and dogs getting weak. 8 miles.

"13° below. Jan. 27. Heavy snowstorm with heavy mists. Camped at Waugh's tent at 2 p. m. Searched tent and *cache* for food, but found none. Going very heavy. Killed another dog. We have now only nine dogs; the rest are gone for food. 11 miles.

"45° below. Saturday, Jan. 28. Strong south wind with mist. . . . Taylor sick last night and all day. Going very heavy. . . .

"20° below. Jan. 29. . . . Killed another dog to-night. Men and dogs very weak. Cached one sled and wrapper and seven dog harnesses here. 10 miles.

"51° below. Monday, Jan. 30. . . . All hands feeling sick; suppose it to be from eating dog's liver.

"45° below. Tuesday, Jan. 31. 62° below in p. m. . . . Skin peeling off our faces and parts of body and lips all swollen and split: I suppose this is caused by feeding on dog meat. Everybody feeling the cold very much for want of proper food. 17 miles.

"51° below in a. m. Wednesday, Feb. 1. . . . Killed another dog to-night. This makes eight dogs we have killed, and we have eaten most of them. We fed what dried fish we had to the dogs. 16 miles.

"7° above, in a. m. Thursday, Feb. 2. 23 below in p. m. . . . Got astray in the mist.

"26° below. Friday, Feb. 3. . . . Killed another dog to-night. . . . Men and dogs very thin and weak and cannot travel far. We have travelled about 200 miles on dog meat and still have about 100 miles to go: but I think we will make it all right. . . .

"52° below. Saturday, Feb. 4. . . . Going very heavy and everybody suffered very much with cold.

"48° below. Saturday, Feb. 5. . . . Just after noon I broke through the ice and had to make a fire. Found one foot slightly frozen. Killed another dog to-night. Have only five dogs now, and can only go a few miles a day. . . . 8 miles."

Apparently at about this juncture Constables Taylor and Kinney were unable to proceed further. Accordingly a camp was made and Fitzgerald left with his companions what supplies he could, and with the unfortunate guide attempted to press forward in search of relief. As a matter of fact they were but thirty-odd miles from friends and safety, but the task was an impossible one.

In Inspector Fitzgerald's pocket was found the following pathetic document, written with a piece of charred wood:

"All money in despatch bag and bank, clothes, etc., I leave to my dearly beloved mother, Mrs. John Fitzgerald, of Halifax. God bless all.
"F. J. FITZGERALD, R. N. W. M. P."

Such is the story of the saddest tragedy that has overtaken the North

West Mounted Police Force in all its history. All Canada and especially all Westerners were plunged in mourning. In the following year a bronze tablet mounted upon a marble slab was unveiled by Lieutenant-Governor Brown in the chapel at the barracks of the Royal North West Mounted Police, Regina. Upon it are inscribed the following words:

"In memory of Inspector Francis Joseph Fitzgerald; Constable George Frances Kinney; Constable Richard O'Hara Taylor; and Special Constable Sam Carter; who lost their lives in the discharge of their duty on patrol from Fort McPherson to Dawson, February, 1911. Erected by their comrades."

It is to be remembered that equally dangerous journeys are made by members of the police force every year. In the same report in which the commissioner tells the story of the Fitzgerald disaster may be found the record of the 700 miles and return journey made by Sergeant Hayter from Fullerton, along the west coast of Hudson's Bay, to Rankin Inlet, to meet Sergeant Borden coming from Fort Churchill with mail and taking the census of the Eskimos. Sergeant Walker journeyed from Fort Churchill to York Factory and return; Sergeant Nicholls from Norway House to Fort Churchill and return; Sergeant Edgenton from Split Lake to Fort Churchill—three days without food; Sergeant Munday from The Pas to Lac du Brochet and return—900 miles in 51 days; Sergeant MacLeod from Fort Vermillion across the terrible mountains to Great Slave Lake. All these heroic officers were performing definite police duties; carrying mails, supervising Indians and maintaining law, whether in the remotest districts of Canada. In the performance of such tasks tragedy is ever an immediate possibility, but service in these trying posts, far from being avoided, is ever an object of desire among the members of our famous force.

The strength of the force has varied greatly from time to time. It numbered 300 men in 1873; in 1882, with the advent of the railway, the strength was increased to 500, because of the new responsibilities thrown upon the police by the advance of settlement. In 1885 the membership was raised to 1,000, at which it stayed for a decade, when it was gradually reduced to 750. In 1898 the gold discovery in the Yukon resulted in the increase of the force in that territory to 250 men. In 1902 fifty more men were drafted from the Territories to the Yukon. However, the authorized strength of the force was now made 800. The population of the Territories had doubled and the strength of the force been cut in two in the preceding decade, though new conditions were continually increasing the work of the police and the responsibility necessarily placed upon its individual members. In 1912 there were five divisional posts and 82 detachments in Alberta, with 252 men; 4 divisional posts and 87 detachments in Saskatchewan, with



IN MEMORY OF

INSPECTOR
FRANCIS JOSEPH FITZGERALD

CONSTABLE
GEORGE FRANCIS KINNEY

CONSTABLE
RICHARD O'HARA TAYLOR

SPECIAL CONSTABLE
SAM CARTER

WHO LOST THEIR LIVES IN THE
DISCHARGE OF THEIR DUTY ON
PATROL FROM FORT MACPHERSON
TO DAWSON FEBRUARY 1911

ERECTED BY THEIR COMRADES

MEMORIAL TABLET, R. N. W. M. P. CHAPEL.

335 men; and 67 other members scattered through New Manitoba and the Far North.

In the spring of 1906 the comptroller and the commissioner interviewed the governments of Alberta and Saskatchewan with the result that these provinces and the Federal Government entered into an agreement by which it was arranged that a strength of 500 men was to be retained in the two provinces for a term of five years. Each Provincial Government was to contribute \$75,000 towards the maintenance of the force. These terms were renewed in 1911. On May 15, 1912, a very large portion of the Territories north of Manitoba was annexed to that province, but the services of the Mounted Police were retained by the Government of Manitoba on terms similar to those involved in the agreement with Saskatchewan and Alberta.

From time to time busybodies unacquainted with conditions in our Great North West, and ignorant of the work of the Mounted Police and of the advantages in prestige and influence which they enjoy, as compared with any other possible body that might take over their duties, have talked of withdrawing the force from the Saskatchewan and the other prairie provinces. Such proposals have always met with indignant remonstrance on the part of Westerners and all others who know the country. Long may the great force flourish and enjoy the affectionate admiration of the land it has served so well!

The space limits set for the present sketch have already been passed and the temptation to linger over our theme must be resisted. Many interesting and important topics bearing upon our subject have been regretfully but rigorously excluded, with a view to necessary brevity. No attempt has been made to formulate evidence indicative of the relative value of the services of different members of the force, and its successive comptrollers at Ottawa have not even been named. Men whose services to their country have outweighed those of numerous contemporaneous cabinet ministers have been barely mentioned or passed over in silence. In short, I have not attempted a *history*; my aim has simply been to present a *picture*. I have not tried to sketch the careers of its distinguished members; I have merely sought to indicate something of the work in which they and their humblest colleagues in the force have been engaged. Where individual officers and their exploits have been alluded to, they are to be taken as merely representative of the many similar devoted public servants and deeds of heroism that have made the R. N. W. M. P. the pride of Canada.

CHAPTER LII

FRATERNAL SOCIETIES IN SASKATCHEWAN

EARLY RISE OF FRATERNAL SOCIETIES—ANCIENT FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS: KINISTINO LODGE, 1879; WASCANA LODGE, 1883; GRAND LODGE OF SASKATCHEWAN, 1906—INDEPENDENT ORDER OF ODDFELLOWS: MOOSE JAW LODGE, 1883; SUBSEQUENT RAPID DEVELOPMENT—ORANGE ASSOCIATION—LEADING CATHOLIC ORDERS—OTHER FRATERNAL SOCIETIES.

The means of social intercourse are valued by no one more highly than by the man who for a period not too long has been deprived of them. It is not surprising then that tents had scarcely given way to "shacks" in our western settlements when fraternal societies of all sorts commenced to spring up in luxuriant growth. Indeed, the development of these institutions faithfully reflects that of the Province in the other many fields to which this book has been chiefly devoted. In obedience to the expressed wish of many prominent citizens, therefore, this closing chapter is to be devoted to a brief record of a few outstanding facts bearing on the rise of some of the chief great fraternal orders.

The first such society to establish itself in the North West was the world-famous order of the Ancient Free and Accepted Masons. For a time the activities of the order were almost confined to Manitoba, but as early as 1879, on the 28th of March, a group of Masons resident at or near Prince Albert Mission met in the old store of the Hudson's Bay Company to discuss the propriety of applying for a dispensation establishing a local lodge. A petition was in due course presented to the Grand Lodge of Canada and on May 22, 1879, the necessary dispensation was granted for the creation of Kinistino Lodge, Prince Albert. This lodge is therefore entitled to claim seniority in point of age over all others in what is now the Province of Saskatchewan.

The first officers of Kinistino Lodge were Brother C. F. Young, W. M.; Brother J. McKenzie, S. W., and Brother G. R. Duch, J. W., and the other brethren signing the petition of application for the creation of the lodge were Brothers Charles Mair, John Frederick Kennedy, Joseph M. Coombes, A. E. Porter, Edward Stanley, George Tait and John L. Reid. It may be interesting to members of the craft to know that the first degrees con-

ferred were at the initiation of Brothers Thomas MacKay, Justice Duncan Wilson and Thomas E. Baker. The total membership of the lodge at the end of its second year was twenty-eight.

A warrant of constitution was granted in July, 1880, and some four months later Kinistino Lodge came under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Manitoba. It is to be remembered that this was before the era of railway communication in the Territories and that Prince Albert lies more than three times as far from Winnipeg as does London from Paris!

In 1883 lodges were established at Battleford and Edmonton, and these, together with Kinistino Lodge, Prince Albert, constituted the first Masonic District of Saskatchewan, its first District Deputy Grand Master being Brother Charles F. Young, of Prince Albert. The prime movers in Masonry at Battleford were Brothers Henry Sikes, S. B. Steele, Dr. J. W. Ralph, Rev. J. F. Pritchard, H. J. Montgomery and J. M. McGregor.

At this time Regina was but a cluster of camps and "shacks" upon the prairie, but early in January, 1883, steps were taken for the organization of a Masonic Lodge. A dispensation having been duly obtained, the first meeting of Wascana Lodge, Regina, was held on March 6, when Right Worshipful Brother James Henry Benson was appointed Master. The other first officers were Brothers A. G. M. Spragge and John A. Kerr, Wardens; Brother T. C. Johnstone, S. D.; Brother J. W. Evett, J. D.; Brother W. J. Lindsay, Treasurer; Brother John Secord, Secretary, and Brother Reverend A. Osborne, First Church of England clergyman in Regina, Chaplain. The first home of Wascana Lodge was in a building owned by the Presbyterian Church; before the end of the year it moved to quarters on Broad Street, owned by Doctor Cotton; in March, 1885, the Lodge took a hall on Scarth Street, the property of Mr. George Wallis; in 1889 it was to be found in a building at the corner of Rose and South Railway streets. This building was destroyed by fire in 1889 and for a short time the Masons were hospitably housed in the Hall of the Canadian Order of Foresters. Meantime Brother Andrew Martin was erecting a new building on Scarth Street, the third floor of which was occupied by the Masonic Order from August, 1890, until the present Masonic Temple at the corner of Eleventh Avenue and Cornwall Street was erected in 1907. It is, of course, impossible to enter into a detailed history of the growth of the Order in any one city, but in view of the important rôle that Wascana Lodge has played in Masonry in this Province, members of the Order will be interested in recalling the names of those who have occupied the responsible post of Master in this Lodge.

1883—Brother J. H. Benson.

1884—Brother John A. Kerr.

1885—Brother Percy R. Neale.

1886-7—Brother James R. McGaul.

- 1888—Brother E. G. Weeks.
- 1889-90—Brother W. Henderson.
- 1891—Brother S. B. Jameson.
- 1892—Brother James N. Chatwin.
- 1893—Brother J. R. Marchall.
- 1894—Brother W. J. Chisholm.
- 1895—Brother W. C. Hamilton.
- 1896—Brother William Henderson.
- 1897—Brother Frank Nash.
- 1898—Brother Alexander Shepphard.
- 1899—Brother R. B. Fergusson.
- 1900—Brother David Law.
- 1901—Brother W. McIvar.
- 1902-3—Brother E. B. Hutcherson.
- 1904—Brother J. R. C. Honeyman.
- 1905—Brother J. R. Pollock.
- 1906—Brother W. M. Martin.
- 1907—Brother A. M. Fenwick.
- 1908—Brother L. T. McDonald.
- 1909—Brother W. A. Wilson.
- 1910—Brother J. N. Bayne.
- 1911—Brother J. M. Smith.
- 1912—Brother J. W. Cram.
- 1913—Brother C. O. Hodgkins.

Upon the creation of Saskatchewan as an independent Province it became necessary to establish a separate Provincial Grand Lodge. The initiative was taken by Wascana Lodge on April 3, 1906, on the motion of W. Brother Alexander Shepphard, seconded by Brother J. M. Smith. As, however, Kinistino Lodge, Prince Albert, was the oldest in the Province a dispatch was sent to it by the Wascana Lodge, asking Kinistino Lodge to call a convention to consider the matter, which course was duly followed. The convention met at Prince Albert, May 25, 1906. A deputation was appointed to wait on the Grand Lodge of Manitoba at its next meeting and lay before it a proposal to establish a Grand Lodge for Saskatchewan. Much other important business was also transacted, in the course of which it was agreed that the meeting for formal organization should be held at Regina. At this time there were twenty-nine Masonic Lodges in the Province of Saskatchewan, with a membership of approximately nine hundred. Twenty-five of the Lodges were duly represented by authorized delegates at the Regina Convention, which met on August 8, 1906. M. W. Brothers, John McKechnie and James A. Ovis of the Grand Lodge of Manitoba installed the first officers of the Grand Lodge organized on this occasion. These were: M. W. Grand Master H. H. Campkin; Deputy Grand Master C. O. Davidson; Senior Warden Jagger; Junior Warden Reverend W. B. Tate; Grand Treasurer Alexander Shepphard; Grand Secretary Doctor John M. Shaw;



GRAND MASTERS FOR SASKATCHEWAN, A. F. & A. M.

Wm. Hopkins, '10-'11.
C. O. Davidson, '07-'08.

H. H. Campkin, '06-'07.
Rev. W. B. Tate, '09-'10.

H. Gorrell, M. D., '11-'12.
H. Jagger, '08-'09.

Grand Chaplain Reverend E. Matheson; Grand Registrar A. H. Smith; Grand Senior Deacon C. H. Griffin; Grand Junior Deacon J. I. Ross; Grand Director of Ceremonies John Rutledge; Grand Organist R. B. Taylor; Grand Poursuivant W. Barber; Grand Tyler William Barnwell.

From this time forward the Masonic Order in Saskatchewan has grown by leaps and bounds. By March 31, 1907, the membership had increased to fourteen hundred. A year later it had passed the two thousand mark, and by the end of 1912 the membership had reached the grand total of 5,190.

The first annual Communication was held at Prince Albert in 1907; the second was held at Regina, when R. W. Brother C. O. Davidson, of Prince Albert, was elected Grand Master; at Moose Jaw, in the following year, R. W. Brother H. Jagger was elected to succeed him, and in 1910, at Saskatoon, R. W. Brother W. B. Tate was made Grand Master for the year; in 1911 at Regina, Brother Hopkins was raised to this office, and Dr. A. S. Gorrel for 1912-13.

Moose Jaw, Regina, Saskatoon, Prince Albert, and Qu'Appelle all boast fine Masonic Temples. There are twelve Chapters of the Royal Arch in the Province,—Battleford, Moose Jaw, Sintaluta, Arcola, Estevan, Weyburn, Prince Albert, Regina and Saskatoon, Govan, Melville and Swift Current. There are Knight Templar Preceptories in the four cities (1912) and there is also a Temple of the Mystic Shrine at the capital.

At Moose Jaw in 1883 there was instituted the first lodge of the Independent Order of Oddfellows to be organized in the North West Territories. There were several lodges instituted each year thereafter, all being in affiliation with the Grand Lodge of Manitoba. When the Territories were divided into provinces, the different lodges in Saskatchewan petitioned the Sovereign Grand Lodge for a charter to establish a Grand Lodge in this Province. At that time there were thirty lodges working in what is now known as the Province of Saskatchewan, with a total membership of one thousand five hundred and sixty members. A charter was accordingly granted and the Grand Lodge of Saskatchewan, I. O. O. F. was organized at Regina on May 29, 1907. The laws of the Grand Lodge designate Regina as the headquarters of the institution.

The first Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Saskatchewan was L. Rankin, Dominion Lands Agent, Regina (recently transferred to Winnipeg). The first Grand Secretary elected was F. J. Reynolds, of Regina, who has held the office continuously since the institution of the Grand Lodge. The Grand Masters serving since the first year of institution are as follows:

1908—J. Rutherford, Moose Jaw.

1909—J. A. M. Patrick, Yorkton.

1910—H. C. Pierce, M.L.A., Wadena.

1911—H. E. Armstrong, Regina.

1912—J. W. Cunningham, Wauchope.

The growth throughout the Province since the Grand Lodge was organized has been very rapid, there having been up to the time of writing (1913) an average of thirteen Subordinate Lodges instituted each year with an average annual increase in membership of seven hundred. At the present time there are fifteen Rebekah Lodges with a membership of one thousand six hundred. The Subordinate Lodge membership of the I. O. O. F. now numbers six thousand two hundred, and one hundred and two lodges have been established in the Province. The Encampment branch of the Order has four encampments and those interested are looking to the early establishment of a Grand Encampment in this jurisdiction.

Among the men to whom the I. O. O. F. of Saskatchewan stands indebted is Mr. John Tucker, who since the early eighties has resided in Moosomin. He instituted most of the lodges established before the creation of the Grand Lodge of Saskatchewan. At that time he was Grand Master of the Province of Manitoba which included the lodges organized in Saskatchewan and Alberta as well. For some years he travelled both by rail and by team to distant points to institute lodges, supported by a few members of the local lodges where he happened to be. Mr. Tucker is still very prominent in the official list of the organization, holding the office of Grand Representative to the Sovereign Grand Lodge (1913).

The first Orange Lodge instituted in what is now the Province of Saskatchewan is Number 1493. The warrant appears to have been brought west by members of the Mounted Police, and organized at Wood Mountain about the time of the North West Rebellion in 1885. In 1893, Number 1493 was re-organized at Maple Creek, where it is still located.

In the year 1891, there being fifteen Primary Lodges in the North West Territories, they were entitled to a Provincial Grand Lodge, which was accordingly instituted at Regina, by the late Stewart Mulvey, M.P.P., Past Grand Master of Manitoba, in the same year. A. G. Hamilton, Deputy Sheriff of Moosomin, was elected first Grand Master; R. L. Alexander, Moose Jaw, Junior Deputy Grand Master, and W. J. Kernaghan, Prince Albert, Grand Secretary.

When the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were created, in 1905, a separate Provincial Grand Lodge was formed for each province. Saskatchewan had then fifty-four lodges and a membership of 1,161. The membership remained practically stationary until 1909, in which year there was a net increase of 657. In the three years prior to 1912 the net increase was 1,907 members, and the number of Primary Lodges had increased to 133 in the same period, a gain of 180 per centum. At the end of 1912, although full returns are not yet in, the membership stands at 4,350, and the number of Primary Lodges at 164. There are also twenty-two County Lodges in the Province at the present time, as against eleven in 1909. Dur-

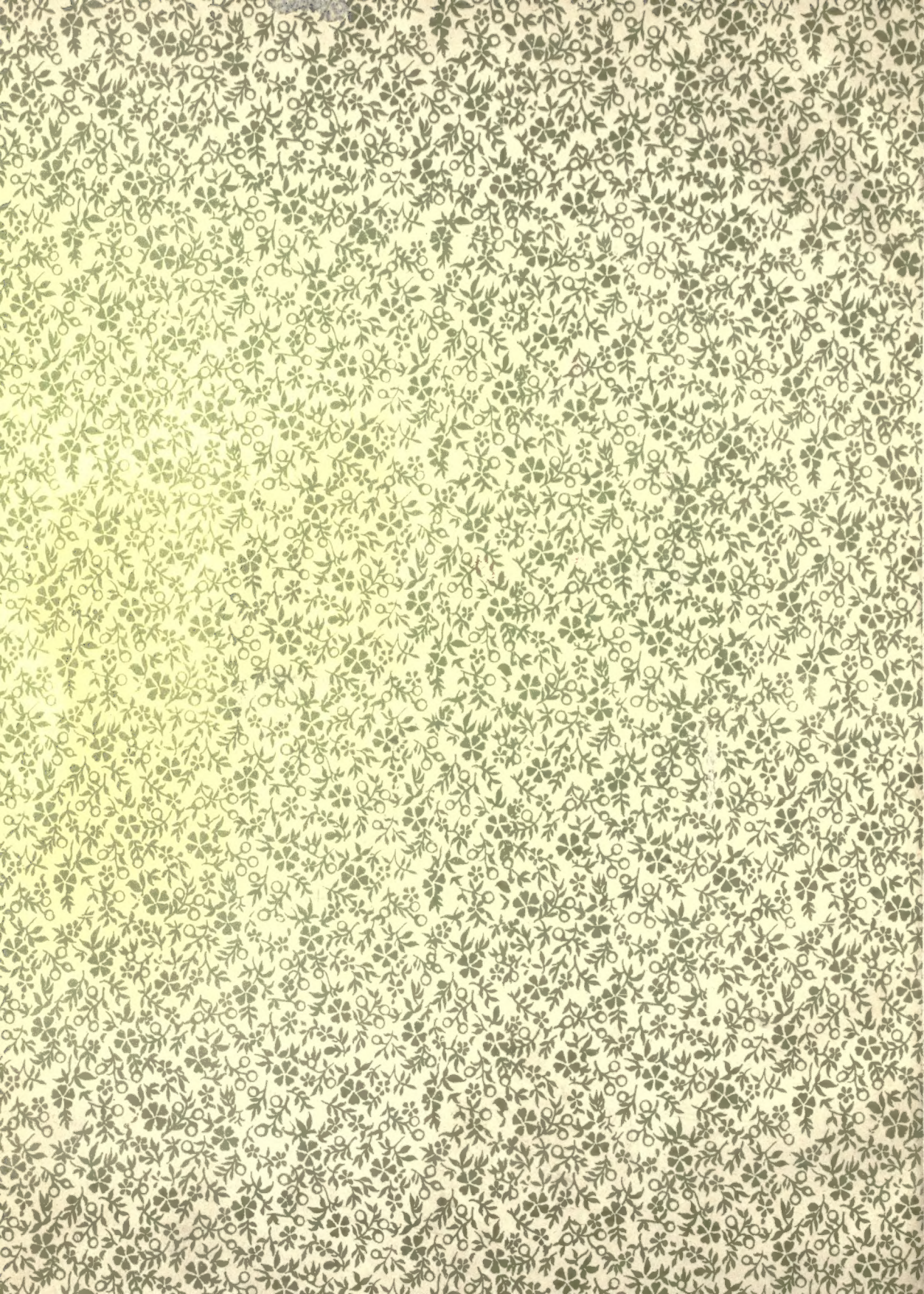
ing the last three years the number of Royal Black preceptories had increased from seven to fourteen, and in 1911, at Saskatoon, a Grand Black Chapter was formed having jurisdiction over all private preceptories within the Province.

Following are the names of Brethren who have held the office of Grand Master since the formation of the Provincial Grand Lodge in 1891: A. G. Hamilton, Moosomin; B. Barber, Wolseley; J. H. Young, Moosomin; Dr. W. Henderson, Qu'Appelle; Thomas Pollock, Moosomin; John Wilson, Caron; E. J. Cudmere, Westview; Simpson Shaw, Gainsboro; D. D. Ellis, M. D., Fleming, and A. D. Ferguson, Wolseley.

The great Catholic orders in the Province are the C.M.B.A. and the A.O.H. The Catholic Mutual Benefit Association has a membership of almost 25,000 in Canada. Of its five hundred Canadian branches, the first to be instituted in Saskatchewan was that at Prince Albert. The Regina branch (Number 362) was organized in July, 1902, with Mr. L. L. Kramer acting as District Deputy.

The Regina division of the Ancient Order of Hibernians was instituted ten years later, November 10, 1912, by a degree team from Winnipeg, accompanied by P. J. Henry, Esquire, Provincial President for Manitoba. The first Provincial President, Vice President, Secretary and Treasurer were, respectively, Messrs. Thomas M. Molloy, James Williams, W. F. Windiott, and John McCarthy. The A.O.H. is an international organization, having divisions in practically all civilized countries. Its membership is made up entirely of Catholics of Irish descent. The motto of the Order is "Friendship, Unity and Christian Charity," and it is the aim of the Association to promote these virtues by supporting a fund for the maintenance of aged, sick, blind and infirm members, and for the general improvement of the condition of the Irish people.

Necessary space limits compel us to pass over in silence the many other fraternal societies prominent in Saskatchewan. Their name is legion. The sociological significance of the popular demand, in all parts of our Province, for the social fellowship and ceremonious ritual that constitutes a common element in all such societies presents an interesting problem to the thoughtful mind.



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